This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 911,496

PROPERTY OF
The University of Michigan Libraries
1817
ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

PROPERTY OF
The University of Michigan Libraries
1817
ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

THE Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXXXIII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1953

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 12-8 Foreign Rs. 20.

AP
.N6
V. 93

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page
ıltural Marketing in West Bengal (*illust.*) irmoy Roy	311
lia Economic Conference at Trivandrum sh Prasad Niyogi	230
ıt House-Planning D. Sharma	487
l the Wettest Village in the World Cherapunji (*illust.*) C. Dixit	388
Journals in India, A Summary Survey of ndinya 133, 216, 403,	482
bled India ɔuddha N. Chatterjee	357
ɛtto Croce—His Philosophy K. Nandi	294
in the Days of Kar Talab Khan, Picture of tis C. Sarkar	320
Sarkar in Bengali Literature, The Place (*illust.*) das Mukherji	149
Education for Democracy ɔdh Chandra Goswami	445
Reviews 69, 153, 237, 321, 405,	489
se Independence and After ınsu Bimal Mookerji	47
Wealth in India 3. Mamoria 281,	365
of Pakistan, On the ıdra Mohan Datta	452
ɔnial Corn Dance of American Indians *llust.*) Norton Jones	309
pathi Education in India, Suggestions for e Improvement of . Chaudhuri	50
ıtration in the Land-Structure ılchandra Sinha	108
ıtional Issues, A Couple of M. Shah ɔution of Th. Stcherbatsky to Indian ilosophy ɔmendra Nath Shastri	115
tion Service Link up Whole of British story e G. Pine	481
Industries N. Hukku	120
of the Desert, The V. Krishnamurthy	297
al Basis of World Brotherhood Chandra Chatterjee	220
Society of Calcutta, The das Mukherjee	399
Ministers in a State in India N. Banerjee	293
la and the Pandyas of the South e Chatterjee	213
Lawrence C. Peter	66
ves of State Policy l Narain	105

	Page
Disintegration of the Middle Class Bimalchandra Sinha	189
Dollar Tangle, The Arun Coomar Ghosh	202
East Bengal Tragedy, The C. L. R. Sastri	112
Economics of 'Bhoomidan Yagna' S. N. Agarwal	195
Economics of Linguistic States S. N. Agarwal	291
Federalism in the New Constitution Iqbal Narain Srivastava	442
Five-Year Plan and Village Industries Mankumar Sen	289
Food Problem, The P. C. Bansil	454
Foreign Periodicals 81, 164, 247, 331, 415,	501
Hindu Reincarnation Theory, More About the Amulyaprasad Chanda	136
Humanity on the March Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji	373
India and the Moslem World Chandikaprasad Banerji	44
India and Tibet N. B. Roy	205
Indian Parliament, Rise of the Rajani Kanta Das & Sonya Ruth Das	272
Indian Periodicals 74, 159, 242, 326, 411	494
India's Fuel Problem Sukumar Merh	362
John Dewey -Famous American Educator and Philosopher (*illust.*) USIS	395
Kalachuri Relations with Bengal, The Puspa Niyogi	300
Kashmir Problem The Constitutional Aspect A. K. Ghosal	41
Last General Election in West Bengal, The D. N. Banerjee	37
Madras The City of the First English Church in India (*illust.*) K. N. Merhotra	53
Managing Agency System in India, The "Ganga"	302
Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India Suresh Prosad Niyogi	479
Middle East and the Cold War, The Karl Loewy	361
My Experience on the Indo-Burma Border (*illust.*) Sankar Ganguli	
Notes 1, 85, 169, 253, 337,	421
National Library, A Short History of the Bani Bose 128,	207
Old Nineteenth Century Marriage in Northern India (*illust.*) Harbans Singh	60
Old Memories of Bardwan (*illust.*) Nirmal Sinha	386
Ornamental Pottery and Clay Modelling in Uttar Pradesh (*illust.*) H. G. P. Srivastava	

	Page
Pasteurising Milk, A New Method of J. Sircar	318
Philadelphia (*illust.*) Roger Butterfield	58
(A) Pilgrimage to Darkness (*illust.*) Ajit Kumar Dutta	383
(A) Political Crime of 1856, A Note on S. B. Chaudhuri	63
Population Planning in India C. B. Mamoria	21
Position of Women in Medieval India Roma Chaudhuri	457
Pre-Historic Rock Pictures in Bellary (*illust.*) Richard Chinnathambi	474
Psychology in Industry Santasil Biswas	483
Ramakrishna Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium : Ranchi, The (*illust.*) Suprabha Choudhury	224
(A) Rebel Magistrate of Bihar P. C. Roychoudhury	460
Review of the Academy Exhibition : Calcutta O. C. Gangoly	211
(A) Sanskrit University for West Bengal Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri	396
Sarvodaya and Marxism S. N. Agarwal	441
Share Rent D. C. Biswas	197
Sinclair Lewis (*illust.*) USIS	228
Slump in Textiles, The D. M. Singh	126
Song (*poem*) F. R. Stanley	236
South Africa—Land of Gold and Discord John Nevin Sayre	64
Spain To-day Madan Gopal Gupta	377
Statues of Foreigners Jadunath Sarkar	124
Study of Sanskrit Chintaharan Chakravarti	397
(A) Successful University Summer Session Alfred S. Schenckman	464
Sudhir Khastgir—An Artist of the People (*illust.*) Ratnamberdutt Chandola	305
Surgery in South Pole P. K. Banerjee	488
Tanjore Temple, The (*illust*) V. R. Ramani	221
Teaching Industrial Arts to Elementary School Pupils (*illust.*) Claude E. Nihart	146
Thakkar Bapa and His Accounts (*illust.*) K. S. Shriram	381
T. S. Eliot and the Contemporary World P. S. Sastri	233
Universities of Europe, The Alfred S. Schenkman	286
U.N.O.—A Better League of Nations ? G. P. Srivastava	449
West Bengal's Economic Decay, Two Recent Indications of Bimalchandra Sinha	33
Women in India's Freedom Movement (*illust.*) *Jogesh C. Bagal*	467
Yemite Valley (illust.)	226

INDIAN PERIODICALS

	Page
	1
Britain's National Dailies	499
Christians in the Naga Hills	413
Croce's Philosophy	161
George Santayana	328
Impact of Western Culture on the Civilization of India and China	245
Indians in Malaya	411
Jain Studies in Italy	329
Literature and Freedom	497
Nivedita, The Sister	494
Re-writing of Indian History in Free India	74
Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science	76
Science, Society and Health	159
Unity and Harmony in Sanskrit Literature	78
War and Peace	242
Why Linguistic Provinces ?	326

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

	Page
Centenary of a World Faith	334
China's Achievements in Education in Past Three Years	83
China's First Five-Year Plan of Construction	419
Civil Disobedience in South Africa	501
Full Employment to be Achieved in China	81
I. L. O. Session, 1954	504
India's Cotton Textile Industry	247
Indo-China can Affect all East Asia	251
(Mrs.) Pandit to Receive 'One World' Award	252
Plague Death now Avoidable	252
Rene Grousset	82
Sociological Issues in Israel	164
South Africa—Land of Gold and Discord	415
Unicef	417
Unique Economic System of Yugoslavia, The	333
Volga-Don : A Great Economic Factor	331
White House, The	167
World Health Day	420
Yugoslavia	420

NOTES

	Page
Abolition of First Class in Railways	352
Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Mission	17
Acute Water Scarcity in Madhya Pradesh	263
Agrarian Reform in Viet-Nam	271
All-India Lepro-sy Workers' Conference	263
American Criticism of Nehru	434
Andhra State	9
Anti-Ahmediya Disturbances in Lahore	266
Arab Collective Security	429
Arab Refugees, The	18
At Home and Abroad	253
Ayyangar, Gopalaswamy	188
Bengal Budget	177
Big Business in the U.S.A.	187
Bihar Cane-growers and Sugar Policy	262
Bihar M.L.A. Proposes Car Advance	354
Britain and Burma	104
British Houses of Parliament, The	188
Burma and Nationalist China	426
Burmese Govt. Conditions for Foreign Capital	169
Calcutta and Sao Paulo	425
Cambodia must be given Freedom	343
Canal Water Problem, The	181
Cariappa, Retirement of General	90
Chandil Sarvodaya Conference	355
Changes in U. P. Food Policy	261

	Page
nwealth Development Finance	346
nity Life in Rural Bengal	261
ons for Progress of Carnatic Music	102
s Defeat at Calcutta	425
s Session at Hyderabad, The	85
s of the Desert	101
ion of the British Queen, The	421
, The	423
in Exports of Asian Countries	184
ation Commission Recommendations	438
oments in Pakistan and India	266
of Indian Art in U.S.A.	436
Dulles' Tour, Significance of	432
Visit, The	431
ake Protection	181
ic Co-operation in the E. European untries	183
wer on Foreign Aid	434
wer's Inaugural Address	91
al Law for China	268
Duty Bill	427
Black Urges Change of Policy	184
in Tunisia	435
ing I.M.F's Facilities	346
liture Habits	355
ation of the Unemployed	440
of Congress-P.S.P. Talks	254
U.P.'s Wheat and Rice Production	179
in Maharashtra	437
's Relatives Make Best of It	97
in Action on India Soil	185
Bazar Stopped	436
ion of Educational Associations	19
Commission's Recommendations	181
dustry in Madras	173
ar Plan, The	179
ar Plan, Opinions on the	2
nd Population	5
Capital in Egypt	437
a, Decentralisation of	432
Session of Chinese P.P.C.C.	173
xchange Market	169
Settlements in India	430
an Outlook and World Tension, The	265
Barrage at Farakka	19
l Naguib's Problems	6
es of the Hirakud Scandal	19
Part of India	178
rice Controversy	182
ment Inertia	13
Mediation, The	341
g Unemployment	171
More Food	171
e Holds up Salary	263
d Scandal, The	258
d Scandal, Glimpses of the	178
and Water	20
bad, Future of	439
ice of Candidates	440
nd the Soviet Bloc	426
Railways and the Five-Year Plan	351
lejects Anglo-U.S. Resolution	10
Adverse Trade Balance in 1952	348
Case for Water Dispute	345
First Mercury Mine Discovered	439
ina	434
kistan Trade Pact	259
al Finance Corporation	15
al Policy of the Planning, The	349
Industrial Revolution in Reverse	8
Italy Blocks Left by Electoral Stunt	184
Jamnu Agitation, The	172
Jammu Praja Parishad, The	12
Japan's Dilemma : Rearmament or Relief ?	185
Kashmir	11, 94
Kenyatta Trial Judgment	344
Labour Victory in Local Elections in U.K.	436
Land Reforms in Burma	425
Land Reforms in Hyderabad	262
Levy Anomalies	171
Linguistic States	339, 422
"Little Europe at Loggerheads"	266
Lucknow Hospital Affairs	354
Madras Congress Assembly Party, Conflict in the	353
Malaya	104
Malayan Situation, The	18
Man-days Contributed in Banaras	180
Mau Mau Answer to No No	102
M. P. Government Drops the Security Act	178
Medical Aid for Famine Areas	180
Measures to Improve Slums in Madras	180
Nationalisation of Air Transport	260
Nazimuddin on Indo-Pak Amity	93
Nepal, Unrest in	18
Nepali Congress Session	261
New Masters in the Kremlin	267
New Oil Refinery at Bisakhapatnam	353
New U.S. Ambassador to India	265
New Wine in Old Pots ?	171
New Year, The	1
"Open or Quit"	178
Pakistan Affairs	338
Pakistan Facing Famine	181
Peace Congress Address	90
Peace or War ?	183
Peace Prospects Brighten up	341
People's Congress for Peace	16
Piracy Conviction Highlights Anachronism	186
Planning Reconsidered	86
Praise a Fair Day at Night	429
Praja Parishad Questionnaire	95
Preservation of Wild-life	439
Press Council for Britain	272
Prices of Raw Jute	430
Prisoners Employed in Constructive Work	180
Racial Discrimination in South Africa	
Rajasthan, Ferment in	354
Railway Budget	176
Railway Fuel Economy Committee Report	428
Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee	350
Rare Earth Processing Factory	98
Real Danger Facing Hindi	265
Recommendations of the Bar Committee	438
Relief Measures in East U.P.	97
"Rethinking Our Future"	348
"Revive the Spirit of Swadeshi"	99
Riddles of Figures	96
Rising Income of Soviet Peasants	27
Sarker, Nalini Ranjan	104
Scarcity in Madhya Pradesh	178
Science Congress, The	99
Self-Help Projects in Karnataka	20
Settlement of the Sudan Issue ?	187
Shah, Prof. K. T.	272
Sheikh Abdullah and the Parishad	94
16,500-Acre Farm in U.P.	179
Sonarpur Scheme	
State Control on Tea	
Sterling Area's Task	

	Page
Strange Invitation	183
Survey of Middle Class Economy	437
Tea Bill, The	427
Tilaiya and Bokaro	170
"To Members of Public Services"	88
To Rob Peter to Pay Paul	347
Trade Between India and Denmark in 1952	
Union Budget, The	256
U. N. Secretary-General	265
U. S. Agricultural Extension Service, The	185
U. S. Air Bases in Pakistan	434
U. S. and Underdeveloped Countries	
U.S.A. and Kashmir	
U.S.A. Presidential Election, The	
U.S. Foreign Trade	
U.S. Trade Policy	
U.S.S.R. Breaks with Israel	
Wages of Factory Workers	
Welfare State, The	
Why the Army	
World Industrial Production	
Yehudi Menuhin on Indian Music	

—:O:—

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page
Agarwal, S. N.	
Economics of 'Bhoomidan Yagna'	195
Economics of Linguistic States	291
Sarvodaya and Marxism	441
Bagal, J. C.	
Women in India's Freedom Movement (*illust*)	467
Banerji, Chandikaprasad	
India and the Moslem World	44
Banerjee, D. N.	
Deputy Ministers in a State	293
The Last General Election in West Bengal	37
Banerjee, P. K.	
Surgery in South Pole	488
Bansil, P. C.	
The Food Problem	454
Biswas, D. C.	
Share Rent : A Problem in Agricultural Cost	197
Biswas, Santasil	483
Psychology in Industry	483
Bose, Bani	
A Short History of the National Library	128, 207
Butterfield, Roger	
Philadelphia (*illust.*)	58
Chanda, Amulyaprasad	
More About the Hindu Reincarnation Theory	136
Chaudhuri, Jatindra Bimal	
Improvement of Chatu-pathi Education in India	50
A Sanskrit University for West Bengal	396
Chaudhuri, Roma	
The Position of Women in Medieval India	457
Chaudhuri, S. B.	
A Note on a Political Crime of 1856	63
Chakravarti, Chintaharan	
Study of Sanskrit	397
Chandola, Ratnandandutt	
Sudhir Khastgir An Artist of the People (*Illust.*)	305
Chatterjee, Asoke	
Devapala and the Pandyas of the South	213
Chatterjee, Prabuddha N.	
Associated India	357
Chinnathambi, Richard	
Pre-Historic Rock Pictures in Bellary (*Illust.*)	474
Choudhury, Suvendra	
The Ranchi Leprosy Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium : Ranchi (*Illust.*)	224
Das, Pramod Kanta and Sonya Ruth	
Rise of the Indian Parliament	273
Dixit, S. C.	
Around the Wettest Village in the World (*illust.*)	
Datta, Jatindra Mohan	
On the Census of Pakistan	
Dutta, Ajit Kumar	
A Pilgrimage to Darkness (*illust.*)	
"Ganga"	
The Managing Agency System in India	
Gangoly, O. C.	
Review of the Academy Exhibition	
Gangooli, Sankar	
My Experience on the Indo-Burma Border (*illust.*)	
Ghosal, A. K.	
Kashmir Problem - The Constitutional Aspect	
Ghosh, Arun Coomar	
The Dollar Tangle	
Goswami, Prabodh Chandra	
Basic Education for Democracy	
Gupta, Madan Gopal	
Spain To-day	
Hukku, V. N.	
Cottage Industries	
Iqbal Narayan	
Directives of State Policy	
Jones, W. Norton Jr.	
Ceremonial Corn Dance of American Indians (*illust.*)	
Kaumudinya	
A Summary Survey of Art Journals in India	133, 216, 403
Krishnamurthy, K. V.	
The Creep of the Desert	
Lowy, Karl	
The Middle East and the Cold War	
Macrae, C. B.	
Cut in Wealth in India	281
Population Planning in India	
Mehrotra, K. N.	
Madras : The City of the First Church in India (*illust.*)	
Verma, Sukumar	
Basic Food Problem	
Wadekar, Shankar, Bipod	
Pakistan Before and After	
Miscellaneous Articles on the World	

	Page
Mukherjee Haridas	
The Dawn Society of Calcutta	399
The Place of Benoy Sarkar in Bengali Literature (*illust.*)	149
M. R.	
Yosemite Valley (*illust.*)	226
Nandi, S. K.	
Benedetto Croce—His Philosophy	294
Nihart, Claude E.	
Teaching Industrial Arts to Elementary School Pupils (*illust.*)	147
Niyogi, Puspa	
The Kalachuri Relations with Bengal	300
Niyogi, Suresh Prosad	
All-India Economic Conference at Trivandrum	230
Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India	479
Peter, K. C.	
D. H. Lawrence	66
Pine, Leslie G.	
How Coronation Service Links up Whole of British History	481
Ramani, V. R.	
The Tanjore Temple (*illust.*)	221
Roy, Jyotirmoy	
Agricultural Marketing in West Bengal (*illust.*)	311
Roy, N. B.	
India and Tibet	205
Roy Choudhury, P. C.	
A Rebel Magistrate of Bihar	460
Sarkar, Jadunath	
Statues of Foreigners	124
Why Linguistic Provinces	326
Sarkar, Kshitish C.	
A Picture of Bengal in the Days of Kar Talab Khan	320
Sastri, C. L. R.	
The East Bengal Tragedy	112
Sastri, P. S.	
T. S. Eliot and the Contemporary World	233
Sayre, John Nevin	
South Africa—Land of Gold and Discord	64
Schenkman, Alfred S.	
A Successful University Summer Session	464
The Universities of Europe	286
Sen, Mankumar	
Five-Year Plan and Village Industries	289
Shah, G. M.	
A Couple of Constitutional Issues	485
Sharma, Y. D.	
Ancient House-Planning	487
Shriram, K. S.	
Thakkar Bapa and His Accounts (*illust.*)	381
Shastri, Dharmendra Nath	
Contribution of Th. Stcherbatsky to Indian Philosophy	115
Singh, D. B.	
The Slump in Textiles	126
Singh, Harbans	
A Nineteenth Century Marriage in Northern India (*illust.*)	60
Sinha, Bimalchandra	
Concentration in the Land-Structure	108
Disintegration of the Middle Class	189
Two Recent Indications of West Bengal's Economic Decay	83
Sinha, Nirmal	
Old Memories of Burdwan (*illust.*)	386
Sircar, J.	
A New Method of Pasteurising Milk	318
Srivastava, G. P.	
The U. N. O. : A Better League of Nations?	449
Srivastava, H. G. P.	
Ornamental Pottery and Clay Modelling in Uttar Pradesh (*illust.*)	142
Srivastava, Iqbal Narayan	
Federalism in the New Constitution	442
U.S.I.S.	
John Dewey—American Educator and Philosopher (*illust.*)	394
Sinclair Lewis (*illust.*)	228

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Africans in Nairobi, Kenya, arrested by the British Troops and herded into trucks and driven to prison 37

Around the Wettest Village in the World—Cherrapunji (*9 illustrations*) 388-393

Artisan Workshop at the Machine-Tool Proto-type Factory at Ambarnath near Bombay, A class of trainees in the 205

Burdwan, Old Memories of (*3 illustrations*) 386-387

Ceremonial Corn Dance of American Indians (*8 illustrations*) 309-310

Chatterjee, Ramananda 421

Chitrangada and Madan (Cupid) (*in colours*) Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Cover (*pata*) Paintings in the oldest MS. of the *Buddha Charita* found in Nepal (*Circa* 9th Century) (*in colours*) 337

Crippled Children's Clinic in Tucson, Arizona 37

(President) Eisenhower with his Cabinet members and other top *aides* 205

Dewey, John 395

(Sister) Elizabeth Kenny, the Renowned Australian Nurse 121

(A) Flight of Six Hindustan Trainers Air-craft to Celebrate Republic Day in New Delhi on January 26 169

Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad 253

Gandhiji (*cement conerete*) S. Khastgir 289

Gwalior Lancers Marching past the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad 204

Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology, Dhanbad 372

Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with a Deputation from Lushai Chiefs at Raj Bhavan, Shillong

Jawaharlal Nehru inspecting a Guard of Honour provided by a Contingent of Burmese troops at Singkaling, Burma 337

Jawaharlal Nehru performing the Opening Ceremony of Aijal-Langleh Road 337

Jawaharlal visited the Exhibition of Tripura State Tribal Cottage Industries during his recent visit to Agartala 1

Kach and Debjani (*in colours*) Maya Das 85

Krishna Menon, V. K. chats with Shamaldharee Lall 373

Lac Research Institute, Namkum, near Ranchi 120

Life of Budha (Udayshankar). Buddha's Temptation 36

Life of Buddha (Udaysankar). On the Eve of Renunciation 36

Ornamental Pottery and Clay Modelling in U.P. (*5 illustrations*)

Philadelphia (*3 illustrations*) 143-146 58-59

(*A*) *Pilgrimage to Darkness* (*4 illustrations*) 384-385

Portable Radar and other modern signals equipment on wheels used by the front-line I.A.F. Units

Pre-Historic Rock Pictures in Bellary (*21 illustrations*) 474

Madras—The City of the First English Church in India (*22 illustrations*) 5

Men of a Territorial Army Unit at a shooting range

My Experience on the Indo-Burma Border (*15 illustrations*) 137

(Kanwar) Nau Nihal Singh, grand-son of Ranjit Singh

Rabindranath

Ranjit Singh, Maharaja

Republic Day Parade in Delhi

Rest (*in colours*) Sudhir Khastgir

R. K. Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Ranchi (*5 illustrations*) 22

Sakuntala for the King's Palace (*in colours*) Satindranath Laha

Sanchi Stupa No. 3, Sanchi, Bhopal

Sarkar, Benoy Kumar

Signalling Systems at the Central Cabin at Ondal Siliguri Station Building

Sinclair Lewis

Study in Oils (1951) Sudhir Khastgir

Sudhir Khastgir—An Artist of the People (*12 illustrations*) 305

Tanjore Temple, The (*8 illustrations*) 222

Tagore Birthday Celebration by Rabichakra at Kalibari Hall, Simla

Teaching Industrial Arts to Elementary School Pupils (*2 illustrations*) 147

(A) Territorial Army Contingent is undergoing Training

Thakkar Bapa

Turkish Parliamentary Delegation in Delhi

(Mrs.) Vijayalakshmi Pandit chats with Kabir Ludin

(Sm.) Vijayalakshmi Pandit with President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles

Village Singers, The (*in colours*) Satindranath Laha

Vishakhapattan Ship-building Yard

Wakeman, Dr. Selman A. won the 1952 Noble Prize in Physiology and Medicine

Women in India's Freedom Movement

Kadamini Ganguli

Swarnakumari Devi

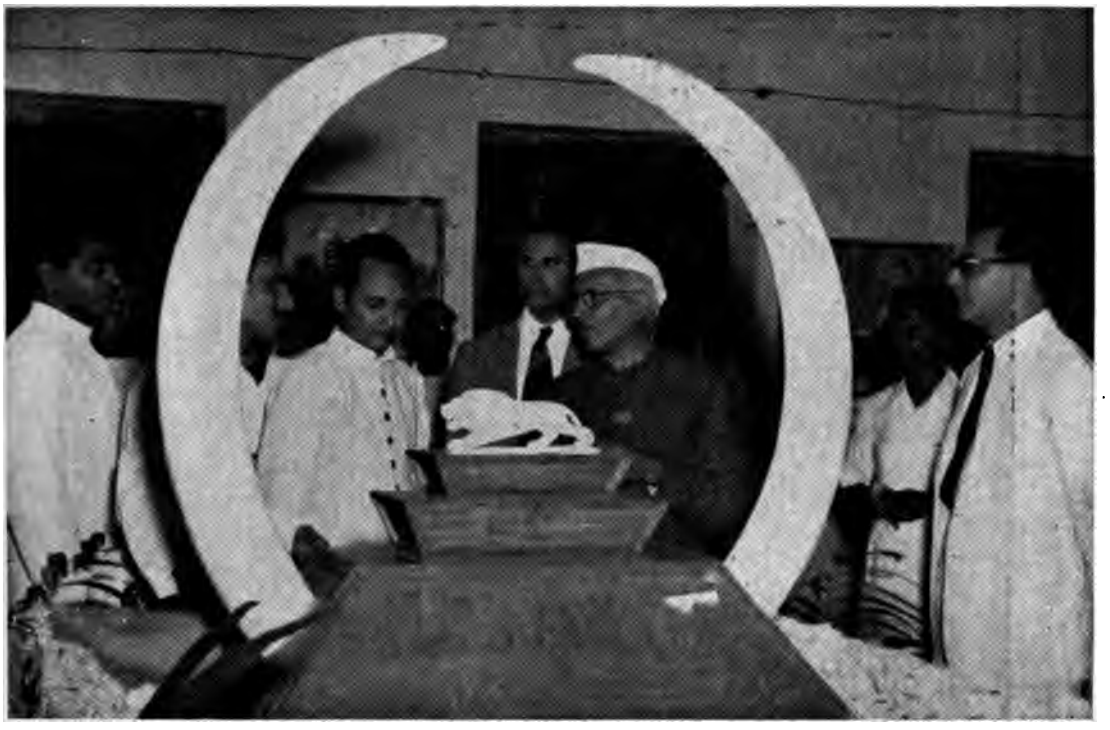
Sarala Devi

Sister Nivedita

Lilabati Mitra

Basanti Devi

Urmila Devi



Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Exhibition of Products of Tripura State Tribal Cottage Industries during his recent visit to Agartala

Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with a deputation from Lushai Chiefs at Raj Bhavan, Shillong, during his recent visit to the city

CHITRANGADA AND MADAN (CUPID)
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

92
3534
8 4/8 90

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1953

VOL. LXXXXIII, No. 1 WHOLE No. 553

NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year has gone and the New Year is on the threshold. And this is the sixth New Year of Freedom.

We have to take stock now. But the stock-taking must be done in the terms of intangibles and not in that of mathematical digits or symbols. We have plenty where numbers or quantities are concerned, as per witness the census, the elections or the Plans and projects *ad infinitum*. Our poverty and inadequacy in potentials become extremely prominent when the intangibles are assessed. Inadequacy and poverty that is, if shibboleths, slogans, obsessions, and such like be excepted. There again we have plenty, indeed enough to stock the whole world and more. There is no superstition, taboo or inhibition known that does not hold sway in this land of ours in some form or other, and no prejudice or social scourge known but has its counterpart here. As for obsessions, phobias and complexes, we doubt whether such an Eldorado for psychologists exists elsewhere. And that is why we always relegate first things to the ultimate last place, invariably fail to perceive the concrete, absolute, obvious, award honour, prestige and largesse where punishment is called for and ignore with contempt the faithful, trusty and industrious.

And therein lie the germs of all our failures and all our shortcomings, and unless those be remedied our much vaunted and much publicized Five-Year Plan will end in disaster.

How to remedy these? Let us take a lesson from our millennium-old friends the Chinese. There is going to be a Five-Year Plan for China too, as we find from the following news-item *that appeared in the* daily press of December 29. Let us take particular note of the last paragraph of that news:

"Chinese Prime Minister Chou En Lai has called for the election by popular vote next year of an All-China Peoples Congress (Parliament) and announced that 1953 will see the start of the country's first Five-Year Plan.

"Peking Radio reported that Mr. Chou made this statement at a meeting in Peking of the Standing National Committee of the Peoples Consultative Conference, the chief political body pending convocation of the Congress.

"Mr. Chou said that the campaigns against corrupt elements and the country's thought reform 'brain-washing' campaign had strengthened the leadership of the working class."

Who is there in our country that can deny the urgency of "thought reform" and "brain washing" in our nation? From the highest to the lowest we need it, and we need it more than anything else.

This lack of brain-washing has caused the omission of the Ganga Barrage from the Five-Year Plan. The wiseacres that represent West Bengal in the House of People were the only ones that protested against that omission in a half-hearted and muddled fashion and the West Bengal P.C.C. has added its lugubrations to that. But what is surprising is that no one from Bihar, no one from Uttar Pradesh, added a word. Does the Ganga not concern them at all? What an exhibition of befuddled brains!

We make bold to state that in no other country that calls itself progressive, such a magnificent asset in the matter of transport, as our Ganga, could have been ignored in this ignorant and casual fashion.

Water transport is the cheapest and the most

dependable method of conveyance for heavy or bulky goods, where speed is not very essential. A river-route cannot be destroyed or disorganised, even by an atom bomb attack, for any but the minimum of time. And besides the barrage would simplify the transport of goods from North Bihar and Assam and substantially lower the cost of transport of tea—one of our prime exports. The cost of transport of coal and steel and cement and of a hundred other bulky items, including imported food-grains, would be halved at least up to Mirzapur, if not to Banares and Allahabad in U. P. and oil-seeds, cotton, hemp, etc., could be transported down to Calcutta Port for processing and export at substantially lower costs. And yet there was no one in the Planning Committee who could see the obvious facts, although hundreds of crores have been allocated under the heads of Transport and Communications. Were they all blinded by parochial considerations?

Then comes the question of corruption and recognition of merit. Government officials are no more corrupt or lazy than any section of our nationals—and no less either. But if it is the boot-licking sycophant that gets recognition from our Tin-gods, then what incentive is there for the trusty and the industrious to give of his best? And who but the corrupt and the inefficient is a sycophant or a yes-man?

Two years out of the Five-Year's span are almost over. If the brain-washing and eye-opening campaign is not initiated even now, then the Five-Year Plan should have an allowance of an additional sum of at least one thousand crores, for theft, for waste and for errors of omission and commission.

The most vitally essential element in all nation-building plans is the human material, and success or failure depends primarily on its quality, not quantum. A nation may progress even though financially feeble, ill-equipped in modern mechanical appliances and poor in natural resources, if only it has adequacy in stout-hearted and staunch workers guided by men of integrity and ability. Modern Turkey's rise from the abysmal degeneration of the Sultanate is an outstanding example. On the other hand, the collapse of K.M.T. China, helped though it was with American billions, in money and in material, and inexhaustible though was its man-power and natural resources, is the example of the reverse.

The intangible elements that produce staunchness, integrity, discipline and the will to work, they are of the essence. Our nation will stand or fall as we can show sufficiency or lack of it. Mere verbose platitudes count for less than nothing. Perhaps, Pandit Nehru may yet realize that in time.

Failure is inevitable otherwise. The Bharat Sewak Samaj, the Community Projects and all such ancillary formations and schemes would be powerless if the Congress remains a festering mass of corruption.

The Five-Year Plan

The final Five-Year Plan has been presented to Parliament on 8th December 1952. Unlike the draft outline, published last year, the Plan in its final form is a single, indivisible national plan, welcoming, but not dependent on, foreign assistance. While the outline anticipated expenditure of Rs. 1493 crores during the planned period, the final outlay has now increased Rs. 2,069 crores. The plan envisages that in 27 years India's per capita income will be doubled. The increased estimated expenditure is due both to inclusion of new projects and expansion of the scope of schemes already under way.

The increased emphasis on agriculture and rural development schemes since last year is proved by the striking rise in the allocation for agriculture, community development projects and irrigation and power. In the original draft, the proposed expenditure on these items amounted to Rs. 642 crores. Now the allotment has risen to about Rs. 922 crores.

A proportionate increase has of necessity been made in transport and communications on which about Rs. 497 crores will be spent as commpared to Rs. 388 crores in the original draft. Likewise, industry secures an allocation of Rs. 173 crores against Rs. 101 crores in the draft. The increase in expenditure on social services amounts to about Rs. 86 crores, the original allocation being Rs. 254 crores. The Plan accords the highest priority to agriculture on which direct and indirect expenditure appears to exceed half the outlay on the Plan. In view of the anxiety to reach the planned targets of agricultural production, a sum of Rs. 90 crores has been sanctioned for the community development projects and an additional Rs. 30 crores for minor irrigation programmes and the scheme for establishment of a National Extension Organisation. The problem of agriculture remains primarily one of providing irrigation, fertilizers and manure, better seeds and, to the farmer, knowledge of improved methods of agriculture. Important among agricultural targets is foodgrains whose production is expected to increase from 52.7 million tons in 1950-51 to 61.6 million tons in 1955-56. The corresponding increase in cotton will be from 2.97 million bales to 4.22 million bales; jute from 3.3 million bales to 5.39 million bales; sugarcane from 5.6 million tons to 6.3 million tons, and oil-seeds from 5.1 million tons to 6.5 million tons.

The targets for irrigation and power are also impressive. New irrigation projects will increase the irrigated area from 50 million acres to 69.7 million acres by 1955-56. The installed capacity of electrical energy will rise from 2.3 million Kws. to 3.5 million Kws. The Five-Year Plan aims mainly at completion of irrigation and power projects already under construction. These are estimated to cost, on completion, Rs. 765 crores. During the planned period, it is proposed to spend in all a sum of Rs. 558 crores on them. The projects have been so phased that progressive benefit will accrue both to irrigation and power. Extension of minor irrigation schemes is an important feature of the final Plan.

ESTIMATES

	Outlay during 1951-56. (In crores of rupees).	Percentage of total outlay
lture and Community velopment	360.43	17.4
ion and Power	561.41	27.2
ort and Communications	497.10	24.0
y	173.04	8.4
Services	339.81	16.4
litation	85.00	4.1
aneous	51.99	2.5
Total	2068.78	100.0

alizing that improvement in agriculture cannot unless the surplus working force is progressively d to industries and services, the Plan lays is on the need to expand industrial production. on of Rs. 94 crores on industrial projects under ntral and State Governments is, therefore, made. ojects under implementation in the public sector completed. The most important new provision sum of Rs. 30 crores for the new proposed iron el project on which Rs. 80 crores is likely to be ver a period of six years. In addition to the ture of Rs. 94 crores on industries, the Plan s a sum of Rs. 50 crores for development of basic es including ancillary transport. Responsibility ring the necessary expansion over the bulk of the industry will devolve on private enterprise. mmission has worked out detailed expansion pro- s for 42 organised industries. The total capital nt necessary for expansion in the private sector ated at Rs. 233 crores. About 80% of this invest- ill be in the sector of capital goods and pro- oods industries, the most important being iron el, petroleum refinery, cement, aluminium, fertili- avy chemicals and power alcohol.

the sphere of consumer goods emphasis during od of the Five-Year Plan is mainly on increased on through fuller utilization of the existing . Considerable investment is, however, envisaged in new lines. In the programme for expansion port and communications, a little more than four- of the total outlay is on railways whose most problem is the task of rehabilitation and provi- adequate equipment. An average expenditure of crores for five years, it is expected, will enable ways to handle efficiently passenger and goods present levels. A substantial part of the Rs. 50 lloted to basic industries, will also be spent on

Plan will be financed to the extent of Rs. 1,258 om the normal budgetary resources of the and State Governments. The savings out of revenues are expected to amount to Rs. 738 Private savings, likely to be available to the ctor through loans, small savings, deposits and d other miscellaneous channels are estimated at crores. *In addition to these normal budgetary* resources, totalling Rs. 1,258 crores, credit is taken for external assistance already received from the International Bank, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., amounting to date to Rs. 156 crores. This leaves a gap of Rs. 655 crores to be covered to the extent of Rs. 290 crores by deficit financing. The balance will be drawn from further external resources, or, if necessary, from additional measures of internal taxation and borrowing. The first Five-Year Plan will only meet the most urgent needs of national economy. It has to be viewed, it is stated, primarily as a plan of preparation for more rapid rates of increase in investment, income employment and consumption in the future.

The Government's policy in regard to foreign capital already contains assurances as to non-discrimination, reasonable facilities for transfer of profits and repatriation of capital and of fair and equitable compensation in the event of nationalization. The foreign investment coming into the country will be channelled into field of high priority. The broad principle to be followed is that foreign investment should be permitted in spheres where new lines of production are to be developed, or where special type of experience and technical skill are required or where the volume of domestic production is small in relation to demand, and there is no resonable expectation of the indigenous industry being able to expand at the desired rate.

As regards capital formation, the Plan envisages that it will rise by about 20% of the additional national income each year. The internal resources thus available will, to some extent, be supplemented by external resources. By 1955-56, national income will have gone up to about Rs. 10,000 crores, *i.e.*, by about 11 per cent. If from 1956-57 onwards, investment is stepped up each year by about 50 per cent of the additional output, it would be possible to double the per capita income in about 27 years *i.e.*, by 1977.

LAND POLICY

The future of land ownership and cultivation is perhaps the most fundamental issue of national development. The pattern of economic and social organisation will depend upon the manner in which the land problem is resolved. It is necessary, on the one hand, to achieve agricultural targets in the Plan and on the other, the land policy should be such as will reduce disparities in wealth and income, eliminate exploitation, provide security for tenant and worker, and finally, promise equality of status and opportunity to different sections of the rural population. Proposals for land reform in the Plan are made with reference to the principal interests involved, namely, (1) intermediaries; (2) large owners; (3) small and middle owners; (4) tenants-at-will; and (5) landless workers. Intermediary rights have been abolished or are in the process of abolition in States in which they existed. Administrative arrangements for areas formerly under zamindary need special attention and, in particular, in these areas, a good system of village records should be organised.

On the question of ownership of land, the

Planning Commission has made very some important recommendations. These aim primarily at (a) the fixation of an upper limit to land holdings; (b) provision of facilities to large owners who cultivate themselves; (c) enactment of legislation to maintain cultivation at a certain level of efficiency; and (d) encouragement of co-operative methods for cultivation by small and middle owners. These recommendations are intended first, to reduce the existing disparity in land holdings and secondly, to ensure that necessary conditions are created for efficient agricultural production. The Commission has suggested that there should be an upper limit to the amount of land that an individual may hold. The upper limits suggested by the Commission should apply to resumption of land for personal cultivation as well as for future acquisition. The Commission observes that in relation to land (as also in other sectors of economy), individual prosperity in excess of any form that may be proposed has to be justified in terms of public interest and not merely on grounds of individual rights or claims.

The criteria which should determine this limit may be various, including the valuation of land revenue, of the gross or the net produce of the land or the lease value of the land. One of the methods suggested is to consider multiples of a family holding as a determining factor. A family holding may be determined briefly as being equivalent, according to the local conditions either to a plough unit or to a work unit for a family of average size working with such assistance as is customary in agricultural operations. While the limit which may be appropriate has to be determined by each State in the light of its own circumstances, broadly speaking, three times the family holding would appear to be a "fair limit." The Commission has made separate recommendations regarding land holdings by substantial owners and small and middle owners. In regard to substantial owners, that is, those who own large areas of land, the Commission's suggestions are that where land belonging to a substantial owner is cultivated by tenants-at-will the general policy should be that in areas in excess of this limit the tenant should be encouraged to become owners. While land is managed directly by substantial owners, two broad principles should be followed: (1) There should be an absolute limit to the amount of land which any individual may hold. This limit should be fixed by each State in the light of its own agrarian history and present problems. The census of land holdings and cultivation proposed to be held during 1953 will furnish data relevant to this decision. (2) The cultivation and management of land held by any individual owner should conform to standards of efficiency determined by law. Each State should enact suitable land management legislation, laying down standards of cultivation and management and imposing specific obligations.

TENANTS

The right to resume land for personal cultivation should be given only to those owners wh to cultivate either themselves or through memb their families. A period may be prescribed—five for instance—during which an owner may resu personal cultivation. Failing this, the tenant shoul the right to buy the land he cultivates on terms to those suggested for the tenants of the larger holders. Tenants-at-will should ordinarily hold ten for periods varying from five to ten years and ten should be renewable, resumption being permitted the owner himself wishes to cultivate. In fixing th of land the main consideration is that, having reg the expenses of cultivation and other risks a fair remains for the cultivator. Rents have been reduced in a number of States to as much as on or one-fourth of the produce. It is suggested tha the great part of the country a rate of rent exc one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce could we regarded as requiring special justification.

The Plan is rather medieval in outlook in so it gives emphasis on agricultural development ig industial prosperity. In modern times the enrichm a country depends on its industrial posperity and much on agricultural prosperity. Not that agricultu be relegated to a secondary position, but what is re is a balance development between agriculture industry. The Five-Year Plan has left the respon for the industrial development of the country alm the private capitalists. India is overwhelmingly a cultural country with seventy per cent of the popu engaged in agriculture. Milk and honey is no flowing through our lands. Instead, hunger, tion, disease, pestilence and famine are reigning s here with Malthusian equanimity. Capital is prove shy in India and to leave the charge of India's ind development to the private sector is to evade th issue. In modern times too much dependen agriculture is being viewed as a sign of poverty was the policy of our erstwhile Imperial rulers down India to an agricultural economy so that sh ever steep in poverty and disease and can never a first class political power. The Five-Year Plan is the hallucination that agriculture alone would prosperity to India. In America 6 to 10 per cent population are engaged in agriculture and 70|80 pe are engaged in industry. It is just the opposite in and no wonder our economy is the reverse of obtains in the U.S.A. Russia is so great today only b she has developed her industries to the fullest Agricultural predominance is a pattern of colonial ec and the Plan indicates that the British heritage stil in our economic outlook.

India saves only 4 to 5 per cent of her n income and it is a bold claim that she would s high as 20 per cent of her national income. A c where per capita income is only Rs. 245 a year wi it difficult to mobilise private savings to the t nearly 104 crores annually during the planned

of five years. Government with their manifold resources should have undertaken to create larger national savings, as distinguished from private savings, with a view to ploughing the same to new capital formation in the public sector.

India at present produces little or no capital goods. The measure of a country's industrial prosperity depends to a large extent on its ability to produce diverse types of producers' goods. The Plan makes little contemplation in that direction and India shall have to plod the weary and dearer path of producing consumer goods only.

The river valley projects are a bit ahead of the time and the spate of such projects has for the time being blocked India's resources which could have been economically and fruitfully employed for the development of capital goods industries. The Plan does not state how it would solve the problem of mobility of labour from primary sector to secondary and tertiary sectors. India today stands in the imperative need of progressive withdrawal of agricultural labour for greater employment in industrial expansion. To tie down the huge man-power to agricultural occupation following primitive methods as were followed in the days of Manu is a colossal wastage of national resources. Reorganisation of man-power securing free mobility is an essential pre-requisite for any planned economy and to this aspect the operation of the Plan should not keep its eyes shut. Mechanised farming on collective or co-operative basis on consolidated holdings would release extra labour from land.

Planned economy is the order of the day and with all its defects we should however view that it is a happy augury that India has jumped into planning in her mixed economy. It is with interest the progress of the Plan will be watched and the achievement it makes. It may however be pointed out that some of the targets of production are too modest to require planning. To cite a few instances: raw jute has already reached a production figure of 46 lakh bales in 1951 and the target to be achieved is only 53.9 lakh bales by 1955-56. In 1950-51, the production was 33 lakh bales and in a year it has increased by 13 lakh bales. The production of mill-made cloth was 3,718 million yards in 1950-51 and the production target to be achieved by 1955-56 is placed at 4,706 million yards. But in 1951, the production of mill-made cloth stood at 4,076.40 million yards. These indicate that in some respects planning is either inadequate or superfluous.

Opinions on The Five-Year Plan

Writing in the *Statesman* Prof. C. N. Vakil says about the Five-Year Plan that it does not stand for a given ideology and formulates lines of improvement in keeping with what is practicable in the given conditions. Another feature of the Plan is that already nearly two years have gone out of the five-year period for which the Plan is made. The Plan is what Prof. Vakil prefers to call "a plan of preparation of the future." The Plan takes *into consideration the* pressure of ever-increasing population on the resources of the country. If after five years there is no appreciable improvement in the standard of living of the people, "it is nobody's fault, because it is merely a reflection of the magnitude of the problem and of the limitations of our resources."

Investment of resources is an essential prerequisite of any planned development. He wants this to be remembered before judging the relative amounts allotted for different objects. In an agricultural country like India where the majority of the people live on the margin of subsistence only a comparatively small number of people can save anything. This limit on the availavility of the resources in turn restricts the scope of the development schemes. Prof. Vakil estimates that considering the receipts from taxes and loans as well as from external assistance there will be a net deficit of Rs. 665 crores out of which Rs. 200 crores could be made up by deficit financing without difficulty. But part of the sterling balances are sure to be utilized for the import of capital goods and to this extent the inflationary pressure will be felt. But still then there will remain a deficit of Rs. 365 crores and the Plan is silent about how this will be made up. Again, receipts from taxation and loans also may fall short of the estimates. Foreign aid may also prove illusory; the estimates for expenditure may also be exceeded in practice. All this will confront us with a situation in which still more doses of deficit financing will have to be resorted to.

And that is bound to lead to inflation which imposes an uneven burden on different classes of people which takes the form of a rise in the general price level. "The only way", suggests Prof. Vakil, "in which the effects of such burden can be minimized is to have adequate price controls and a system of equitable distribution of essential commodities."

Prof. Vakil emphasises that the success of planning in a democratic country is conditional upon the "voluntary and effective co-operation of all classes of people" inasmuch as unlike totalitarian rountries it is neither possible nor desirable "to mobilize the necessary resources and services by regimentation from the top."

He recommends the creation of an Economic Service for maintaining "efficient administrative capacity in the economic sphere" and deprecates "the present tendency to trust the civil service with the control and management of complex economic problems."

Even if the private sector fulfils its obligations, the Plan cannot succeed without a given level of administrative efficiency which the planners seem to take for granted.

He deplores the tendency on the part of the Government to discourage non-official probes and enquiries and urges the Government to give up this attitude and invite independent research workers and

university professors to look into the work of the State enterprises and offer criticisms. He says that the present tendency of "frowning upon any criticism and assuming monopoly of knowledge and wisdom on the part of those in power must cease in the interests of our infant democracy." The Government should also arrange to publish periodical reports on the working of State enterprises.

In his opinion the planners' assumptions might not prove correct as regards the degree of reality and consistency in their estimates. Because "there is a limit beyond which one cannot press taxation too far. Several of the tax measures suggested by the Planning Commission impinge upon the standard of living of the low income groups." As a possible inducement to the poorer sections for contributing more Prof. Vakil suggests the raising of the rate of interest on small savings. The Government might also consider the issue of lotteries or prize bonds. So far as the high income groups are concerned, it is his view that "it is time that the Government thought of increasing the volume of borrowing rather than depending too much on taxes."

Lastly, "the most important assumption on which the whole Plan might be upset is in regard to the price level." The Planning Commission's assumption that the price level will remain steady is bound to prove wrong on account of the inevitable rise in prices consequent on the relaxation of the control on food-grains. There will be blackmarketing and hoarding leading to still higher prices. Workers will demand higher wages and the whole cost complex will shift upwards and the whole economy will be affected by it. The decision of the Government regarding the relaxation of control on food-grains has been motivated by political considerations rather than by economic facts and arguments. Therefore, the ultimate success of the Plan "will depend upon the outcome of the battle between politics and economics," concludes Prof. Vakil.

Considering the Five-Year Plan, Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarkar writes in the *Statesman* that if it is remembered that the Centre and State Governments, between themselves, are spending about Rs. 1,000 crores every year taking revenue and capital accounts together, the total estimated cost of the Plan of Rs. 2,069 crores need not ordinarily appear too high. The money could be available if all the assumptions of the Commission prove correct. There should be no fear of the Plan engendering an inflationary condition either. But unfortunately the budgetary trends at the Centre and in the States during the last two years show fairly heavy deficits and do not corroborate the Commission's optimistic calculations about revenue. The total deficit on revenue account of Part A and Part B States during 1951-53 will be about Rs. 36 crores. Though State revenues have expanded, normal non-developmental expenditure has increased even *more. The surplus in the Central Budget* at the end of the current year is expected to be only Rs. 3.73 crores.

The Plan envisages that the Central and State Governments and the Railways should spend Rs. 250 crores every year for development purposes. Assuming that Rs. 150 crores "could be provided out of revenue and capital budgets at rates of taxation and standard of effort before the date of the Plan, a further sum of Rs. 100 crores would be necessary out of increased taxes or loans in the subsequent years. This additional revenue of Rs. 100 crores is a net sum, representing net increases in receipts under public loans, small savings, etc., assuming no further increase in non-developmental expenditure."

He shows that the Central and State Governments could not provide out of current revenue the total sum allocated for 1951-53 in the Plan and there were deficits and "that on a fairly large scale, in fact, on a larger scale than the Commission had assumed in their estimates." A deficit of Rs. 200 crores during this period could be covered only by drawing on cash balances and various reserve funds.

The writer thus reaches the conclusion that the revenue possibilities were rather overestimated by the Planning Commission.

Ganga Barrage at Farakka

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, India's Minister for Railways and Transport, disclosed in a recent Press Conference in New Delhi that the Expert Committee, which was reviewing the progress of experiments on the Hooghly river models at Poona in regard to its dredging problems and improvement of the regime of the river, had recommended the immediate construction of the Ganga barrage scheme. However, he added, the scheme had not been included in the Five-year Plan.

Anxieties have repeatedly been expressed for the last hundred years regarding the future of the Calcutta Port following the diminishing head-water supply in the Hooghly. Researches were being made on two models of the river at the Central Water and Power Commission's research station at Poona. The Expert Committee was appointed in July, 1952 under the Chairmanship of Sardar Man Singh to review the work done and suggest measures for the improvement of the regime of the Hooghly, particularly within the limits of the Calcutta Port. The Commission was also to report on the effect of the Damodar Valley Project on the water-supply in the Hooghly.

The weekly *West Bengal* reports that "Sri Shastri said that the Committee had come to the conclusion that the Ganga barrage scheme was the only scheme which would ensure permanent head-water supplies required for the conservation of the river in an efficient condition. If the scheme was implemented, losses from other sources could also be compensated." In the opinion of the Committee the effect of the Damodar Valley Project would definitely be to reduce the inflow from the Damodar Valley into the river Hooghly, but no material change was likely to take place in the region.

The dying and dead rivers of south-west Bengal have been a matter of deep concern in West Bengal for a long time. In fact, most of the woes of this portion of Bengal are attributable to this cause. The gradual silting of river channels has been responsible for lack of irrigation and flushing, for malaria and ill-health, for decline in food production, for water-logging, for difficulties for the Calcutta Port and so on. The problem of resuscitating these rivers has, therefore, been steadily assuming greater urgency. Partition accentuated the difficulties specially in the matter of inland river navigation.

Considering all these questions, the West Bengal Government requested the Central Government in 1948 to investigate the possibility of a Barrage across the Ganga. It was felt that the Ganga Barrage will—

(1) supply water to resusciate the moribund rivers in West Bengal and also improve the Sunderbans rivers ;

(2) provide for irrigation and flushing on a vast scale ;

(3) improve the Calcutta Port ;

(4) provide a direct railway and road link between the northern and southern parts of the State ;

(5) provide an inland water route entirely through the Indian Union starting from Calcutta and going up to Bihar and U.P. and ultimately to Assam ; and

(6) improve the basic economy of the State by increasing food production, providing better transport facilities, efficient maintenance of the Calcutta Port, raising the standard of public health and sanitation in the south-western regions and so on.

The Central Transport Board accordingly ordered investigations in 1948 and the cost (28 lakhs) was shared on a 50:50 basis by the Central Government and the Government of West Bengal.

Investigations went on for four years by the Central Water and Power Commission and the main results are as follows:

(*i*) The Barrage across the Ganga is a technically feasible project.

(*ii*) Two alternative sites were investigated into. It was found that the balance of favour lies with Farakka as against Rajmahal. The length of the Barrage would be about 13,000 feet at Rajmahal, practically double the length of what it would be at Farakka. Secondly, at Rajmahal there is a loop of the river which may change its course and cut across this loop. Thirdly, the length of the canal connecting the Ganga and the Bhagirathi will be 17 miles shorter at Farakka. Fourthly, it will not be necessary to cross the Gumani river if the canal takes off at Farakka. Lastly, there are also some other technical reasons which go in favour of Farakka, and the cost of construction at Farakka will be Rs. 7.6 crore less than what it will be if the Barrage is constructed at Rajmahal.

The immediate programme is to construct a Barrage across the Ganga at Farakka and to take down the required quantity of water by a canal connecting the Bhagirathi at a point near Jangipur. There will also be a small second Barrage (about 400 feet long) at Jangipur for controlling and regulating the water and excluding a large portion of the silt carried down from the Ganga.

The following benefits will accrue from this part of the project alone:

(*a*) The Bhagirathi will be resuscitated.

(*b*) A perennial depth of a minimum of 9 feet will be maintained in the Bhagirathi thus enabling steamers and barges to use this as a water route for North Bengal, Bihar and U.P. all through the year.

(*c*) It will provide direct road and rail communication between the north and south Bengal which is necessary not only for ordinary administrative purposes but also for Defence and emergency purposes.

(*d*) It will irrigate in the first stage one million acres of land.

(*e*) It will improve the Calcutta Port by pushing back silt and improving the channel.

(*f*) It will reduce the salinity of the water in the Calcutta area which has become a problem for the Calcutta Corporation.

(*g*) It will improve the health and economic conditions of the area.

The cost of this scheme is expected to be about Rs. 36.6 crore, out of which the cost involved on exclusive rail and road items is Rs. 3.3 crores.

Financial forecasts prepared for this projects show that the returns will be of the order of 4.92 per cent. even if a conservative tonnage of Rs. 5 per ton is levied on a length of 247 miles. The project is thus a sound one even financially. In the next stage, it is proposed to cut across channels from the Bhagirathi to the Jalangi, the Mathabhanga and the water-courses of the 24-Parganas which will lead to greater irrigation and flushing facilities and improve the entire river system of the region and thus contribute to a permanent solution of the chronic disabilities afflicting the Sunderbans.

This will lead to vastly increased food production and will not only improve the efficiency of the Calcutta Port but will also result in the development of the whole of West Bengal with direct benefit to the contiguous States of Bihar and Assam and even Uttar Pradesh.

That the importance of this scheme regarding inland navigation and transport and the resuscitation of the Port of Calcutta cannot be over-emphasised is proved by the following reports :

Problems relating to navigation in the Brahmaputra and the Ganga, with particular reference to headwater supply to the Hoogly and Calcutta Port, were considered at a meeting of the Ganga-Brahmaputra Water Transport Board held in New Delhi, Mr. S. Chakravarti, Joint Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, presided.

The Board is said to have considered the Man Singh Committee's report on the Hoogly River and the improvement of its headwater supply.

The committee is understood to have recommended that the Ganga barrage, which was the only measure to ensure perennial headwater supplies to the Hooghly, was also necessary to maintain the river in an efficient condition. The effects of the D.V.C. would result definitely in reducing the inflow from that valley into the river.

The Ganga-Brahmaputra Board, at its meeting, is said to have approved an experimental scheme of towing country craft with motor launches between Buxar and Patna at an estimated cost of Rs. 45,000.

The Board also considered the report of a Dutch expert on inland navigation, Mr. J. J. Surie, who had been deputed by the U.N. to have an on-the-spot study of the Ganga-Brahmaputra river schemes. He is reported to have maintained that it was technically possible to use shallow draft tugs for towing barges inland in these rivers to a considerable distance.

Mr. Surie has taken pains in his practical method of surveying as the following report and cautious statement show:

"On the 10th November Mr. Johannes J. Surie, United Nations expert for inland water transport, who is studying the practicability of introducing river transport on the Ganga between Allahabad and Buxar went downstream in a boat, to see for himself the river conditions near Banaras.

"Mr. Surie has visited Buxar, Allahabad, Mirazpur and Ghazipur and during the course of his study of the Ganga he will also go up the Ghagra and the Brahmaputra. River transport on the Ganga by country barges flourished till about 100 years ago, when it gave way in the face of keen competition from mechanised transport especially the railways. Asked whether mechanised river transport could stand the competition with the railway, Mr. Surie said it was difficult for him to express any opinion on the subject till his study was complete. He said as the strength of a chain is determined by its weakest link, so is the navigability of a river decided by the difficult spots on its course. These determine the type of vessels that can be used."

We would point out in this context that the E. Indian Railway line was built with material transported on the Ganges and the Jumna. The jetty for unloading very heavy bridge girders, etc., was in existence—and perhaps still is—in 1923, at a up river point on the Jumna just beyond the railway bridge at Allahabad.

The importance of the Port of Calcutta to India can be gauged from the Report of the Sea and Foreign Airborne Tarde of West Bengal for 1951-52 where it is stated that "the shares of the Port of Calcutta in the imports and exports of India were about 25% and 61% respectively and showed a surplus balance of about Rs. 204 crores, although the all-India totals of trade in 1951-52 showed an unfavourable balance of Rs. 154 crores."

"The total foreign trade of West Bengal advanced from Rs. 402.29 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 660.95 crores in 1951-52. *i.e.* an increase of 64% over the corresponding figures of 1950-51. There was marked improvement both in imports and exports, the former rising from 136.43 crores to Rs. 224.76 crores and the latter from Rs. 265.86 crores to Rs. 436.19 crores.

"Of the total exports, jute manufactures headed the list and constituted 62% of the trade followed by tea (18%).....The principal recipients of our exports were the United Kingdom with her share at about 27%, the United States (19%), Australia (8%)...."

"'Grain pulse and flour' constituting 33% was the major item under imports. The next in importance was machinery and mill work (14%). Metals and ores and oils (mostly mineral) with 10% each were the other chief items followed by chemicals and instruments (3%) ....The leading supplier was the United States of America sharing 33% of our imports and the second biggest supplier was the United Kingdom with 23%, Australia (5%), Iran, Singapore. Canada and Burma (4% each)....."

"The total coasting trade rose from Rs. 58 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 77 crores in 1951-52 of which imports amounted to Rs. 39 crores and exports, to Rs. 38 crores. Madras predominated with her share of 52% while Bombay occupied the next place with 25% of the total coasting trade."

"The total number of aircraft which arrived at and left from Dum Dum Airport increased from 6,162 in 1950-51 to 6,814 in 1951-52....The total imports of merchandise suffered a decline from Rs. 115 lakhs in 1950-51 to Rs. 96 lakhs in 1951-52 and Re-exports from Rs. 19 lakhs to Rs. 17 lakhs. Exports, however, rose from Rs. 46 lakhs to Rs. 121 lakhs in 1951-52."

Industrial Revolution in Reverse

Mr. Wilfred Wellock is one of our oldest contributors. Under the above caption he writes in the *Harijan* of December 13 that the present world is passing through a major crisis. "Superficially the crisis is economic and political, but its roots are spiritual," says he. "Our ideological conflicts," continues Mr. Wellock, "have sprung from the economic conflicts born of capitalist industrialism, which arose and flourished in a period when culture and religion were in decline, whence for nearly two centuries a tidal wave of materialism has swept across the Western world."

The Industrial Revolution created machines and thereby "revolutionized much more than industry, indeed our entire civilization,—personal and social life, all our valuations, our principles, faiths and hopes, our outlook and way of life." With the rise in importance and power of machine "the importance and value of men declined: The ancient Free man became the modern Mass-man."

ıe international field the benefits of the Revolution were monopolized by some half a ıt European powers and the United States. :ed her way among them at the close of the century. These countries "forced their ade goods upon country after country, thereby numerous home and village industries and the balance of their national economy; therepinned them down to primary production, and ne the Imperial Powers of the modern world." monopolist imperial powers "sold dear and eap, while their victims were doomed to buy sell cheap." The Second World War reversed ɔn. The "once mighty Colonial Powers are ɔn bankruptcy and becoming increasingly on American dollars. The necessities of 'total' ıded that all those who took part in it should aid of every country willing to render it, even t supplying them with machinery in order that t do so. As a result, nearly all the pre-war roducing countries are now on the industrial doing their utmost to achieve a well-balanced trial economy and their financial and economic ıce. Thus have the tables turned and one the Industrial Revolution been put in reverse." world economy created by the Industrial has been passing through a crisis since 1914. intervention of two world wars and the present have prevented its complete collapse. Apart problem of the market for the increasing products, a new problem has arisen, that of a ıuing world shortage of food and raw materials. to the writer, "This new problem has four auses: a new high rate of world population ; the industrialisation of the primary produc- ries; the enormous demands of highly mecha- ırfare in the era of permanent war, hot and a world-wide movement for maximum ving standards."

Vear, Middle and Far East are in a revolution- ge. "A bitter conflict looms ahead between the nds of an impoverished East for a substantial ing standards, and the irrational demands of West for soaring standards of material living. hot Gospel reaches its maximum intensity in whose demands upon the earth's resources are ecoming a world problem."

-reaching change in the terms of trade is From now on the advantages of trade will the industrial to the agricultural producers, l and raw materials are in short supply. "It ıe turn of the primary producers to sell dear cheap," concludes the author.

State

ıll-India Conference was held in Amraoti chairmanship *of the Independent Member* of Parliament, Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Prior to that, in the South, the movement was gaining strength and in the midst of such a situation on October 19, Sri Potti Sriramulu a veteran Congressman resorted to fast unto death on the issue of the formation of the Andhra State.

The struggle for an Andhra State had reached its climax with the death of Potti Sriramulu. The Government of India have specifically agreed to the formation of a separate Andhra State and have appointed a commission under Justice Wanchoo to report on the matter by the end of January, this year.

On December 3, Pandit Nehru told the Council of States that Government of India was willing to take immediate steps for the formation of a separate Andhra State. But the State would be constituted only with the Telugu-speaking areas of the present Madras State and the City of Madras would in no case be included in the new State. He emphasised this condition and wanted an assurance from the sponsors of the movement that there would be no more agitation on this issue. He also revealed that the Government was ready to appoint a committee for the formation of an Andhra State. Similar sentiments were expressed by the Chief Minister of Madras, Sri Rajagopalacharia.

The matter rested there until the death of Sriramulu on December 15 after 58 days' fasting. There were wide-spread disturbances in Vijayawada, Nellore and several other places.

In a statement before the House of the People on the same day Pandit Nehru regretted the "ultimate consummation in death of the fast undertaken by Sriramulu," and said that the Government of India was "earnest and serious" about the formation of the Andhra State and would proceed on as recommended by the J V P (Jawaharlal, Vallabhbhai, Pattavi) report. He said that "the most essential feature of that report is that an Andhra State should be constituted and steps should be taken to constitute an Andhra State in regard to the unchallenged and uncontested Telugu areas of Madras State, it being dearly understood that the City of Madras is not included in this. If we leave a matter of acute controversy out even in the beginning then we cannot go far wrong in the settlement of the question. Some other suggestions have also been made vaguely about Madras City being separated entirely from either major State and constituted into a separate small State to be called a Chief Commissioner's State."

On December 19, the Prime Minister announcing the Government's decision to establish an Andhra State said :

> "In furtherance of the statement the Prime Minister made in the Council of States on December 9, 1952, and in terms of that statement, the Government of India have decided to establish an Andhra State consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas of the present Madras State, but not includ-

ing the City of Madras, and intend to take early steps to this end in accordance with Article 3 of the Constitution.

"The Government are appointing Mr. Justice K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, to consider and report on the financial and other implications of this decision, and the questions to be considered in implementing it.

"Mr. Justice Wanchoo will report by the end of January 1953. On receipt of this report, the Government will take other necessary steps. They are anxious to avoid all possible delay in establishing the new State. They hope that the establishment of this State will be brought about with the friendly co-operation of all the people concerned."

The terms of reference of Mr. Wanchoo, according to Dr. Katju, would include questions relating to the appointment of a Governor, establishment of a High Court, buildings, houses, hospitals, universities and other public institutoins.

In Madras Sri Rajagopalachari assured all co-operation to further the Prime Minister's decision.

And thus, with a tragic interlude, the drama goes on to its culmination. But it seems that neither Pandit Nehru nor the blind and selfish protagonists of "We hold what we have" policy in the Congress have learnt their lessons. Indeed what more could be expected when the rag-tag and bobtail of the Congress-that-was, have assumed control. And thus we have the following news from Delhi on December 28 :

When the Congress Working Committee meets here on Tuesday, it will have cause to discuss not only the concession to Andhra but the sequel to it now that many other regions are reviving their dormant sentiment for separate linguistic States.

The complex problem of linguistic provinces is likely to feature prominently at the meeting of the Working Committee as well as at the Hyderabad session of the Congress. The main purpose of the Working Committee meeting is to draft resolutions for the Congress session.

How to resist fresh demands for separate States after the Central relaxation in favour of Andhra now occupies Congress leaders' minds more than any other question. Fear of its possible centrifugal effect on the young federation is often expressed.

There is kinship between these fears and those of the Dhar Committee report which states : "If in a linguistic province, the majority language group comes to regard the territory of the entire province as exclusively its own, the time cannot be far distant when it will come to regard the minority living in that province and people living outside it as not their own. And once that stage is reached, it will only be a question of time for that sub-nation to consider itself a full nation."

Discussions are likely to arise from apprehension that recognition of linguistic groups may pave the way for other group governments on racial, geographical, communal and caste basis.

A reference to the question of redistribution of West Bengal's boundaries with Bihar was made by the President, speaking at a civic reception given him by the Calcutta Corporation on 27th December.

Dr. Prasad said that readjustment of boundaries was a political question which should be settled through mutual consultations. He advised people against mixing up the question with the problem of resettlement of displaced persons.

He suggested that the two questions—rehabilitation of displaced persons and redistribution of State boundaries—be kept apart and treated separately. Mixing them up would not serve any useful purpose.

It had been suggested in some quarters that, unless a portion of Bihar was merged in West Bengal, the problem of resettlement of refugees from East Pakistan would never be solved. Linking up of these two issues, Dr. Prasad thought, would, on the other hand, impede the work of rehabilitation.

Rajendra Babu was right. He was right in pointing out that this plea of rehabilitation will not wash. Indeed this plea was born of the asinine obsession of those who control the West Bengal State that the term Bengali means the inhabitants of Calcutta and East Bengal. This matter of readjustment of boundaries should have been claimed as a matter of birth-right.

India Rejects Anglo-U.S. Resolution

The Security Council as was quite expected, approved on December 23, 1952, the Anglo-U.S. resolution on Kashmir which was introduced on November 6 by Sir Gladwin Jebb, the British delegate. India had earlier indicated her disapproval of the resolution but Pakistan announced on December 16 its willingness to accept it.

The resolution urged the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations under the auspices of Dr. Graham, U. N. representative in Kashmir, in order to reach an agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the priod of demilitarisation. This number would be between 3,000 and 6,000 armed forces remaining on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and between 12,000 and 18,000 armed forces remaining on the Indian side of the cease-fire line.

The resolution recorded the Council's gratitude to Dr. Graham's efforts towards achieving a settlement of the five-year-old dispute and requested him to continue to make his services available to the Governments of India and Pakistan. Under the terms of the resolution originally proposed by Britain and the U.S.A. the talks were to be held in U. N. headquarters in New York. This was changed at the suggestion of the Netherlands representative and the U.S.A. agreed that the site of any renewed talks might be Geneva.

The vote was taken at the end of a day-long debate. During it, M. Zorin, of Russia, charged the

and Britain with delaying a solution of the question and seeking to turn the disputed a 'military springboard' by having neutral at there.

resolution as it stood was approved by the Council by nine votes to none, with one n (Russia).

Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, told oil that India would not enter into any talks istan on the basis of the resolution.

lealt at length with the history of the question ring some 'more basic points' raised by Sir Khan, Pakistani Foreign Minister, at the last meeting.

said Sir Zafrulla had sought to persuade the hat the 'invasion' of Jammu and Kashmir by and Pakistani nationals was a spontaneous volt against the Maharaja's government by o had the right to feel concerned.'

Pandit said it was even suggested that the as by way of protest against the Maharaja's to accede to India.

question of validity of the accession of to India had also been raised again, said Mrs. he said legal requisites of the accession as law had been fully completed and then the -General, Lord Mountbatten, had accepted he Governor-General had expressed the wish soon as law and order had been restored, the of the accession be settled by a reference to le.

soil of Kashmir has unfortunately not yet red of the invader and subversive forces and continue to function in the territory occupied ,' Mrs. Pandit said. 'This is the real reason reference to the people of Kashmir was being

Gladwyn Jebb, Britain, said he did not need size 'the great importance which the British ent attached to a settlement of the question.' uld be few better beginnings for 1953 than an t between the two Governments on the s which had so far prevented demilitarization holding of the plebiscite. Sir Gladwyn asked t would help towards a solution 'to turn aside rts to bring about a plebiscite in order to sift ate facts and apportion responsibility for the ading up to the outbreak of fighting in

U. K. Government believe that it would not, this reason hope most earnestly that the nd the parties will focus their efforts on giv- to their agreement, set out in some detail in esolutions of the U. N. Commission, to allow le of Kashmir to decide the future accession ute through a U. N. plebiscite.'

U. S. representative, *Mr. John C. Ross, said desirable, unnecessary and unconstructive'* to go back into the history of the Kashmir case and re-examined the basis of the U. N. Commission resolutions.

'To my Government,' he said, 'the important political fact for us is that the parties have agreed that the accession of Kashmir will be decided through a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the U. N. That is the agreement and the principle which we are attempting to help the parties to turn into a reality. In the opinion of my Government, the draft resolution before the Security Council rests four-square on this agreement embodied in those resolutions'."

While accepting the resolution, Sir Zafarulla Khan wanted the talks to be held under the auspices of Dr. Frank Graham, the U. N. representative in Kashmir. He also agreed to 28,000 Indian troops being left in Kashmir at the end of demilitarisation period if the 'Azad Kashmir' forces were left intact on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line. Pakistan on her part would agree to evacuate all her troops from Kashmir. He said :

> "We have on every occasion given a practical demonstration of our peaceful intentions by accepting proposal after proposal so that on a peaceful settlement may eventually be realised. We are again prepared to go forward on the basis of this resolution also."

Pandit Nehru in a statement before the House of the People stated that the suggestion made by Sir Zafarulla Khan was "far worse than most of the suggestions India so far has had to consider." The suggestion was "very ingenious and can only take in the unwary and those who do not know the facts of the case." He added :

> "Sir Zafarulla Khan says that he will withdraw the Pakistani Army but the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces, which are 100 per cent part of the Pakistani Army, well-trained and well-equipped, will remain there. This means that, while Dr. Graham is discussing reduction of forces and also the suggestion that Pakistan might retain a few thousand troops, according to Sir Zafarulla Khan, Pakistan should retain 20,000 to 30,000 troops because he calls them, not Pakistani troops, but 'Azad' troops."

Kashmir

Later, at a meeting at Trivandrum on 28th December Pandit Nehru said :

"It has surprised me greatly how the Security Council consistently avoids considering the basic problem in regard to the Kashmir issue, *i.e.*, the problem raised by us in our original complaint. It has never been touched by the Security Council.

"Indirectly and to a slight extent and to some extent, the U.N. Kashmir Commission referred to it when they hinted at Pakistan being the aggressor in Kashmir. But the Security Council has gone on discussing the issue without reference to this basic problem, which gave rise to the issue, and at the last meeting one of

its members clearly stated that they will consider nothing about the past and how these difficulties arose.

"That seems to me an extraordinary attitude to take up for a responsible organization or a responsible representative of any country.

"We have always taken our stand in regard to Kashmir on certain basic principles and certain assurances which we gave right at the beginning to the people of Kashmir as well as to the world at large. If we are asked to give up those basic principles and to go against our pledge, we cannot do so. , ,

"This is not a question of territory for us or of any other advantage to us. It is a question of following a certain policy not only in regard to Kashmir but in regard to the whole of India. To give up that policy will affect the whole of India and will have disastrous consequences. To betray those who relied upon us would be baseless which no country with any self-respect ought to do.

"We have loyally co-operated with the Security Council and U.N. in this matter and we regret very greatly that, in spite of this co-operation, we have been treated in a cavalier way which has no regard for facts or reality. It passes my comprehension how any person can justify parts of the Anglo-American resolution, now passed by the Security Council. As we have stated, 'we do not accept it, we are not going to act under its compulsion."

Kashmiri opinion on Zafarulla Khan's gambit is very clearly expressed in the following news-item :

"Only a mad man, in view of the continued raids on our territory, will believe Sir Zafrulla Khan's talk of a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir problem," said the Revenue Minister, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg on December 27 last. He was addressing a public meeting at the border village of Ramgarh, 25 miles from Jammu, where three persons were killed and one wounded by about 35 armed raiders from across the cease-fire line last week.

He asked with what face could Pakistan ask for withdrawal of the Idian Army which had a legal and moral responsibility to protect Kashmiris and their homeland from aggression. "To withdraw the Indian forces is to throw the peace-loving people of the state at the mercy of murderers," he said.

The Jammu Praja Parishad

The *People* of December 20, has the following editorial on the Praja Parishad.

"The so-called satyagraha has ceased to be non-violent, and we have the authority of the Prime Minister for the statement that Jammu has become a base of operations for certain reactionary elements in India who want to create and encourage subversive and disruptive forces. The fact that Pakistan is calling these evil men of Jammu "heroic" fighters for freedom ought to open their eyes to their folly. Praise from a hostile quarter is subtle rebuke and implied censure.

"The Parishad's demands are four : Complete accession of Kashmir to India ; application of the Constitution of India ; fundamental rights as Indians enjoy ; the Supreme Court of India to be the highest court in the state and the hightest tribunal for the vindication of the citizens' basic rights. Answers to these demands are clear as daylight. The demands are not new; they were discussed thoroughly at the recent conferences in Delhi. Some reservations with regard to the accession of Kashmir to India were accepted as necessary and inevitable in the circumstances of the day. The Kashmir Constituent Assembly demanded them and we, in our wisdom and with a lively awareness of the conditions facing us, had to accept them. The Parishad must not try to open them again. If it had contented itself with protesting against the alleged non-implementation of the arrangements between the Prime Minister of India and Sheikh Abdullaah in so far as they were intended to secure the rights of India as well as of certain elements in Kashmir, it would have been within its rights. But it has gone far and too far. Its satyagraha has degenerated into collection of arms and use of violence. It is not supported by the people. The charge that the Abdullah Government has established a reign of terror is difficult to believe. There is not much to scream about four hundred and odd arrests.

"Dr. Mookerjee, the patron-saint of the Parishad, has not improved the case for it by his advocacy. In fact it only proves too demonstrably the Prime Minister's charge that the Jan Sangh, the R.S.S. and the Akalis are behind the Parishad, composed as it is of rank communalists, dispossessed landlords, and disinherited dynasty-worshippers.

"Finally, let us assume that Sheikh Abdullah, as the Parishad says, is preparing for an independent state, as witness the separate flag and the "Sadar-i-Riyasat." The fact of the matter is that the accession is irrevocable and the reservations are temporary. India will be strong enough at any time to make separation impossible, and on perfectly constitutional grounds too. It is exactly for this reason that the Parishad should do nothing to justify action of a hostile character by any of the political element in the state, including the Parishad itself.

"We do not know what right the Parishad has to speak for Ladakh, which knows that it must first remain in and with Kashmir both for political and geographical reasons, not to speak of sentimental reasons, if it is to remain in and with India at all. We are not sure that the majority of the people of Jammu will be with the Parishad in the matter of breaking up the state. It is plain as pikestaff that Jammu can never go out even if the worst happens, if only for the reason of sheer and unassailable geographical contiguity and India's defence."

It is evident that charge and counter-charge is doing no good to anyone's cause. Can there be no independent and unbiassed investigation of root-causes of the unrest ?

Price Controversy

ews about a possible increase in the dollar price l has waxed and waned throughout the post-war with almost monotonous regularity. It is reported he Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference ecided to make a joint approach to the United Government for a rise in the dollar price of No conference that was attended by a South n delegate could avoid some discussion of the rice and on this occasion South Africa's Finance er, Mr. Havenga received support from most of her delegations at the conference. Some of the gold-producing countries of the Commonwealth as Australia, Canada and Southern Rhodesia— emand for an increase in gold price. At present erling area derives an annual income of $500 1 from gold production and a rise in gold price considerably raise the income on this account. ttitude of the British Government is rather atic on the point. At the IMF meetings she did pport the demand for a higher official price of nd neither Britain has openly deprecated the d for a higher gold price. That also seems to be titude of the Indian Government, for, according Press reports, the Indian delegation did not list ld price question in its suggestions for enabling erling area to bridge the gap in its balance of nts position. Among the several arguments put d by the protagonists of higher gold price, one d on the cost of production of gold and on the e in the price of other commodities. It is stated ie cost of mining gold has increased and that the of all other commodities have risen several as compared with their pre-war levels. Had the of gold gone up in line with other American dity prices, the sterling area which accounts for cent of the world's gold output and which earned 500 million a year from sales of newly mined 1 the post-war years would have enjoyed a net e in its dollar reserves.

is however pointed out that the above argument ctive. The point about higher costs is unconvinc- cause the gold producers have only been tapping of poor ore content, reserving the high gold- deposits for the rainy day. And since the ation in 1949, the miners have been getting a price for their gold in their local currency. r, the comparison between gold price and com- price is not proper. Gold is not a commodity monetary metal. Commodity prices have moved ause in recent years, the demand for com- es has invariably exceeded supply and until y there was a sellers' market where in view of mpeting buyers, the supply could dictate the n the case of gold, however, except the U.S.A., s no other country in the world to buy and sell a fixed price. Moreover, for the past two , the U.S.A. *gold holdings have far exceeded* its requirements. In such an event, there is no reason why the U.S.A. should agree to pay a higher price for gold.

Gold is still a monetary metal and the standard by which values are measured. If the principal countries of the world move the currency price of gold up and down with the general level of commodity prices, why, it may be asked, use gold as a standard at all? Why in these circumstances place on the Central Bank or any other monetary authority, the obligation to buy gold at stated prices? About a year ago, when gold could be sold at over $39 an ounce on the free markets, it seemed possible that the official price of $35 an ounce was well below the price that the world was willing to pay for gold. It is now however clear that the high prices that ruled in the free gold markets in 1951 and earlier years were due to the artificial restrictions on the supply of gold to that market that were imposed by the International Monetary Fund. As a result of the relaxation of those restrictions by the end of 1951, the price of "free" gold has recently come down below $37 an ounce.

The free market prices of gold all over the world now stand in the neighbourhood of $36.50 an ounce, that is, at a premium of $1.50, which is hardly sufficient to cover the cost of formalities which are still required, under the IMF rules, to prove that the gold which the producing countries sell in the free markets is non-monetary. The higher prices of gold in the other markets of the world, especially in India and the Far East, do not constitute a proper criteria for determining the real value of gold, because they reflect mainly transportation costs, local currency exchange risks, taxes, supply-demand relationship in local markets, etc. In Bombay, the dollar equivalent of the price for spot gold is $45 an ounce, as compared with $67 touched in May, 1950. The Bombay market being insulated from outside markets by import controls, the prices ruling in such markets also include the cost of smuggling, a hazardous job. The difference in prices in the various free markets would be negligible, if there were to be free movement of gold.

The basic fact remains that if international trade is to be expanded, then international liquidity needs to be increased. There are better ways of increasing that liquidity than by raising the price of gold, and it is true that any rise in that price would not solve the problem. The rise in gold prices would help only the gold-producing countries like South Africa, Australia, Canada and Southern Rhodesia. It will not benefit poor countries like India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, etc., all of which produce far more valuable dollar-earners than gold and all of which need stable and economic prices for their products.

Sterling Area's Task

The ten-day conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, which was held during the last week

of November and first week of December, ended, as was expected, without achieving anything. The conference was convened with the aim of concerting measures for increasing the economic strength of the Commonwealth countries, including the colonial territories, and creating conditions in which their peoples can play their part in securing prosperity and contentment for themselves and for the world. In recent years the sterling area has been faced with recurrent economic crisis which has forced its members to take emergency measures of trade and exchange restrictions. These measures were necessary, but they have inevitably tended to frustrate the long-term economic expansion which was the ultimate aim of the Commonwealth countries. This was recognised at the January meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers. The measures taken in accordance with the conclusions of that meeting have, however, enabled the present conference to decide that a more positive policy can now be adopted, both by the Commonwealth countries themselves and in concert with other friendly countries to promote the expansion of world production and trade. The conference agreed that Commonwealth countries would work together to achieve certain broad common objectives. They have no intention of seeking the creation of a discriminatory economic block: rather their object is by strengthening themselves, to benefit the world economy generally. Accordingly, the following principles were agreed upon as governing the approach to the whole range of subjects under discussion:

(1) Internal economic policies designed to curb inflation and rises in the cost of living should be steadily followed.
(2) Sound economic development should be encouraged with the object of increasing production strength and competitive power, providing employment and raising the standards of life.
(3) A multilateral trade payment system should be extended over the widest possible area.
(4) The application of these principles will require individual action by Commonwealth Governments, co-operation among them and international action with other trading nations and existing international organisations.

Commonwealth Governments have agreed to preserve in their efforts to curb inflation. Inflationary conditions frustrate the progress of sound development, both by increasing its cost and by destroying the savings necessary to finance it. Moreover, they damage the external balance of payments by stimulating excessive imports and by diverting to internal use goods which would otherwise be available for export. An adequate and stable external balance must be a first objective for all Governments. Failure to achieve this means repeated crisis, a continuously rising cost of living, a constant threat to employment and failure to *develop resources effectively.*

The sterling area is being viewed by the USA as a trading block of discrimination mainly directed against the US interests. The USA has been insisting since the end of the war for the liquidation of the sterling area as it is the greatest impediment to the free and multilateral convertibility which has been set out in the Havana Charter as the ultimate goal to be achieved by the trading countries of the world. Ever since the end of the war, the idea of free trade as it did obtain in the nineteenth century under conditions of pure gold standard, has been haunting the imagination of nations and still it remains elusive. In the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of 1945, there was a stipulation that Britain, being the banker of the sterling area, would allow multilateral convertibility of sterling. But Britain failed to do so. Trade in post-war years is being hedged with tariffs and controls and bilateralism.

The sterling area's dollar shortage has become persistently chronic. Not today, but since the thirties. The war merely suppressed it, and did not cure it. The problem is a deep-seated one and manifold factors are responsible for the dollar gap. In the nineteenth century and early years of this century, the UK was the traditional source of external capital for Commonwealth investment. The two wars shattered British economy and she is no longer in a position to play that role. After the second World War, Germany having been economically destroyed, a vacuum has been created in the economic balance of the world. The main problem is that the USA holds the bulk of world's gold and the goods as well, that is, the seller has both the commodities and purchasing power, and the buyer has neither the goods nor the money to purchase them. But the buyer must purchase the goods from the USA for his post-war industrial developments. This is the main crux of the dollar problem. Devaluation has been a mere palliative, it did not solve the problem of dollar shortage.

The United Kingdom deficit with the dollar area during the last five years was $580 million and that against this the colonies earned a dollar surplus of $820 million. A section among the British people observes that if the UK had run its external finances in a closed group with the Colonies and not with the Dominions, then its gold and dollar reserves would have increased substantially during these years. Over this period the United Kingdom was given aid by the USA for $3,000 million. Of this sum, $2,500 million is said to have financed the deficit of the Dominions, and the balance went to liquidate part of the sterling balance of non-sterling area countries. But this is one side of the picture, and to place the responsibility of deficit on the Dominions is to ignore the basis of the sterling area. Had the Dominions been outside the sterling area, they would have been compelled to

maintain their balance of payments straight year by year and would have undoubtedly slashed imports from the UK. With Dominions out of the sterling area, the United Kingdom would have to spend large dollars for buying her essential foods and raw materials.

Suggestions are being made that Dominions should reduce their industrial investment. But it is a suggestion of despair. That way lies the economic sterility and the Commonwealth countries would remain backward in industrial development. Canada is out of the sterling area. If India goes out of it, she will not lose much. In recent years India's trade is developing with the USA and the latter is gradually increasing her imports from India. If India receives back her sterling balances, then India can go out of the sterling area. To be in this area is rather a liability for this country and the devaluation which is the result of such liability has done India harms and no good. Further, the United Kingdom's dollar gap is sometimes manipulated and this is done so only to put forward the plea before the member-countries that this pulling system of foreign exchange is ultimately beneficial to all. If one goes out, she will be in dollar deficit. Another point is that by holding out the plea of dollar shortage, Britain is deferring the repayment of the sterling balances and consequently she is forcing member-countries to purchase from her against the sterling balances. That is a way of preserving the markets of the Commonwealth countries for British goods. The sterling area with its imperial preferences is to a certain extent a block of discrimination against other countries and if any country is benefited most from this area it is Britain. With the liquidation of the sterling area British goods would be hard hit in the world market in competition with American and German goods. It is a happy feature that Germany is progressively recovering her industrial production and the rise of Germany is another threat to British exports. The sterling area's dollar shortage is thus to be viewed from various angles.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The Industrial Finance Corporation came in for much criticism in the past session of the Parliament. Grave charges of corruption and nepotism were levelled against the administration and the Opposition pressed the Government to disclose the names of the recipients of loans from the Corporation. The Government was at first unwilling to do so but later conceded to the demands of the Opposition. The Government have also agreed to appoint a Committee representing both Houses of Parliament and outside experts to investigate the charges brought against the Industrial Finance Corporation. According to the statement of the Finance Minister before the House of the People on December 17, up to then a total amount of Rs. 14,03,45,000 had been sanctioned as loan to various concerns under 19 heads of industry.

The Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, announced in the House of the People on the 17th Dec. the Government's decision to appoint a committee representing both Houses of Parliament and outside experts to investigate the charges made by private members against the Industrial Finance Corporation.

Mr. Deshmukh also met the demand made for disclosure of the names of those who had taken loans from the I.F.C. He laid on the table a statement giving the names of individuals concerned under each category of industry and the amount of loan sanctioned to each.

He said : "Various allegations were made about the I.F.C.

"On the question of divulging the names (of concerns to which loans were made), the Prime Minister made a statement in which he mentioned the practice so far followed and pointed out the considerations which influenced us in adhering to that policy. At the same time, he recognized the force of some of the grounds on which the information was sought and undertook to have the matter re-examined on my return.

"The maintenance of secrecy by a leading institution regarding its transactions with its clients is a well-recognized practice based on sound business principles and should not be lightly discarded while circumstances are normal and there is no reason for doubt and apprehension regarding the transactions. While, therefore, I consider that the stand taken by the Government so far, which was not challenged in the past in this House, was justified, I have to take account of the doubts that have arisen and of the desire of Parliament to be furnished with the names of concerns to which loans, for which the Government had given guarantees, have been advanced by the I.F.C.

"The refusal to disclose names, even though it may be based on a healthy convention, would create an entirely unijustified suspicion against the I.F.C. and the borrowing concerns, which it is essential to dispel.

"Realizing this, the I.F.C. has itself written to me that it is desirous of submitting to Parliament a list of loanees and the amounts given to them. I am accordingly laying on the table of the House a statement showing the names of the individual concerns under each category of industry and the amount of loan sanctioned to each concern."

The statement includes the names of 84 concerns who have been sanctioned loans and advances by the I.F.C. The total amount sanctioned under 19 heads of industry is Rs. 14,03,45,000.

Sri Bimal C. Ghose, M.P., in an article in the *Vigil* of December 13, examines certain important issues bearing upon the working of the Industrial Finance Corporation since it started functioning in 1948. He notes the fact that long-term finance is still difficult to obtain. Certain actions of the Reserve Bank of India, restricting the Commercial Banks from providing long-period finance to industry, have tended to accentuate the situation still more.

The preamble to the Industrial Finance Corporation Act of 1948, he writes, "appear to indicate that more attention was desired to be paid to small and medium-sized industries" but "the rules which govern the granting of loans and advances by the Corporation operate against small and medium-sized industries and new entrepreneurs. In so far as this has been the actual result of the working of the Corporation, the purpose for which it was set up has been partially defeated."

Secondly, the Corporation "has in all probability also further accentuated the unequal development of different regions in India. It is well known that our industries are primarily concentrated in a few areas, particularly in West Bengal and Bombay. The Corporation's activities would seem to indicate that these concentrations have been futher aggravated. Out of Rs. 14 crores sanctioned by the Corporation as loan upto the 30th June, 1952 33% has gone to Bombay and 17% to West Bengal and the rest of India received the remaining 50%.

He deprecates the practice of having directors of Corporation who are also interested in companies which apply for and receive loans from it and suggests it would be best "if it were specifically laid down that no person who is directly or indirectly interested in any loan sanctioned the Corporation should be its director."

He then goes on to urge for the nationalisation of the Corporation. He writes that "whatever it may be technically, the Corporation is virtually a State-owned institution. Its shares are guaranteed by Government as to repayment of principal as also payment of a minimum dividend. Further bonds and debentures which it might issue to raise working capital are also guaranteed by Government in respect of repayment of principal and payment of interest. Government also sometimes guarantees loans sanctioned by the Corporation and has also to guarantee any loans that it may have from international financial institutions like the international Bank for Reconstruction and Development."

People's Congress for Peace

The following news-item appeared in the press recently :

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, President of the All-India Peace Council, has been awarded the International Stalin Prize for Peace.

Dr. Kitchlew is a prominent Congressman and was formerly President of the undivided Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. He is now in Vienna attending the People's Peace Congress.

The prize consists of a sum of about Rs. 1,25,000, a medal and a diploma for peace.

Dr. Kitchlew has been invited to visit Moscow any time convenient to him to receive the award. If he could not go to Moscow, the prize would be delivered to him in India by a special representative of the Adjudication Committee.

The Stalin Prize is the highest award in the Soviet Union.

This year's winners of the Stalin Peace Prizes, instituted three years ago "for the strengthening of peace among the peoples" are, besides Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Paul Robeson, the negro singer, the Rev James Endicott, a Canadian delegate to the Vienna Peace Conference; M. Ilya Ehrenburg, the Russian, writer; Mme Elise Branco, a member of the Federation of Brazilian women; Mr. Johannes R. Beeher, author of the East German National Anthem; and M. Yves Farce, former French Minister of Food.

Regarding the People's Peace Congress in Vienna, the following reports have come. Firstly, the Soviet *News and Views* reports :

The delegate from Egypt emphasized that the Egyptian people do not feel any animosity towards any one people of the world. He noted that contrary to the United Nations Charter and against its will the territory of his country, which officially is independent, is occupied by British troops.

J. Abdulla, representative of Morocco, stated that the Moroccan people are convinced from their own bitter experience of the hypocritical talks of the imperialists about the "civilizing mission" and "defence of a free world." On our territory, he said, the Americans built seven air bases. The French imperialists are trampling upon the culture and national dignity of the Moroccan people. Imperialist domination completely ruined the rich country capable of existing and developing. Famine is systematically raging in Morocco as a result of which a million people died from 1937 to 1945. The Moroccan people, the speaker said, is stubbornly fighting against foreign imperialist rule, for the freedom and independence of their country.

Met with stormy applause Dr. S. Kitchlew, head of the Indian delegation, Chairman of the Indian Peace Council, submitted a proposal for the consideration of the Congress on the immediate termination of hostilities in Korea.

An interesting speech was delivered by Han Ser Ya, Korean representative. "Our peoples, who have made unprecedented sacrifices," said Han Ser Ya, "showed the whole world their courage and their will to peace. We do not ask and do not intend to ask for mercy. But we do demand peace in the name of defending the principles of humanity, in the name of defending women and children, in the name of terminating the barbarous extermination of civilians, in the name of the interests of our country and at the same time in the interest of all mankind who are threatened with the same conflagration of the merciless war that is raging in our country."

On behalf of the British delegation Monica Felton, recipient of the International Stalin Prize "for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations," submitted a draft resolution demanding an "immediate cease fire in Korea as a preliminary condition for negotiations on the other unsettled questions."

The gaze of hundreds of millions of people of goodwill are today directed towards Vienna where the Peace

Congress of the Peoples has been working for several days. The Congress delegates taking part in the discussion speak about various problems. But no matter what question is discussed the subject of peace is the motive of all the speeches.

With particular force, writes *Izvestia* in conclusion, sound the speeches made at the Congress by the representatives of the great Soviet people. Remembering the mandate of the Fourth USSR Conference for Peace the Soviet delegates again and again declare from the Congress rostrum the unshakable will of the Soviet people to defend peace and international security together with all the peace-loving peoples.

The other side of the medal is shown in the following comments :

"Hypocrisy is not having it all its own say at the People's Peace Congress in Vienna," writes the *Yorkshire Post*. "Truth and sincerity have made an entry into the discussions, with results highly embarrassing for the Communists and their smooth-tongued allies.

"The Indian delegation, representing all parties in their country, happen to be genuinely concerned to serve the cause of peace. They have a sound and honest plan for securing a truce in the terrible Korean war. The Russians must have judged that this compromise solution was safely buried by this time under the abuse M. Vyshinsky has heaped upon it. At Vienna they have discovered otherwise.

"Instead of merely adding to the pious platitudes voiced by the other delegates at this new Moscow-sponsored demonstration, the Indian delegates came forward and said in effect : 'Now here is something practical we can do to end the cruel bloodshed that has been going on in Korea. Let us consider this plan and see whether it does not offer a way out of the bitter quarrel that is causing such a tragic loss of life'."

The newspaper proceeds : "Many of the Congress delegates responded warmly to this suggestion. They applauded the proposals of Dr. Kitchlew, the Indian spokesman. They were quickly reminded that this would not do. Yet why will it not do ? This offers a reasonable means of settling the only question that stands in the way of agreement on truce terms.

"If the fighters for peace at this new Congress of Vienna were sincerely devoted to peace and not simply to Soviet propaganda, they would press this Indian solution upon the Russian and Chinese Communist Governments as a shining opportunity to bring the prospect of peace to tortured Korea this Christmas. If they fail to do this their professions of longing to bring the Christmas spirit to a troubled earth will have a hollow ring, however many handshakes and presents they exchange."

The *Daily Mail* and the *News Chronicle* criticise the "People's Congress for Peace" in Vienna contrasting its ostensible motives with the actualities of Soviet policy.

The *Daily Mail* says : "Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria have all been robbed of their independence by Russia. The wars now raging in Indo-China, Korea and Malaya have all been instigated by Russia. The cold war has crept from Europe to Persia and Iraq, Tunis and Algeria. It is being waged with greater intensity than ever."

Recalling that the Communists themselves destroyed all hopes of a truce in Korea when they rejected contemptuously India's peace plan, subsequently approved by the United Nations, the newspaper asks : "Was this the way to ease tension ? The facile hypocrisy of the programme drafted at Vienna would be incredible coming from any but the Communists."

The *News Chronicle* remarks : "Mr. Aneurin Bevan summed up the general reaction neatly the other day when he described the meeting as 'a fake, a clay pigeon, a decoy....an attempt to divert the attention of the working class from what is really happening'.

"A recent dispatch from the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent in Vienna, G.E.R. Gebye, has given details of the hate campaign that is now being whipped up by Russia and her satellites. The word hate, says Gedye, 'is constantly in the mouths of those who work beneath the banner of the militant dove of peace'. He supports this statement with an imposing number of quotations."

The *Chronicle* adds : "Peace may have her victories no less renowned than war, but amid the atmosphere of hate engendered by Communist propaganda in Europe today, the People's Peace Congress will not be one of them. Too much of the poision gas of hatred is being generated outside for the meeting within to be anything but a massacre of the innocents."

"Not content with condemning to death eight Jews in the Prague trials, the Czech Communists are now quarrelling with Israel," writes the *Daily Herald*. "The Israel Government is asked to withdraw its Minister on the ground that he overstepped diplomatic limits by helping Zionist organisations.

"So the international Communist conspiracy is now using anti-Semitism as one of its political weapons. The word 'Zionist' takes its place among official Communist terms of abuse alongside 'warmonger,' 'imperialist' and 'Titoist.'

"How grotesquely similar are the antics of modern police states. The Communists imitate Hitler not only in the barbarous injustices of framed-up trials, but even in the propagranda tricks designed to excuse them."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Mission

The *Bombay Chronicle* of November 17 had the following editorial. Our contemporary has caught the real significance of Vinobaji's work. And, we are sure, that it will change the country both materially and intellectually.

"The phenomenal success of his land-gift mission has no doubt encouraged Acharya Vinoba Bhave to explore new ways and means to level down economic

and social inequalities. More equitable redistribution of wealth is a logical sequel to the redistribution of land. Some time ago he suggested sharing of knowledge with the less educated which he called Budhi Dan Yagna. Addressing the people of Gaya he appealed to them to make a success of *Sampatti Dan Yagna*. He said that the whole idea was based on faith in human integrity. Apparently, Vinobaji wants to confine the money collected by the wealth gift mission as a supplement to the Bhoodan movement. The amount collected is to be used for providing bullocks and agricultural implements to the recipients of land and, secondly, in providing subsistence allowance to poor *Bhoo-dan* workers. The idea is excellent and money gifts may come with more abundance than those of land if Acharya Bhave demands the same liberality which he expects from makers of land-gifts. This will also provide an opportunity to those who do not even have an acre of land to participate in the sacrifice. If the amount collected is sufficient, part of it can even be utilised for buying land at concession rates and distributing it to landless peasants. Acharya Bhave's scheme of land and wealth redistribution has immense possibilities. If the enthusiastic response of the public to his *yagnas* continues, he will have to his credit a silent revolution spreading all over the country, achieving objects which have been possible only through violent upheavals and that too without the suffering and evil effects which have been their inevitable corollaries."

Unrest in Nepal

The affairs in Nepal have again taken a turn for the worse.

The controversy between Koirala brothers in Nepal has once again let loose a wave a political unrest inside that mountainous State.

According to reports reaching New Delhi the Gorkha Rakshak Dal, a political body, is said to be opposed to the present advisory regime and wants, as early as possible, a popular democratic government.

Adopting methods bordering on terrorism, the leaders of the Dal, it is stated, have taken over temporarily the administration of some important stations in Western Nepal.

Reports also add that Government treasuries have been looted and imprisoned officials are being tortured and starved. Among the arrested and detained is mentioned no less a person than the Governor of Pachimanchal Baitar, who, it is said, has been taken to an unknown destination.

In Garhi, insurgents, believed to be the followtrs of the rebel leader at large, Dr. K. I. Singh, are said to have taken into custody the Governor of North-West Nepal. Garhi, is only six miles north-west of *Thulaghat in Almora district in* India.

The political situation in Nepal Terai, according to a report from Kalimpong, is understood rapidly worsening. Scarcely a day passes dacoity, looting or forcible occupation of prope some fracas between landlords and cultivators.

The Kisan movements which were hitherto the Communists are now believed to be directed Nepal Congress, following a recent decision ta Birganj by the Nepal Congress Executive.

King Tribhuvan's urgent visit to Delhi to consultations with the Indian Prime Mini matters relating to law and order and other reforms gains added importance in the light o disturbing reports.

Our information is that certain persons in with considerable political pull have been for trouble in Nepal, for ulterior motives. No sett can be achieved between the Koirala brothers and until this evil influence is removed.

The Malayan Situation

The following extract is typical of the reac the British Conservative press to General Te report :

The *Evening News*, writing under the head Good Report," comments on General Templer's st on the Malayan situation.

The newspaper says : "General Templer's as a soldier-statesman is now generally admitted public statement yesterday, and the frank vigoro in which he dealt with questions on the situa Malaya will increase the esteem in which he st

"'At long last,' he said, 'we are beginning the shooting war under control.' Improveme security and public order, the diminishing casual among planters and security forces, and the inc casualty rate among the enemy all go to show not an idle claim.

"Firm handling of terrorism is combined, as Templer pointed out, with constant attention to th term aims of promoting the welfare and unity people of Malaya. A stiff job is being tackled energy and courage."

No one in this world of today desires that or violence should prevail in any part of the wo so far as that is concerned General Templer's wo be appreciated. But the *Evening News* and otl that ilk are very much mistaken if they think peace and tranquillity can be established anywl Asia by mere dragonades. Malay is what it is due to the labours of the Chinese and the India form 52 per cent of the population. They can dispossessed, politically, with impunity.

The Arab Refugees

The *Manchester Guardian* writes of the outl Arab refugees from Palestine under the heading for Refugees."

The newspaper says : "There seems to be more hope of some practical steps to lift the

s from Palestine out of the Slough of Despond ch they have lain so long. Colonel Shishakli, Premier, declared in Damascus yesterday that overnment would collaborate with the United Relief and Works Agency to improve the ons of refugees now living in Syria. This is ying much, on the face of it, especially as he n to reject any solution of the Palestine problem did not guarantee the refugees' eventual ation. But it is more than any Arab leader have said a year ago.

he United Nations agency has for years found blocked in its efforts to do more than keep the s alive by the refusal of the Arab states to join plan of 'resettlement' which might be taken by waiving the claim to repatriation. It has ar tried to work on a new formula: 'improvement ugee living conditions.' If the Governments ed agree, a good deal more than of ephemeral an be done under this head. Anything which economic stimulus to the country may help to the conditions for refugees without necessarily ting them to a permanent settlement.".

e are glad that there is a glimmer of hope for oor sufferers. The Arab States have not viewed from a realistic view, considered from humanic oint, where these unfortunate flotsam of the l maelstrom of the Near East are concerned.

al Naguib's Problems

e *Economist* (Dec. 6), writing on Egypt, says: four months of ruling Egypt, General Mohammed looks, and is, a tired man. The dimensions of that confronts him are enough to warrant ss. When he came to power, most Egyptians glad that an honest man with a sense of was ready to tell them what to do. Since then proved intelligent as well as honest.

et, as months go by, time is revealing how great odds against which he is working—the heaviest the dreadful economic legacy left by his essor, the Wafd, and the eternal difficulty of the population peessure in a country with its le land already overcrowded. The moment has to weigh his chances of proving to Egypt that he ficent and deserves to be given time to carry on."

e *Economist* goes on: "The Wafd had squandered its of profitable cotton seasons; the army there- ok over without sterling in its coffers and with world demand for cotton to prevent its earning ack of sterling (and other foreign currencies) ed the Finance Minister to restrict imports, and, wer imports, there is less of customs revenue hould provide about 40 per cent of the budgetary

gyptians tend to cite the current failure to buy otton as the main source of their economic but figures for the first 14 weeks of the season show that they sold 71,000 bales, as against 73,000 in the same period of 1951 and 81,000 in that of 1950. They cannot expect annually to achieve the bumper sales of 1949; India, as well as the U.K., tends to be a variable buyer. The main difference between this year and previous years is that they have sold far less than usual to the chief buyers who pay in sterling. Failure to produce a quick change at home would be mitigated if the regime were able to show some spectacular result for its foreign policy."

The Wafd's record in Egypt might yet be surpassed in India by that of Pandit Nehru's Congress, unless sanity returns in time.

The Gandhian Outlook and World Tension

A seminar on the "Contribution of the Gandhian outlook and techniques to the solution of tensions within and between nations" will be held in New Delhi from Jan. 5 to Jan. 17 next. Mr. Nehru will inaugurate the seminar which is being organized by the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco.

Foreign participants in the seminar are Lord Boyd Orr (the U.K.); Dr. Ralph Bunche (the U.S.A.); Professor G. Tucci, the well known Italian orientalist; Madame Cecilia Merieles, Brazilian poetess and educationist whose poem on the assassination of Gandhiji was widely published; Professor Massingnon, of the College de France; Dr. Mohammad Hussein Haikal, former President of the Egyptian Senate, and winner of the Fuad I prize in Arabiq literature; and Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi, the well-known pacifist of Japan who has written several pamphlets on Gandhian techniques of non-violence.

The participants from India are Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Zakir Hussain, and Acharya Kripalani. Professor Humayun Kabir will participate as a representative of the Government.

The idea of holding the seminar arose out of a decision of the first conference of the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco.

We have no doubt the seminar will serve a useful purpose. But the choice of the Government representative is unhappy. But perhaps the Nehru-Azad Government wishes to confess that its outlook is totally divorced from that of the Mahatma.

Fatka Bazar Stopped

The following Press Note was issued by the West Bengal Government:

Reports from various quarters have been reaching Government during the past few weeks, of the unsatisfactory position of jute trade in the country. Government have been considering, for some time past, this present uncertain outlook and have noted with particular concern the present low prices of raw jute received by the growers, says a Press-Note issued by Government. Government have under consideration the question of improving the present unsatisfactory position

of the trade. It appears that there has been such a tremendous amount of speculative trading as to cause rapid fluctuations of jute prices. Futures trading in jute is regarded as one of the causes of such fluctuations. It was, therefore, found necessary to prohibit futures trading in jute goods with immediate effect in West Bengal, with a view to checking speculation and promoting stability in prices. The following notification to that effect was issued on December 18 :

In exercise of the power conferred by sub-section (1) of section 3 of the West Bengal Jute Goods Act, 1950 (West Bengal Act V of 1950), the Governor is pleased hereby to prohibit the making of contracts relating to jute goods on and from the date of publication of this notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

People are saying uncharitable things with regard to this notification. They do not consider the order bad. But the motive in suddenly issuing this order after tens of thousands have been ruined in this province in the last three decades, is rather curiously construed. It is said that certain big fish, who have in the past swallowed thousands of little fish, have got entangled, and that this move is to grant them a virtually unlimited moratorium.

Grow More Food

Sri Chandra Kanto Chakravarty of Bhattagram village in Midnapore District has won the State's first prize of Rs. 5,000 in the potato crop competition for the year 1951-52 by raising 662 maunds of potato per acre. The next best potato farmer in the State, Sri Girindra Nath Saha of Dipa village in Hooghly District has been awarded the second prize of Rs. 3,000 for growing 563 mds 4 srs., per acre. The third prize of Rs. 2,000 has gone to Sri Dukari Ghose of village Banamalipur, in Hooghly District, who produced 511 maunds of potato per acre.

The State's best wheat grower is Haji Mokbul Hossain of Malda District who has won the first prize of Rs. 1,000 by producing 56 maunds-12 srs., of wheat per acre. The second prize of Rs. 700 and the third prize of Rs. 300 in the wheat crop competition have been won respectively by Jonab Nuruddin, who produced 51 maunds per acre and Sri Joytish Chandra Das who produced 50 maunds per acre., both in Malda District.

Horses and Water

The following Press Note from the West Bengal Government, is illustrative of the old saw, "You may lead a horse to water but you cannot make it drink."

The Anderson Weir on the Damodar river at Rhondia has a canal system which can irrigate about 30,000 acres of land in the district of Burdwan. At present owners of only about 2,700 acress of land are taking water from the various canals in the thanas of Manteswar, Galsi, Burdwan and Ghushkara. Although water is available, many cultivators are not taking advantage *of these canals* for raising *rabi* crops.

When the Konar Dam begins to work and the Bokaro Power Station releases water from that area, water will flow down the Damodar river to the canal system now being operated from the Anderson Weir. Additional water for irrigating about 35,000 acres of *more* land in the district of Burdwan will be available. About 232 cusecs of water will be released from the various canal systems in the Damodar region of Burdwan District for cultivation of *rabi* crops. It is very necessary that the farmers of the Burdwan district should try to raise an early variety of *Kharif* crop, which can be harvested by October so that *rabi* crops may be sown in an extensive scale during the winter season. Double cropping in the area will be possible if the farmers alter the present system of cropping to suit the changed conditions.

Self-Help Projects in Karnataka

What a solid contribution voluntary efforts can do in the execution of development projects has been amply shown by the people of Shahade Taluka in the West Khandesh district. The villagers with their own efforts have launched half a dozen irrigation schemes that can irrigate nearly fifteen thousand acres of land.

Here are a few details of the minor irrigation projects started on voluntary aid by the village-people themselves :

(1) A co-operative water supply association has been established and it has built a dam at Panchamukhi Vakadambar at the cost of Rs. 22,000. The scheme will irrigate nearly 600 acres of land.

(2) Another small irrigation scheme was projected, financed and is being completed by the villagers at Parivardhe-Kodali. Its estimated cost is Rs. twenty-five thousand. In its first stage of completion it will irrigate 225 acres.

(3) A co-operation association has spent Rs. 15,000 on an irrigation-scheme at Padalade-Aurangpur. It will supply water for 400 acres. It is expected that with a good rainfall in the catchment-area of this dam, it will be able to irrigate even two thousand acres.

(4) Another co-operative effort at Sultanpur is responsible for an irrigation scheme that will irrigate 500 acres of land for the total cost of Rs. fifteen thousand.

(5) Villagers have collected on a voluntary basis of Rs. 60,000 within a month, for the Susari dam project. Its total cost, is estimated at Rs. 1,80,000 and when completed it will make water available for five thousand acres.

(6) The work of Hole dam is also undertaken at an estimated cost of Rs. 63,000 and having a capacity of irrigating 600 acres.

In the nearby Shindakhed Taluka an important irrigation project has been launched, which will ultimately cost rupees three lakhs.

It is noteworthy that the villagers are doing this good work on a co-operative basis and without asking for any financial aid from the State Government.

POPULATION PLANNING IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

Characteristics of Indian Population

occupies a unique position as regards the size and itude of her contribution to world population h. She has got (1,138,814 sq. miles) 3.7 per cent e world's total land area but she maintains 91,624) over 1/5 of the world's population. Leav- ide China she claims to be one of the most popu- countries of the world. It is to be noted that in 1/11 of the area maintains ⅓ of the total popula- nd ⅓ of the total area only 1/5 of the population. trength of population in India is staggering in its mass. Its rate of growth has fluctuated widely g the last 70 years and the percentage growth g these years has varied from .9 to 15 per cent.[1] otal addition to population has been large. The ation increased from 203,415,000 in 1871 to 1,000 in 1951. According to Mr. Ghosh, we are 1 1931-41) adding roughly 14.5 million new lives ur population every year whereas about 11 ns are annually being snatched away by the cruel of death.[2] The chief characteristic of our ation lies in its spatial distribution. While there me areas in India, especially the deltaic regions he Gangetic Valley which are over-populated, are vast territories in Rajasthan, Madhya sh and even in the Deccan where the density is re. Besides this, the population, or a very large ntage of it, is "young" and the potentialities of r growth are large. On the whole its movement to be dominated by mortality rather than by ty conditions. Mortality no doubt is on decline ertility appears to be unchanging since the turn e century.[3] The social and cultural mores of the mass of the population are adjusted to high ty. The family system is intact and the social s of a large mass of the population cluster round is a caste-ridden society and lacks individualist ions. It is largely an illiterate agricultural popu- and is overwhelmingly poor. Larger sections of the people are under-fed and under-nourished. Even the per capita availability is meagre. One example quoted here would suffice to prove how low our living and dietary standard is. The major part of the teeming millions of this country is hardly able to procure even the bare necessities of life so as to eke out their animal existence. There are few civilized countries with such a low standard of living.[4] In fact, in India as a whole, only 39 per cent of the population can afford adequate diet, 41 per cent are poorly nourished and 20 per cent badly nourished.[5] The poor state of health and high illiteracy—85 per cent (in comparison with the percentages of literacy in countries like U.K., U.S.A., and U.S.S.R.)—leads any one to form a concrete idea about the deplorable economic condition of the land. Poverty along with unemployment, reflected in the very low standard of living of Indian masses, has been for a long time a typical problem of India. On a comparative basis, India has a very low annual income per capita, Rs. 255 (in 1948-49) which is only 1/18 of that of an American, and 1/6 of that of an Englishman, an Australian, a Dane or a Canadian.[6] This per capita income is far from being uniform. There is a wide range of variation in the income of different classes of people in India. A microscopic section comprising very nearly 2 per cent of the population has superabundance commanding one-third of our total wealth, and the remaining two-thirds of the wealth that is left for 98 per cent of the population is hardly adequate to permit a large section of the Indian masses even to keep their body and soul together.[7] Thus the average income is just enough either to feed two men in every three of the population or give them all two in place of every three meals they need, on condition that all consent to go naked, live out of doors all the year round, have no amusement or recreation and want nothing else but food, and that too of the lowest, the coarsest and the least nutritious type.[8] The table given below shows some of the interesting facts about the Indian population.:[9]

Dr. S. Chandrasekhar : *Demographic Disarmament for India* residential address delivered at the first All-India Conference ily Planning Association of India, 1951), pp. 3-4.

D. Ghosh : *Pressure of Population and Economic Efficiency* in p. 18.

The following table gives the Death and Birth rates for last cades :

	Death rate (per 1000)	Birth rate	Year	Death rate (per 1000)	Birth rate
)	26	36.	1921-31	26	35
1	31	34	1931-41	24	35
1	34	38	1949	16.4	27.6
1	34	37			

4. Dr. J. M. Kumarappa : *The Economic Background* (O.U.P. Pamphlet), pp. 19-20.

5. J. Megaw : *An Enquiry into Certain Public Health Aspects of Village Life in India*, pp. 8-11.

6. The comparative figures are : (for 1947)—Australia, Rs. 2100; Denmark, Rs. 2647; Canada, Rs. 2826; U.K., Rs. 2356; U.S.A., Rs. 4643; Ceylon, Rs. 300; Pakistan, Rs. 225; and Philippines, Rs. 213. (Vide *Commerce Annual*, 1948, p. 1185).

7. S. N. Agarwal : *The Gandhian Plan.*

8. Shah & Khambatta : *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, p. 307.

9. Vide Eastern Economist Annual, 1950 : Health, pp. 1007-8.

Country	*Calories consumed* Per day	Per cent from cereals, etc.	*Proteins*	*Rate per 1000* Birth	Death	*Mortality* Infant	Maternal	*Expectation of life*
Germany	2,530	40—50	81	16.2	12.3	63	5.1	..
U. K.	3,030	30—40	90	16.3	12.2	56	4	62
U.S.A.	3,130	30—40	90	17.2	10.6	46	8.3	62
Australia	3,160	30—40	95	....	0.9	38	5.5	67
France	2,800	50—60	100	15.9	15.3	91	2.5	57
Canada	3,109	30—40	..	....	9.6	56	..	60
Japan	2,268	70—80	..	26.7	14.0	144	2.8	43
Egypt	2,500	.....	75	43.4	27.2	165	..	..
China	2,200	50—60	74	....	....	..	..	..
India	1,620	60—70	42	26	22	150	24.05	27

Thus it will readily be realised that low and inadequate per capita consumption of food is indicative of a general low standard of living and the consequent short span of life. Poverty, disease and starvation stalk the land ; nearly two-thirds of the population are chronically under-nourished and disease-ridden. About a hundred million suffer annually from malaria alone. Nearly ten million people die every year, mostly from preventible diseases, diseases of malnutrition born of poverty. The basic reason for this appalling condition is the nature of the existing economy which is characterised by an extreme overpressure on agriculture and the lack of planned industrialisation. So long as this fundamental unbalance between agriculture and industry is not corrected and so long as the problem of poverty is not tackled at its very root, the question of raising the standard of living and the question of improved nutritional and health standard for India will remain largely an academic one. To preach the gospel of good food, good health and good living to the people of India without first securing for them the means for even a bare subsistence, is as meaningless as advising the starving crowd to eat cakes when they cannot afford even bread.

Population Policy Neglected So Far

The population problem of India may be in a nutshell stated to be simply the problem of too many births and too many deaths, resulting in a low survival rate, the surviving population subsisting on a miserable standard of living due to abject poverty. In some regions like the Indo-Gangetic plain, Madhya Bharat, and the Indian plateau the problem of poverty and population is more acute while in some other regions like Travancore, etc, it is less acute though their existence in these parts can hardly be denied. Neither the Government nor the political leaders have gathered enough courage even to face it. The problem is deep and wide and it touches on many a sore spot of the Indian socio-economic-religious order. Clearly what we require is a population policy which will take into consideration the problems of spatial distribution and adjustment and a long-period programme in respect of food production. Although the inexorable logic of facts like the shortage of food resources and increase in population, etc., has forced the Government to take *in hand a comprehensive* policy with regard to land and production, yet curiously enough the related problem of a population policy, without which we cannot succeed, seems to have been lost sight of altogether.

> "A population policy can be nothing less than a social policy at large . . . If practical social science is not on the watch, there is a palpable danger that population policy will be irrationally narrowed down and forced into remedial quackery. A population programme must work itself into the whole fabric of social life and must inter-penetrate and be inter-penetrated by all other measures of social change. The population crisis must, if we are to react rationally, make us re-think all social objectives and programmes."[10]

General Objectives of Social and Economic Policy

Before proceeding to discuss the ends and means of a population policy in India it is necessary to set down as a background some general objectives of social and economic policy that have been evolved and accepted by the major political parties in India. These can be enumerated as :

(*i*) To develop industries rapidly with an eye to their proper location and adequate provision for labour welfare ;

(*ii*) To raise the general standard of living and to abolish under-feeding and mal-nutrition ;

(*iii*) To combat illiteracy and make education widespread ;

(*iv*) To extend public health facilities and to combat and prevent diseases and epidemics ;

(*v*) To reduce improvident expenditure on social customs like dowry, etc.

These are accepted objectives and the population policy has to accommodate itself within their framework.

Population Policies in Foreign Countries

Several countries especially Germany, France, Italy and Japan gave in the past and are giving even in the present time much attention to increasing the number and improving the quality of the inhabitants of their country. For this purpose effective measures were put to stimulate marriages, lessen the use of contraceptive appliances, ban abortion and encourage large families by providing family allowances, free travelling, free education and other financial assistance and awarding medals to mothers having more than a certain number of children. Taxes were imposed on bachelors and in some cases there was dras-

10. A. Myrdal : *Nation and Family*, p. 101.

tic suppression of the means formerly used to prevent births. Consequently, the declining birth rate was reversed. Other countries like Russia, U.S.A., Sweden, Belgium, etc., have taken various steps to achieve quantitative stabilisation, qualitative improvement and maintenance of its population strength through various social schemes. Even the U. K. is also pursuing a policy of increasing her stationary (rather declining) population by increasing the annual number of births through the enlarging of the average proportion of women who marry and the lowering of the over-all age at which the women on the average marry. The recent Royal Commission of Population recommends that Britain's goal should be 2.4 children per married couple instead of 2.2 as this would be fully sufficient replacement.

WHAT IS BEST FOR THE INDIAN POPULATION ?

The need for a positive policy for India based on what is best for the Indian people, both from the larithmic and eugenic point of view, cannot be over-emphasized. And what would be best for India could be viewed from the demands—of the army for soldiers of industry and agriculture for workers and so on. India is not in the position of some Western countries which face the problem of stationary or declining population, and which consequently have to embark on policies of increasing the birth rate. Our problem is quite a different one. In quantitative terms the goals of population planning can be either to increase, diminish or maintain at the present level the existing population. Almost everywhere in the world up to now the economic criterion has been used to determine the quantitative goals for population policy. But in the case of India, it is already over-populated and hence the economic expansion cannot for ever compensate for a constant increase of population, because economic potentialities are affected by population. The people have apparently already reached the point where density and rapid growth are impeding economic development. Therefore, it seems somewhat unrealistic to attempt to do something on the economic side alone and yet to do nothing on the population side. As Notestein has said :

> "It is not the problem of doubling or perhaps even trebling the product of backward regions that staggers the imagination ; it is the need for an indefinite continuation of such an expansion in order to keep with an unending growth. The demographic problem is not that of putting an immediate end to growth, but of checking growth before the population become unmanageably large, *e.g.*, before the present numbers are doubled."[11]

Hence, any attempt to compensate indefinitely on the economic side for population increase is bound to fail, because human beings live in a finite world. No doubt various scientific devices like controlling the rains from clouds, harnessing sun's energy or the tides may all enormously increase the food supply but they cannot for ever take care of an ever-increasing population. Therefore, the quantitative goal for the population policy in India should be that of diminishing the present population and/or (if the former is not possible), that of slowing down the rate of growth. In regard to the quality of population the goal obviously should be the highest possible improvement of quality of the population. This goal does not conflict with the quantitative goal. Besides these two goals, the third goal (the major though by no means the exclusive goal) should be a higher per capita income ; the question of population policy is thus oriented towards the problem of mitigating Indian poverty.

As such the social optimum population for India must be one which effectively safeguards the nation against alien aggression and penetration and at the same time does not give rise to imperialist or chauvinist claims for expansion and colonies. The most desirable quantity of population is also one that attains the maximum level of living, political stability and economic security, along with adequate freedom and leisure for the pursuit of cultural values.

No country or nation need lament that its population is too large or too small, as long as it can balance the twin basic physical activities of man, those of production and reproduction, for the problem arises when there is a striking mal-adjustment between the existing population and the available resources for its support. The quantitative aspect of population is no doubt of great significance but only as a means, only as a foundation for quality. One need not fear that India's population is too large or too small so long as it is healthy, well-fed, well-clothed, adequately employed and with enough leisure for healthy cultural pursuits. The question is : when are India's teeming millions going to have these basic needs satisfied ?[12]

Dr. Gyanchand has rightly observed that

> "The population problem in India is the remaking of derelict people. Its solution depends on a complete and radical reconstruction of our entire national life, but the point which is important is that the reconstruction required by the needs of the situation cannot be carried on without making the control of population an integral part of the whole scheme of reproduction."[13]

Thus production as well as reproduction must be rationalised. As Prof. L. Hogben puts it : "A society must be biologically as well as economically superior and a going concern."[14]

11. F. W. Notestein : "Problems of Policy in Relation to Areas of Heavy Population Pressure" in *Demographic Studies of Selected Areas of Rapid Growth*, p. 152.

12. The net reproduction rate of India is 1.30 (1941), whereas it was 1.44 in Egypt (1937); 1.72 in U.S.S.R. (1939); 1.44 in Japan (1938); 1.29 in Canada (1941-42); 1.19 in U.S.A. (1942); 0.9 in England and Wales (1943); .94 in Germany (1938); 0.87 in France (1939); 0.85 in Belgium (1942) and 0.76 in Sweden (1937).

(*Vide* E. M. Hubback : *Population Facts and Policies*, pp. 45-46; and K. Davis : *Population of India and Pakistan*, p. 61).

13. Gyanchand : India's Teeming Millions, p. 21.

14. L. Hogben : Retreat from Reason, p. 44.

The limitation of numbers forms a more permanent and an important part in any scheme of national or regional reconstruction. Prof. Goldscheid has remarked :

> "A deep-seated connexion exists between the economics of production and those of reproduction. Production can only be rationalised if one undertakes to rationalise reproduction, just as intensively and intelligently. Economics consists of economics of merchandise and of people. It is not until we consciously develop economics with reference to human beings and when we learn to put capital that lies in humanity to an economic use that we shall obtain at the same time the optimum density for a definite period, and according to the culture in question, so that economics of reproduction will thus be the basis of economics generally."[15]

It is interesting to recall here what Dr. Bonar has said regarding the essence of Malthus's teaching. He writes :

> "There might even be a summary in one phrase : he desired economy in human lives. A man who secured that would be the greatest of economists."

How to Reach the Desired Goal ?

We now proceed to discuss the means of achieving our desired goals. A decrease in the existing population can be brought about through increase in mortality and/or increased net emigration. The former might come about as a result of natural calamities like floods and famines as also because of epidemics and diseases through increased mal-nutrition and under-feeding, increased deficiency of medical aid and increased infanticide. Not only are health and longevity ends in themselves, but they are a part of a high standard of living. Therefore, it would be self-contradictory to say that death-rate should be increased in order to improve the standard of living. It is precisely a high death-rate that a population policy is designed to avoid. If people get poorer and poorer, they will inevitably begin dying off faster and faster until their number fails to grow. At that point the problem of population growth will have been solved, but not the problem of poverty. A country like India is faced with the question of how to stop population growth before a rise in mortality automatically stops, and also how to lower mortality still more without defeating this aim by a corresponding rise in numbers. Yet low mortality is not the only element in a high standard of living. There are other elements having little or nothing to do with longevity. Therefore, a temporary rise in mortality would not necessarily represent regression in the total standard of living. Its effect would depend largely on the duration, causes and circumstances of rise, *e.g.*, a sudden epidemic that quickly sweeps over 50 million people in India would greatly increase the average real income of the remaining population, specially if its incidence were highest in the non-productive ages. Such a sudden increase in deaths would only temporarily disrupt the economy, and it would just in one stroke eliminate a huge portion of the surplus population. Conceivably it might open the way to social reforms that would otherwise be more difficult and thus help to break the vicious circle of poverty. In this connexion Notestein has remarked :

> "Policies designed to yield (a rising death rate) are occasionally suggested as a temporary expedient to obtain release from pressure, pending a decline in fertility. However, the suggestion is based on a misconception of the factors governing growth. A period of increasing mortality would, in fact, impede the developments essential to induce a decline in fertility. Rising mortality in areas under consideration means in reality rising population pressure, and not a solution of that pressure."[16]

This implies that a heightened death rate is rejected as a policy because it lowers down the economic efficiency and a further deterioration in the health of the country. But increased mortality may not have a net adverse economic effect. Whether it does or not depends on how long it is sustained and what its causes are. If it is sustained or rises over a long period, it is a sign that conditions are getting worse. If it is sudden but temporary it may bring unusual prosperity through relief from excess numbers until the population builds up again to its former level. Even the immediate bad effects of a civil war may be compensated for by a subsequent period of lessened population pressure. This being true, the rejection of increased mortality as a policy does not rest on its economic effects. It rests on the fact that human life, except under extreme group necessity, is viewed as an end in itself and not as a means to an end. This reason explains why official domestic policy with reference to death is nearly always in one direction, namely, limitation. Therefore, it is quite clear that a reduction of the net reproduction rate cannot be attempted from the side of increasing the mortality.

Is Large-scale Emigration Possible ?

Let us now turn up to another alternative. Large-scale emigration can bring about a decrease in the existing population. A government might encourage it as a part of its population policy. In India's case, emigration outlets on any sizeable scale are not available due to the restrictions provided by various countries. Though there are available vast areas in Australia, Western North America, Africa and South America which are virgin from the habitation point of view where tractors, sheep and cattle luxuriate on the open spaces and man's artificially bolstered-up standard of living is protected by government tariffs, subsidies and bans on foreign immigration, there are areas which are compact and fully compressed with the bulk of humanity and where people actually live on sub-nutritional and sub-physiological standards. Such an economic and social contrast is entirely incompatible

15. *Proceedings of the World Population Conference* (1927), *p. 105.*

16. Notestein : *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-49.

world peace.[17] If Indians are allowed to settle in parts of the world, through the strict passage of nternational Immigration Act they would with traditioanl skill and method of culture may duce an era of prosperity in these lands resulting high standard of living until the usual Indian lation pressure develops. Hence, it is highly ed that immigration laws must be revised by a non consent, for unless a worldwide movement is ted to redistribute and adjust by concerted action ntire population of the globe with a view to t man-power to the material resources in every of the globe, the population problem is not likely adequately solved. But this thing seems to be cticable for some time to come and hence the ts of the excess that will appreciably affect the lation situation are not likely to be available to

ULD REDUCTION IN FERTILITY BE RESORTED TO ?

nother alternative for reducing the growth of ation is by effecting a reduction in fertility. Let how far the problem of growing population can ckled from the side of fertility. Fertility is basi- determined by fecundity. The spread between dity and fertility is determined directly by social biological and partly by economic factors. a well-known fact that marriages in India are rsal and that early marriages in India are quite nt resulting in early child-birth. Therefore, if revailing marriage rate is somehow reduced, it is le to check high fertility to a great extent. This ling marriage rate can be reduced by preventing arriages of males and females below some pres- age limits, by employing women in industries might lead to postponement of marriages and anging the sex-habits of the people through pro- other means of recreation.

MARRIAGE AGE SHOULD BE RAISED

et us see how far are these methods applicable lian conditions. So far as the raising of the age arriage is concerned it might be remarked that mber of children per family depends to a large on the age of the wife at the time of marriage. experience shows that the higher the age the is the fertility rate.[18] Similar conclusions were eached by Kuczynski. According to him :

"Below age 20, the chance of a married woman ring a child within a year is shown to be nearly between age 25-29, the chances have diminished 50 per cent to approximately ½, ten years later s little more than one-eighth, while in the oldest age group (40-45) it is but 3 per cent or about ¼ of that shown for the youngest age group when a change in the proportion of married women in one group may thus have an effect upon ensuing fertility fourteen times as great as an identical change in another group, the importance of the age distribution of the potential mothers is at once manifest."[19]

Hence, the effective fertile period of woman will increase or decrease according to the age at which marriage takes place. If the age at marriage is increased the effective fertile period will be reduced and the chances of a married woman bearing all the children she is capable of bearing, if the total and the effective fertile periods coincide exactly, will be reduced and total fertility may also be expected to decline. Therefore an increase in the age of marriage from 14 or 18 to 20 or over, enforced by suitable, effective and violation-proof legislation such as Early Marriage Restraint Act might be expected to reduce fertility to a great extent. It is expected that delayed and mature marriage with some fundamental education in the interval could contribute to the lowering of the birth rate[20] and also result in a better appraisal of the role that the girl in particular has to play in life as a wife, a mother and a citizen

ONLY RAPID INDUSTRIALISATION IS NOT ADVISABLE

It has been pointed out that the reproduction of human community is greatly affected by the status of women in that society. Experiences in other countries suggest that feminine advancement in general is likely to be associated with a falling birth rate. As regards the employment of woman in gainful occupations it may be pointed out that increasing employment of women in industries in the West has no doubt resulted in a fall in the number of marriages and consequently in fertility. The growth of industry affects population growth through urbanization. Industrialisation will no doubt increase the productivity of labour and create an abundance of badly needed commodities and services but at the same time it would encourage the development of new patterns of living. Rapid industrialization as a population policy is really a means of reducing fertility, not directly through officially diffusing contraceptive material and information, but indirectly through changing the conditions of life and thus forcing people in their private capacity to seek the means of family limita-

R. K. Mukerjee : *Races, Lands and Food*, p. 7 and p. 39. According to 1941 Census, if the wife belongs to the age 5-20, the average number of children born per family is 5.4 in the age-group 20-25 and 4.9 in the 25-30 age-group on. Thus it is evident that the first period is most fertile. period 20-30 is also fertile though less than the previous t once women are past that age, their reproductive power s rapidly until it exhausts itself, generally at the age of 45.

19. Kuczynski : *Measurement of Population Group*, p. 147.

20. In Ireland, the growth of population is held in check by a remarkable late average age of marriage. Similarly in Germany too (where the age of marriage is seldom below 20), marriages at 20 are more fertile (2.25 children) than late marriages, *viz.*, at 25 it is 1.69, at 30 it is 1.83 and at 35 only 0.78. Similar conclusion is reached by Dunkan. According to him, "A year's delay when the woman is aged from 25 to 30 averages of 0.45 of a child ; 0.37 when she is aged from 25 to 30; 0.32 when she is aged between 30 to 35; 0.29 when she is aged from 30 to 40 and 0.19 when she is aged from 40 to 45." He thinks that it would take a delay of 10 years on the part of a man to reduce a family by one child. (*Vide* Dunkan : Race *and Population* Problem, pp. 302-3).

tion. As a population policy industrialisation obviously means something more than merely allowing social evolution to take its course ; if this were all that were implied, it would represent no policy at all. It implies rather an attempt to speed industrialisation beyond what it would otherwise be and to emphasize in the process those elements of modernization that will most likely depress fertility, such as education, urbanisation, geographical and class mobility, multi-family dwellings, commercial recreation and conspicuous consumption. An industrial revolution is so enormous in complexity and is instrumental to so many ends, that its feasibility and character are likely to be determined on grounds other than population alone. But the main disadvantages of quick industrialisation as compared to direct birth-control policy are two-fold : first, it is more difficult and second, it is slower. Although economic changes seem to be more acceptable than birth-control measures because they interfere less with the mores, the truth is that any policy that will rapidly industrialise India would be a far greater shock to the basic social institutions than would any policy that attacked fertility directly. Fast industrialisation would sweep both the ryot and the zamindar from their moorings, transforming them into workers in a collectivised mechanized agriculture. The existing industrial and commercial system of India would have also to be completely overhauled and subjected to strong controls. Production schedules, prices, profits, wages, supply of raw materials, location of industries, flow of capital, mobility of labour—all would have to be minutely planned and rigidly administered by a Central Government. But at the same time powerful businessmen would not necessarily submit willingly to this extreme governmental control. Besides, this rapid industrialisation would make us incur a very heavy cost. The second disadvantage of forced industrialisation as a population policy is its slowness. Even granting that industrialisation can be greatly accelerated, the time required would nevertheless permit a huge interim growth in numbers. The death rate would for some time continue to fall faster than the birth rate. But how fast the modernization process can be speeded up depends on the role of India in world economy, on the ruthlessness with which industrialisation is pushed, and on the absence of chronic internal strife; but it seems hard to believe that it can be done rapidly to avoid an enormous growth. Should industrialisation be relied on as the sole means of reducing fertility, it could not be successful in time to achieve a marked rise in the standard of living. Of course, it can be argued that if India is industrialised this will automatically raise the standard of living; but it is equally true that the rise will be far below what it would have been had the fertility been lowered at an earlier time. For this *reason it seems unwise to rely on a rapid and speedy industrialisation. It must be remembered* that the solution of the problem of India's poverty lies not so much in an all-out industrialisation as in striking the correct balance between agriculture and industry, so that each may grow with the aid of, and not at the expense of, another.

Improvement and Extension of Agriculture is Highly Desirable

In the nature of things, especially in view of the vast proportion of India's rural population, agriculture will probably remain, in any forseeable future, the main stay of India's economy as the majority of people will still continue to be dependent on it. In any plan of economic development, therefore, the first and foremost emphasis must be placed on the improvement and extension of agriculture. More land, *i.e.*, all the tillable land must be brought under the plough and the cultivated land must be made to yield enough, *i.e.*, considerably more than the present yield not only to feed the whole country but with enough margin to provide necessary amenities for those who will remain directly dependent on it. The chief measures to be adopted should include :

(*i*) The ending of the existing system of uneconomic holdings by the introduction of co-operative farming ;

(*ii*) Reclamation of all available culturable waste land ;

(*iii*) Introduction of extensive zonal system of irrigation by harnessing all available sources of water supply ;

(*iv*) Production and distribution on the widest possible scale of natural and artificial fertilizers ;

(*v*) Soil conservation and conservation of moisture by dry-farming methods and the development of drought-resisting and fast-maturing crops;

(*vi*) Afforestation of all desert and unfertile areas ;

(*vii*) Universal institution of co-operative credit ;

(*viii*) Establishment of model farms all over the country ;

(*ix*) Improvement of livestock by elimination of surplus cattle, selective breeding and proper feeding and care ;

(*x*) Establishment of co-operative dairy, poultry, fruit and vegetable gardening on the widest possible scale ;

(*xi*) Abolition of the present land system ; and

(*xii*) Creation of a nation-wide machinery for agricultural marketing.

Only after this fundamental reorganisation has been achieved would it be possible to embark on a constructive programme of improvement and extension. It is contended that the measures outlined above will no doubt lead to a slackness in the birth rate for it has been well said that

> "The tendency of multiplication is greatest where men have no stake in existence, where they have no prospect of improving their conditions (the standard of living) and where children if born would not be miserable than the parents. Poverty accentuates the process of multiplication and multiplication intensifies poverty."[2] But when some chance of better conditions is visible, when a better

upation, education, some savings and some accu-
ılation appear within reach (as a result of higher
ndard of living), when it is seen that more
uths to feed mean a lessening possibility of
lising such an opportunity—then the propensity
multiplication is more and more held in
eck."[23]

Provision of Recreation Facilities is Urgently Needed

he sex-habits of the population directly affect
ty. The frequency of intercourse varies with such
ıal factors as health, vigour and mental make-up
: people as well as is determined by some external
s. Man is a gregarious animal. Sexual activity is
portant outlet for nervous energy and when there
) other outlets available to it, it naturally intensi-
:x activity. An increase in the outlets of nervous
y afforded by urban areas is supposed to have
) a slackening of sex activities in the West and
ıas resulted in reduced fertility. But it should
membered that even in the West this was only
f the minor and subsidiary causes of the decline
th rate. As Prof. Carr-Saunders observes :

"It has been suggested that the increased portunities of enjoyment which have been shared all classes may have been accompanied by a duction in frequency of intercourse. But for this duction was also due to some other factors."[23]

population policy that merely provides food,
ng, shelter and economic security is not sufficient.
ıeed for enjoyment and recreation is also impor-
:o divert one's attention towards better amenities
e than towards sexual activity only. To simply
house and maintain the health of the masses will
) better than the treatment meted out to the in-
: of the Zoo. Hence, a sound population policy
assure the under-privileged mothers especially and
ublic in general a chance to participate in extra-
)us activities. There must also be some forms of
.tion where the whole family may participate
vhere there is no segregation between men and
n. An enlightened government may, therefore, do
:o explore the possibilities in this direction and
a little happiness in the otherwise dull, drab and
y lives of India's work-a-day millions.

Deliberate Control of Birth

)eliberate control of birth might be divided into
:lasses, pre- and post- conception control. The
includes the control of conception by birth con-
artificial or otherwise, while the second comprises
fforts at ending conceptions, after they have occurred, by artificial means. The latter might be considered first.

The practice of artificial or induced abortions has played a significant part in the decline of fertility in the West. In India, artificial or induced abortion is not practised on any large scale. Social attitudes are against it and there is no reason to expect any increase in the number of abortions in the future. There is no prospect of any relaxation of legal restrictions in this regard. From another point of view, *viz.*, the health of the woman, it would not be desirable to practise abortion.

Fertility in India, therefore, cannot be expected to be reduced by an increase in the abortion rate. No doubt, there are certain pathological conditions that lead to premature termination of pregnancies. The deficiency of vitamin E, for instance, leads to increased abortions among women. In India, diet surveys did not reveal deficiency of vitamin E and such a deficiency is not likely to develop in near future as efforts will be made to combat malnutrition all round. In any case vitamin E is so widely distributed among different types of food that there should be little likelihood of its being a 'limiting factor' in human beings.

Control of births without artificial means might be brought about by increased continence and the so-called method of "safe period." The extent of continence required for affecting fertility in any significant manner will have to be very large but the proportion of those who can follow successfully this method of family limitation is infinitesimally small. It is said that every act of self-restraint strengthens our moral fibre and elevates our nature. Nobody will contradict this general proposition. The sex-instinct in the normal man is immensely strong and deep-rooted. Even a single act of sexual congress in a year may fertilise the ovum and keep up an yearly flow of births.[24] Besides, abstinence is harder in normally sexed men and women than in men and women of frigid, ascetic or intellectual type. Dr. Stopes thinks that

> "The man of sex vitality below par or the man engaged on very absorbing and strenuous intellectual work is, on the whole, likely to achieve this enforced celebacy within marriage without any material disturbance of his physiological functions but with the probable result that if it is extended over for many years his potential fertility may be reduced or totally lost. And even with the best will

---

The oft-quoted statement of Adam Smith, "Poverty is favour-
) generation," is applicable to India in procreation of life. The
o which the poor are subjected to in India and to which they
:n succumb, make them prudence-proof and are favourable to
irth rate. Accordingly, the half-starved women bear many
a while a 'pampered fine lady' is so often not capable of
any.

Taussig : *Principles of Economics*, Vol. II, p. 231.

Carr-Saunders : *World Population*, p. 101.

24. The civilized man has excessive fecundity and abundant fertility. The fecundity of man is at least 12 hundred times as great as it is needed to keep up population. Of woman it is four times as great as it is needed. (*Vide* Duncan : *Op. Cit.*, p. 272).

It has been estimated that the normal ejaculation of a man contains 226,000,000 spermatozoa and the ovaries of a woman contain about 75,000,000. Not more than 500 of these ova develop to maturity during the fertile period of a woman's life, and not more than 20 or 30 can possibly be used for reproduction. One ovum matures each lunar month between puberty and menopause, and for each matured ovum the male develops at least 850,000,000 spermatozoa. Since only one ovum and one spermatozoa are needed in each reproduction, we can gain some idea of the latent reproductive power of human beings.

in the world he will hardly prevent himself getting at least a little "queer" and fidgety if not actually irritable and the woman will develop some form of sleeplessness, digestive complaint, nervousness, hysteria, ovarian congestion, thyroid and endocrine disturbances, sexual neurasthenia, anxiety neurosis and fully developed psychoses."[25]

In men continued abstinence causes debility, impotence, congested glands and insomnia besides which a permanent barrier is established between husband and wife destroying the self-confidence and spontaneity which is so essential to a man's normal functioning. In the face of these facts continence (abstinence within marriage) would seem to be an extremely imperfect means of restricting population growth; though abstinence is necessary during days when menstruation would be due for the second and third time, during the period when spontaneous abortion is most likely to occur and during the later months of the pregnancy.

Another method of birth control is the "safe period" or rhythmic method. Every woman has a "safe period" or a sterile period in her monthly cycle during which, investigations have shown, conception cannot take place. The existence of a "safe period" in a woman's menstural cycle is itself doubtful[26] for it cannot be easily determined for women whose cycles are irregular or not of four-weekly type, for variations of 8 or 10 days are not uncommon between one period and the next in normal women showing regular cycles. The woman's rhythm is usually upset by "unusual physical exercise, a change of climate, nursing, chronic afflictions or anemia." Dr. Dickison says :

> "Although every woman has a long series of infertile days in her monthly cycle, there is enough variation between different women so that no general rule can be formulated that will safeguard all women. It can be stated with a definite certainty that during the week preceding the menstrual period the chance of pregnancy is one-fifth as great as during either of the first two weeks."

Thus if pregnancy is to be avoided the coitus can be had during the "safe period." Though the recent researches on the "safe period" do not at present afford a fool-proof solution to the birth control problem, they are of very great importance. If the sterile period can be definitely delimited so that any woman can be sure of when it exists for her, the need for contraceptive precautions will be eliminated during half the month.

It will therefore at once be realised that both continence and safe-period practices are matters of such private decision and concern that they can hardly be touched upon by the activities of a public authority and planners. Apart from their doubtful effects on fertility they are not an efficient weapon in the armoury of population planners. In India, no significant results are likely to flow from this direction.

We, therefore, need something more effective and calling for less heroic sacrifice on the part of the normal man than almost complete abstinence, and that is supplied by modern methods of birth control. It is hardly disputed today that the use of contraceptives is the most powerful and direct means of controlling fertility. The fall of birth rate and the substantial reduction in the net reproduction rates of populations in the West have been primarily the result of the spread and increasing use of contraception. But many people in India are still violently opposed to these methods, partly on medical but mainly on moral grounds. They consider artificial interference with the natural process of sexual union as extremely harmful to health. In answer to unproven views of this type, it will suffice to quote the following passage of Dr. C. V. Drysdale :

> "Nothing can do away with the fact that birth rates have declined (in the West), the longevity of both men and women has enormously increased from the figure of 35 to 45 years before birth control commenced to 60 to 65 years today, and that it is still rapidly increasing. Moreover, recent figures have shown that the improvement in the death rates has taken place to most remarkable extent, especially during the productive period, both in men and women."

Birth control offers a simple solution to the conflict between the desire for mating and the desire for offspring. But in India objections have been raised for the use of birth control measures mainly on moral grounds. It has been contended that the use of contraceptives interfering with Nature cheats her of her end. people using them gratify their passion and yet avoid conception which is its natural consequence. On this view of things, it may be pointed out that every act of human intelligence should be considered unnatural and immoral. It must be remembered that morals are man-made. Practices and institutions which have the moral sanction of the society today were at one time or another considered immoral and *vice-versa*. Those who are opposed to birth control maintain that it promotes immorality through excessive sex-indulgence in and out of marriage. But the evil does not seem to be as serious as it is made out. Hosts of normal men and women in U.K. and U.S.A. have been using birth control appliances, but to assume that they have indulged excessively and to their undoing is in accordance neither with everyday experience nor with the Registrar-General's statistics.[27] Every socially necessary device or institution is bound to be abused by a microscopic minority but that is no argument against the device, we do not close up tanks and wells because some people are drowned in them.

25. Dr. M. Stopes : *Contraceptions.*

26. Dr. K. Ogino (a Gynecologist of Japan) and Dr. Knaus (of Austria), after studying the quiescence of the uterus that follows ovulation, have reached the conclusion that "Fertilisation can only occur between the 11th and the 19th day continuing from the onset of menstruation, among women with regular 28 days cycles ; and that *conversely the first 10 days* and the last 10 days constitute the *'sterile' or 'safe period'.*"

27. F. W. White : *Birth Control and its Opponents*, p. 142.

:garding the argument that birth control is un-
l, it may be said that our modern civilisation
: summed up as a bold and daring interference
Nature. We are constantly controlling, directing
ıwarting Nature to serve our purposes rather
er own. And users of contraceptives cheat Nature
s than she can cheat herself; for, out of every 5
ı sperms ejected at each orgasm, only one finds
y to the ovum to fertilise it and the rest die
ı fruitless existence.

:garding the religious objections raised by cer-
:oups, as the Catholics, it may be added that no
ot is being made to compel them (*i.e.*, those
o not wish to use them) and we do not see why
ıeople should attempt to force their views upon
In no country of the world has religious opposi-
een able to stop the diffusion of birth control
ıore than it has been able to stop the use of
o or alcohol. The practice will eventually come
ia in spite of opposition. In spite of all these
ons it may be said that there is an equally good
or the use of contraceptives to regulate the
ş of births. Social customs are such that many
eugenically fit persons cannot have families
e of low salaries. Without doubt thousands of
'oung men and women, physically and morally
would gladly like to produce children if they
:hat they could restrict their family so as to rear
children well.[28] But their fear of large families
ı, and often prevents, their happiness and
ıcto the procreation of a better and stronger
od and womanhood. Even if they marry,
n often come too early after marriage, rendering
the complex business of mutual adjustment of the newly-wedded difficult. They also follow one another in quick succession, damaging the health and happiness of the mother and encroaching upon the care and attention which each child should properly receive from its parents. In such cases there is evidently a large field for the use of contraceptives so that the married couple is relieved of the haunting fear of unwanted children and gets an opportunity to cultivate beauty and delicacy in sex life. And with this freedom will come a new feeling of responsibility both in respect of sex association and of the children who may be born of it. *Used within the context of a positive sex morality, contraceptives should elevate and not degrade human nature.*

The low standard of living in India, the ignorance and illiteracy of men and women, the lack of privacy, which is essential to the unobstructive use of contraceptives, due to over-crowding in towns, the absence of any organisation, social or administrative, which can be used to propagate ideas and instruments of control thereby changing the mental and social atmosphere (which is generally hostile to the spread of contraception), the necessity for taking the message of birth control in the villages, the costliness and ineffectiveness of the available contraceptives are some of the formidable obstacles to the widespread use of birth-control appliances in the country. These can be removed by raising the standard of living of the masses, by developing the mental and psychological background through appropriate social and educational policy, by inventing cheaper and more fool-proof contraceptives and by supplying these requisites free of cost by the Government to the necessitous women when the practice is advocated on the grounds of health. The Government should also have a control over the manufacture and sale of contraceptives as in the case of food and drugs. Lastly, a rational family planning and education of the masses in the use of contraceptives must be accepted as the most effective means of combating population increase. The opening of the clinics throughout the country would help a great deal towards the solution of this urgent problem.

Birth control when practised can help provide the best for the children within a limited family budget, safeguard the health of the mother, improve the race by eugenic control, prevent population pressure and thereby remove a cause of war and guarantee every woman the right to say how many children she should bear. In a word, birth-control will reduce the death rate not only because it will reduce the number of unwanted children but also because it will prevent the birth of babies who have no reasonable chance of survival.

The Goal of Improvement of the Quality of Population

Let us now refer to the other goal of population policy, viz., the improvement in the quality of popula-

---

The following table reproduced here shows to what extent
:raception been adopted :

	Attempted contraception (per cent)	*Desired but no attempt* (per cent)	*No desire* (per cent)	*Total women*
ection	0.3	4.0	95.7	1,459
fiddle Class—				
area (Muslim)	3.3	0.3	96.4	1,499
area (Hindu)	13.2	7.0	80.0	1,265
lass—				
area (Hindu)	38.0	1.0	60.3	1,452

e returns suggest that there is only a slight desire for birth in rural areas, but that the higher classes in the large city ones who have definitely adopted the practice. As for the used, the following figures are instructive :

	Continence	*Safe period*	*Coitus interruptus*	*Husband uses*	*Wife uses*	*Total case*
lection	4	..	..	..	..	4
fiddle Class—						
ı (Muslim)	11	22	10	24	4	50
ı (Hindu)	56	17	32	100	7	167
fiddle Class—						
ı (Hindu)	130	237	235	251	37	551

ıaly a number of couples used more than one method. The ıular methods were those used by the husband (possibly : in importance were "Coitus Interruptus" and "Safe Among the reasons given for family limitation, inability to r more children was slightly in the lead, with woman's health econd and the economic reasons a close third. The age-group ıosed to the practice of contraception in the two Hindu areas of was the one 25-29.—*Quoted by K. Davis : Op. Cit., pp. 227-28.*

tion. Quality in this connection might be divided into two categories, namely, first, the quality of the existing population, such as its health, efficiency, vigour, etc., and secondly, the inherited quality or the biological quality of the population.

An attempt should be made to achieve the first type of quality by the development of health services throughout the country and by concerted efforts at combating malnutrition and underfeeding. It has been definitely known that majority of deaths in India occur due to causes which have their origin in our environmental conditions. It, therefore, implies that if that environment is controlled and improved, a steep rise in our death rate is sure to be checked. For this purpose the first objective should be to increase the income of the masses per head so that they may be able to improve their diets and spend more on healthy living and thereby resist diseases to which they are at present a great prey.

> "No preventive campaign against malaria, against tuberculosis or against leprosy, no maternity relief or child welfare activities are likely to achieve any great success unless those responsible recognise the vital importance of the factor of defective nutrition and from the very start give it their most serious attention. Abundant supplies of quinine and the multiplication of tuberculosis hospitals, sanatoriums, leprosy colonies, maternity and child-welfare centres are no doubt desirable, if not essential, but none of these go to the root of the matter. The first essentials for the prevention of diseases are a high standard of health, a better physique and a greater power of resistance to infection. These can only be attained if the food of the people is such (both energy-giving and protective) as will give all the physiological and nutritional requirements of the human frame."[29]

Similar views have been expressed by Dr. Megaw :

> "If the people of India were properly nourished, if they avoided living in the same room with persons who sneeze and cough, and if they took precautions to avoid swallowing infections with their food and drink, their average duration of life would be doubled."[30]

Nutritional Programme

The nutritional reformers in India are, therefore, faced with a four-fold task, *viz*:

(*i*) To raise the purchasing power of the average Indian, or plan a balanced and nutritive diet within the reach of his purse ;

(*ii*) To enlighten the supposedly educated and well-to-do who can afford a balanced diet but who do not consume such a diet at present ;

(*iii*) To educate the public against religious and social dietary prejudices which are now serious obstacles in the nourishment of healthy men, women and children ; and

(*iv*) To produce more and make the nation as a whole self-sufficient with regard to her staple food requirements.

Any attempt to reach these objectives must be, to begin with, within the reach of the average family.

Besides improving and providing nutritious diet to the people it is also essential that the existing medical facilities should be increased. An effective system of modern health service is impossible without adequate professional personnel, institutional equipments and research institutions. It must keep personnel and institutions abreast of scientific changes and progress achieved in other parts of the world. Health development programme must include modern, up-to-date and large special clinics on a national scale, such as national leprosaria, tuberculosis sanatoria, mental asylums, orthopedic clinics and psychiatric departments. Mothers' and children's health centres on nation-wide scale should be organised and access to such centres must be made available to expectant mothers, mothers and infants of all social and economic classes. Health inspection and advice should be extended free of cost to those mothers and infants who are unable to visit the centres. If in addition to this work, medical inspection, diagnosis and treatment are offered to children in urban and rural schools a remarkable reduction in the high infant mortality rate can be effected.

Negative Eugenics

The improvement in the second type of quality can be promoted to a great extent. It is now settled that it is possible to direct the process of reproduction so as to bring out the best hereditary qualities that we have. Such scientific control of human breeding is known as Eugenics. There are two lines of approach—one negative and the other positive. Negative eugenics would prevent the increase in numbers among those classes of population that are clearly defective. There are defectives, infirms and socially inadequate persons in every country, but in India these rise to millions. Most civilised countries adopt in this regard systematic programmes of prevention and treatment, and some have taken measures to prevent the birth of individuals doomed by their inner nature to suffer from handicaps that make a happy and useful life impossible. While treatment of organic defects and infirmities are essential in order that social inadequates may prove useful and be not an excessive burden to a society handicapped by food shortage, a programme of compulsory segregation and sterilization of the feeble-minded, imbeciles, idiots, deformed or other markedly defective persons should also be considered in our country. Children of parents either or both of whom are mentally defective, are on the average, subnormal. It is necessary that measures should be passed by legislation for the sterilization of persons showing one or more of these conditions—insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, criminality, venereal diseases, etc. If all the feeble-minded persons were prevented from procreating the problem of illegitimacy and prostitution could be more easily tackled. There is ample justi-

29. *Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1935, p. 36.*

30. *E. Blunt : Social Service in India, p. 229.*

on for selectively sterilizing the entire group of litary defectives, for it is found that due to both ed heredity and maintenance of inferior environ- s among the mental defectives—a trail of crime, ler, pauperism, prostitution and illegitimacy is the equence : these are characteristic of the history of lefective people. In India, we are adding every year he millions of unemployed and semi-unemployed le a considerable portion of these social inadequates mental defectives. Hence, selective sterilization of ite types—vagabonds, criminals, prostitutes, dicants, etc.—would not only decrease the present society incurs for these unfortunates but also nish the economic handicaps of social normals les reducing the number of undesirables very lly. Hence it is highly desirable that India must stigate the possibility of eugenical sterilization.[31] rican and English examples may be of some help ndia. In U.S.A., laws have been in existence for icting the reproduction of the unfit by steriliza-

In England, the approach towards this pro- has been much more cautious. The Departmental mittee on Sterilisation (1933) recommended that lation should be introduced to make legal the ntary sterilisation of persons with a definite here- y diseases or defects and they also considered with very strict safeguard this legislation should xtended to "carriers of these diseases." But in a so little is known about the distribution of rn defects in the population that no such legal sures are going to be attempted for the present.

Positive Eugenics

As contrasted to this, positive eugenics aims to note the reproduction of our best stocks but it is difficult, rather definitely impossible for India, it concerns the cultivation of desirable human s, and no agreement can be reached on what titutes the most desirable or ideal human quali- Nevertheless the society has to set up certain entions and standards on social, religious or racial , which do influence marriage; such conventions biological lines may be established. Hence, we sug- that the policy for India should be this : it should e such legal, social and economic adjustments

(1) A larger proportion of superior persons rill have children than at present;
(2) The average number of offspring of each uperior person will be greater than at present ;
(3) The most inferior persons will have no hildren and lastly
(4) Other inferior persons will have fewer hildren than now.

These measures will lead to selective fertility.

"If the birth-control exercised by individual parents," writes Prof. Irving Fisher, "could itself be controlled by a Eugenic committee it could undoubtedly become the surest and most supremely important means of improving the human race so that we could breed out the unfit and breed in the fit."[32]

And then and then only we could in a few generations conquer degeneracy, dependency and delinquency and develop a far superior race than at present.

Provision of Educational Facilities

No doubt the above measures when put into practice would prove highly useful to society but with an overwhelmingly illiterate population attempts at nation-wide medical or social reforms are bound to be fruitless. Hence, it is increasingly felt that a national educational policy should be formulated to cover (*i*) the education of every child of school-going age; (*ii*) the education of adult illiterates and (*iii*) the maintenance of the literacy standards thus attained.

The contribution of education in solving the population problem would work in more than one way. Education of an individual may increase his earning capacity and lower the birth rate. All available evidence shows that the higher the educational and social status of the individual and the family the lower is the fertility. Prolonged education usually means postponed marriages.[33] Compulsory education will emancipate women and make them economically independent and raise their standard of living.

The nation-wide educational policy should aim at the following principles :

(1) Equal educational opportunities should be guaranteed to all children. A certain minimum of education for all boys and girls and higher education of various types for those who have the aptitude for it have to be provided.
(2) The State should bear a complete responsibility of providing free and compulsory education to all children from the age of 6 to 14.
(3) Higher university, technical and vocational education should be made available for those who have aptitude for it but who cannot afford it by granting scholarships and maintenance grants.
(4) Provision should also be made for imparting education to illiterate adult masses as well as physically and mentally handicapped children besides providing for recreation and social amenities, free medical service and an employment bureau.
(5) To implement the above measures a large number of teachers should be given requisite training within a stipulated time.
(6) An efficient administrative machinery

1. Sterilization would also be justified where a couple have y a fair-sized family, where there is bad heredity, or danger of med children, or where the husband and wife are suffering from rosis disorder or where the permanent conditions of life and make *parenthood inadvisable.*

32. Quoted by Duncan : *Op. Cit.*, p. 352.

33. The Census Commissioner for 1931 remarks : "It seems definitely established that intellectual activity acts as a check upon fertility. In order that a higher standard of living may affect the rate of reproduction it is apparent that not only is an increase in education and culture involved, since it seems definitely established that intellectual activity acts as a check upon fertility, but also the psychological appreciation of a higher probability of survival."—*Vide Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 82.

must be brought into existence to administer the national scheme with vision, courage and faith.

It should be remembered that the question of education of the individual is to be treated as a necessary minimum preparation for citizenship and not necessarily as a contribution towards the solution of the Indian population problem. This scheme of education should be adopted not just in a few representative districts but in the country as a whole and then and then only a great step in the right direction would have been taken.

Improvement in Administrative Machinery

So much about reaching different goals, but something has also to be done in the administrative machinery. As is well known qualitatively and quantitatively Indian official and non-official statistics are very inaccurate and defective, as the whole task of collecting statistics is entrusted to the untrained and unpaid enumerators and village Patwaris. It is therefore suggested that while the collection of data on particular and localised problems by private agencies like insurance companies, industrial organisations, universities and unofficial academic bodies interested in economic analysis should be encouraged, the task of gathering basic data should rest with a public, tax-supported agency with no special interest or bias like that of the government. The Census operations in India should not be a temporary one but there should be a permanent Bureau of Census, like the Bureau of Census in Washington, at the centre with provincial and state branches having a large measure of administrative autonomy. Then there is a vital need for the integration of the census data and vital statistics with the ordinary work-a-day life and administration of the country, and it is necessary to make this integration organic rather than, as it is today, sporadic. At the same time the Government should appoint a Population Commission composed of demographers, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, statisticians, medical authorities and social reformers with wide terms of reference to enquire into various aspects of this question and recommend a policy for governmental adoption.[34]

Conclusion

The conclusion emerges that ideally, in orde maximise real income, the population policy of I should include at least three measures : a progra of strategic emigration, a sustained and vigorous b control campaign, and a scheme for rapid indus isation, because no one of these complex measures c a substitute for other measures or promise the maxi effect if pursued alone. Emigration should be encou with a view to losing as little as possible in terms of and capital and gaining as much as possible in t of remittances. Birth control should be diffused the help of films, radio, ambulatory clinics, and services and materials; aided by research on both techniques of contraception and the methods of persuasion ; and linked clearly to the public health child-welfare movements. Industrialisation shoul pushed up by central planning and control, by f capital formation, by intensive training progran by sweeping agricultural reforms, and by subsidi heavy industry. The skilful and vigorous pursu such a broad policy would probably shorten the growth. It will mean that control has been deliber extended to fertility as well as to mortality tha demographic transition has quickly achieved by ning. It would also mean a higher standard of l and a more abundant life for future generations. there is little likelihood that such a comprehe policy will be adopted, for our means are limited the family behaviour is too intertwined with rel and mores to be manipulated in a purely instrum way. The one measure that has the best chance of b pushed through is rapid industrialisation but not demographic reasons. But rapid industrialisation w not result in slackening the population pressure u the conditions for the individual should be of su type as to give a powerful personal incentive for l ing births. The birth rate should then drop an modern demographic balance be achieved. To c this birth rate, we must necessarily incorporate pla parenthood as an essential element in any progra that actually raises the standard of living to the r mum possible limit and gives us the greatest nat strength. Our unwillingness to do it will neces result in perpetual poverty or in absolute cat phes. In short, the alternative to this method is poverty, more misery, more mortality, more dis more epidemics and more scarcities; in a word wretched living.

---

34. The information must be collected on these aspects : (1) Total population, (2) Sex, (3) Age (in terms of completed years at the last birthday), (4) Data on marital status should be collected for married, widowed, divorced and single persons. (5) Place of birth, (6) Citizenship, (7) Mother tongue, (8) Educational characteristics, (9) Fertility, (10) Economic characteristics, (11) Total economically active and inactive population. This should include (*a*) persons engaged only in housework at home, students, inmates of female, mental and charitable institutions and persons not employed in economic activities such as retired and disabled persons and those who derive their income from rents, royalties, dividends, pensions, etc; (*b*) occupation, industry and industrial (*c*) population dependent on various types of economic ac (*d*) agricultural population, (11) urban and rural populatio (12) households.

TWO RECENT INDICATIONS OF WEST BENGAL'S ECONOMIC DECAY

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

Signs of Bengal's economic decay are apparent even to a casual observer. The cultivators are steadily facing economic deterioration. This is evident from all recent enquiries which confirm the fact that owner-cultivators are gradually becoming cultivating labourers, while cultivating labourers are becoming landless share-croppers. The share-croppers in their turn are either facing extinction or trying to shift to some other occupation, though not with much success. Then there are the middle classes, whose tale of woe needs no repetition. There is also evidence to show that concentration of capital, whether in the shape of land or otherwise, is increasing at a fatser rate than before —an inevitable result of the process of decay. In fact, it has been statistically proved that such concentration is greater in Bengal than elsewhere in India. Add to these broad and fairly long-term trends the effects of War, Famine and Partition. The result can be easily imagined. In fact, it is not difficult to feel, even as a layman, the tremendous strain on our economy which has almost reached the breaking point. A complete scientific analysis of the problem is much beyond the compass of an article. We shall, on the present occasion, confine ourselves to a very limited cross-section of the problem and examine only two recent indications of Bengal's economic decay.

I

Rural Indebtedness Enquiry in West Bengal

During the years 1946-47, an enquiry was undertaken, at the instance of the then Government of Bengal, by the Indian Statistical Institute into the state of rural indebtedness in Bengal. The final report of this enquiry has just been published. This report reveals some significant facts about the changing condition of our agricultural classes. The *Land Revenue Commission Report* revealed the fundamental weakness of the basic pattern. The Report on *Agricultural Statistics by Plot to Plot Enumeration Survey* (popularly called the Ishaque Report) undertaken during the closing years of the second World War disclosed pointedly the sharp deterioration in the economic status of the agriculturists during the quinquennium. *The Survey of the After-effects of the Bengal Famine* 1943 undertaken by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis and others also underlined the effects of the Bengal Famine on our already disintegrating economy. The extent of change can be measured in various ways ; we produce below only two short tables about land-ownership and method of cultivation which will indicate how fast the process of decay is in operation :

Table I

Land-ownership according to the L. R. Commission Report and the Ishaque Report (Undivided Bengal)

	Land Revenue Commission Report	*Ishaque Report*
1. Percentage of families having up to 3 acres of land to total number of families	57.2%	76.1%
2. Percentage of families having more than 3 acres of land to total number of families	42.8%	23.9%
	100.0%	100.0%

Table II

Manner of Cultivation

(Percentage to total land cultivated)

	Land Revenue Commission Report	*Ishaque Report*
1. Land cultivated by family members of the owner *plus* land cultivated by labourers	79.0%	56.4%
2. Land let out to *bargadars*	21.1%	24.9%
	100.0%	81.3%

(Note : The Ishaque Report is silent about the remaining 18.7 per cent)

The Rural Indebtedness Survey, while confirming these broad trends, nevertheless reveals some unusual facts. They may be briefly enumerated as follows :

(1) There has been an over-all improvement in the debt position of the rural families. In the province as a whole (*i.e.*, West Bengal) 50 per cent of the families were in debt in 1946, but the corresponding figure for 1947 is 31.7 per cent indicating a reduction of 18.3 per cent.

(2) But while the percentage of the number of families involved in debt has come down, the average level of debt has gone up during the period. For West Bengal, the estimate of average debt per family stands at Rs. 127 and Rs. 131 in 1946 and 1947 respectively. This is a very significant fact, the implications of which will be discussed later.

(3) Breaking down the over-all figures about the size of debt and examining the distribution of families according to the size of interest-bearing cash debt, we find that for about 71.5 per cent of the indebted families the amount of debt in February 1946 was below Rs. 100 and for only 2.7 per cent the debt was above Rs. 500. In March, 1947, the amount of debt was below Rs. 100 for 65 per cent of the indebted families and only for 3.6 per cent the debt exceeded Rs. 500. The reduction of the percentage of families below the debt-level of Rs. 100 from 71.5 per cent to 65 per cent may be taken at the first sight to be an improvement in the economic position of the most in-

digenous families. But as we shall show later on, this is not the case. The real picture is rather just the reverse.

(4) If we now relate the figures of indebtedness to the average size of holding of the indebted family, we find another very significant fact. The following table gives the extent and volume of indebtedness by the size of the holding :

TABLE III

(1) *Indebtedness by the size of land owned—1947*
Percentage of families indebted

	Interest-bearing cash loans	Interest-free cash loans	Crop (paddy) loan
Below 2 acres	28.87%	18.69%	12.23%
From 2 to 5 acres	34.79%	20.00%	11.67%
„ 5 to 10 „	39.46%	17.30%	7.42%
10 and above	29.52%	18.10%	3.61%
Total	30.91%	18.75%	11.06%

(2) *Indebtedness by the size of land owned*
Average loan per family

	Interest-bearing cash loans	Interest-free cash loans	Crop (paddy) loan
	Rs.	Rs.	Mds.
Below 2 acres	82.87	55.48	8.77
2 to 5 acres	128.99	100.05	10.93
5 to 10 acres	231.82	104.92	18.95
10 and above	404.92	137.73	40.83
Total	131.17	74.08	10.58

It will be seen from the above tables that, generally speaking, both the extent and volume of indebtedness *increase* with the increase in the size of the holding, a fact contrary to usual expectations. Thus, in the group with less than 2 acres of land, the percentage of families involved in interest-bearing cash loan is 28.87 ; the corresponding figure for the next higher group (2 to 5 acres) is *higher, i.e.,* 34.79 per cent! The figure for the next group is *still higher, i.e.,* 39.46 per cent ! We notice a decline only in the "group, 10 acres and above." Similarly, the average loan per family in the lowest group is Rs. 82.87 (interest-bearing cash loan) ; the figure for the next group is Rs. 128.99; the figure for the third group is Rs. 231.82 while the figure for the highest group is as high as Rs. 404.92 !

Now, what does this phenomena signify ? A facile way of explaining it would be to say that higher the level of income still higher is the level of reckless expenditure, this leading to a higher level of debt amongst the upper-income-groups. But this theory has been long refuted. Even the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee remarked that

> "An examination of the sources of indebtedness shows that litigations and social and religious ceremonies contribute, but little, to rural indebtedness."

The figures collected during the present Survey *finally puts an end to that theory :*

(See Table IV)

Taking the province as a whole, about 50 per cent of the debt is incurred for meeting the expenditure on food ! In the case of share-croppers, the figure is higher than the average (55.98 p.c.) and in the case of agricultural labourers it is as high as 71.7 per cent. This reveals, if anything does, the grim reality of the situation. It is very highly sub-marginal living on any showing.

All these facts permit only one conclusion to be drawn from the apparently unusual trends referred to above. It is this that in this sub-marginal sphere, the incidence of indebtedness does not vary inversely with the level of income. Hence the usual expectation of debts falling off with increase in income cannot be found here. Variations in the incidence of indebtedness in these sub-marginal cases depend more on the *possibility* of getting loans than on the *necessity* for loans. In other words, the needs of the lower income groups may be comparatively higher, but the incidence is still low because of their low creditworthiness. As creditworthiness increases without being accompanied by a corresponding fall in the necessity for loans—an inevitable feature of the sub-marginal level—the volume of indebtedness also grows. All the facts, which appear unusual at the first sight, will have to be interpreted on this basis. The slight fall in the percentage of families involved in the group "10 acres and above" indicates that this group, though still far off from the margin, has, none-the-less, passed the lowest point of the curve, though the extent of indebtedness however does not indicate any such trend even for this group.

This conclusion is fully confirmed by other facts brought out by the Survey. It has been disclosed that the activities of professional money-lenders, proprietors and Co-operative Societies have steadily declined, with the result that the most important source of rural credit now is a class of rich cultivators who are lucky enough to be able to combine agriculture with money-lending. To quote the words of the Report :

> "Another fact (besides B.A.D. Act and Money-lenders Act) responsible for the decrease in the volume of loan is that, in many cases, the village Mahajans gave up the profession of money-lending due to legal difficulties in recovering loans, and rural families had to acquire money by selling assets."

The number of mortgages expressed as percentage of number of sales stood at 24 per cent in 1940 but came down to 10 per cent in 1943, this indicating the increase in the number of outright sales. The Report concludes with the words that

> "Both the extent of volume of debts today is definitely smaller than in the thirties, notable changes having appeared during the war years. This cannot however be interpreted as a sign of prosperity. The poorer sections of the population have failed to reduce their debts ; only the richer sections have done so. A tendency towards outright sale of assets has appeared during the last

TABLE IV

ntage distribution of the amount of loan by causes of incurrence and occupation of debtor families

occupational	Food	House repair	Social & religious	Litigations	Arrear rent	Cultivation	Repayment of old debt	Others	Total
tors	54.90	....	22.17	....	9.96	12.97	....	....	100.00
s	35.38	8.43	17.92	0.47	8.78	2.46	1.41	25.15	100.00
tors	44.01	0.60	10.27	0.40	8.41	12.07	0.21	24.03	100.00
roppers ..	55.98	1.96	17.78	....	1.04	5.34	....	17.90	100.00
tural labourers ..	71.70	5.71	5.82	0.27	4.18	3.15	0.88	8.29	100.00
ıen	53.58	10.91	17.04	....	2.73	3.9ɔ	....	11.79	100.00
profession ..	60.56	4.73	5.08	....	2.57	6.86	0.19	20.01	100.00
men	42.92	2.55	6.47	5.54	17.61	3.15	....	21.76	100.00
.. ..	53.89	2.78	8.78	....	10.96	4.86	0.43	18.80	100.00
Total	48.86	2.81	10.71	0.75	7.99	8.02	0.39	20.47	100.00

de or so. Further, generally speaking, credit ot so readily available in the village as in the ."

ıt is the reason why there has been some ement in the over-all debt position or the ıge of total number of families involved in ıs come down ; that is also the reason why as been some reduction in the percentage of ıcome-groups involved in debt ; that is finally ıon why the extent and volume of debt increase ıy increase in income. Thus while the com-ely higher income groups are getting more and ıvolved in debt, the lower income groups are orced to part with for ever the meagre assets d and thus plunge headlong into abysmal

II

GES IN THE OCCUPATION PATTERN : VARIATIONS IN THE DEGREE OF DEPENDENCE

the concluding paragraph of the brilliant book *ography of Hunger*, the author asserts that

"Hunger and misery are not caused by the ence of too many people in the world, but, er, by having too few to produce and too many eed."

is, of course, true that expansion has its limits ere is ultimately a ceiling up to which any ɔn of life, at a given technological level, can a given population. None-the-less, the above n is essentially correct. When the number of ents vastly outrun the number of workers in d of economic activity, the inevitable result is hunger and misery. A study of the changes in upation pattern and of the variations in the of dependence during the period 1931 to 1951 the correctness of the above saying in the case gal—particularly West Bengal.

e 1931 Census Report gives the percentages of in different occupational groups to the total of *workers* in all groups. The Statistical Aba-ır West Bengal (2nd issue) breaks down those gal figures on the basis of 1931 Census for engal only. The 1951 Census Report* takes into account workers *plus* dependents (*i.e.*, total *population* in each occupational group) and gives their proportions to total *population*. But the proportion of workers, fully dependents and earning dependents has been given in the Press Handout issued by the Census Superintendent, West Bengal, and it is possible to find out the number of workers, fully dependents and earning dependents on the basis of those percentages. On the other hand, the proportion of workers to dependents on an all-India basis in 1931 has been given in the *Census Report*, Vol. I, Part I, p 275. It is not very correct to apply all-India averages to Bengal, and particularly to West Bengal, but if in the absence of other figures we proceed on that basis we can calculate the percentage of total population (that is, workers *and* dependents) in each group to total population within a reasonable margin of error.

It is possible, in this way, to get three sets of figures, namely, (1) Proportion of total population in each group to total population ; (2) Percentage of workers only in each group to total population ; and (3) Percentage of workers only in each group to the total number of workers. The three sets of figures are presented below for the important occupational groups :

TABLE V

	Percentage of total *Population* in each group to total *Population* ..		
	1931 Undivided Bengal	1931 West Bengal only	1951 West Bengal
Agriculture and minerals	49.05%	51.4%	57.21%
Industry	6.1%	10.4%	15.36%
Trade	5.1%	6.6%	9.32%
Transport	1.4%	2.5%	3.05%

It will be seen that the groups 'Industry,' 'Trade' and 'Commerce' have recorded some advance even in the case of over-all population. Now we turn to the other two sets of figures :

sus of India, Paper No. I, 1952, a Government of India

TABLE VI

Proportion of *Workers* in each class to total *Population*

(*Number of workers per 100 of total population*)

	1931 Undivided Bengal	1931 West Bengal only	1951 West Bengal
All occupations	28.78	....	31.5
Agriculture and minerals	19.83	22.7	14.89
Industry	2.51	4.7	6.71
Trade	1.84	2.9	3.12
Transport	0.56	1.04	1.31

This table relates the total number of *workers* in each group to the total *population* and not to the total number of workers in all occupations. But the elimination of dependents only at one end at once makes its effects felt. These effects are brought out more forcibly in the next table which relates the number of workers in each group to the total number of workers only :

TABLE VII

Percentage of *Workers* in each group to total *Workers*

	1921 Undivided Bengal	1931 Undivided Bengal	1931 West Bengal only	1951 West Bengal
Agriculture and minerals	72.33%	68.63%	57.97%	47.7%
Industry	10.00%	8.80%	12.04%	21.5%
Trade	6.43%	5.91%	7.14%	10.0%
Transport	2.22%	1.93%	2.68%	4.2%

It is true that any broad and general comparison of West Bengal with undivided Bengal will be vitiated by the peculiar features of comparatively heavier industrialisation and urbanisation in West Bengal. Nevertheless, the above tables clearly disclose certain broad trends.

(1) Taking, in the first place, the *total population* supported by agriculture and minerals, we find that the percentage stood at 49.05 per cent in undivided Bengal in 1931. For West Bengal only, that figure stood at 51.4 per cent. The present Census reveals that the figure has now gone up to 57.21 per cent. If the figures are correct, that is, if they are not vitiated by changes in definition, etc., this clearly means that the expanding population is not primarily being absorbed in other sectors, but is being compelled to fall back upon agriculture. This is regression in any sense.

(2) Similarly, the percentage of workers in that group is showing a decline. The number of workers in the said group per 100 of total population stood at 19.83 in undivided Bengal in 1931. The corresponding figure for West Bengal only in 1931 was 22.7—not an unnatural phenomenon if we leave out East Bengal with its comparatively heavier pressure of population on land. But that figure, according to the present Census, has come down to 14.89 ! This is indeed an alarming trend. While the over-all population dependent on agriculture has been increasing, the proportion *of workers, instead of registering a corresponding increase, is going down. The incidence of dependence is* thus increasing with double force. If we wo absolute numbers on the basis of the above perce we get the following figures : In 1931, West only, total population supported by the group culture and Minerals' was 51.4 per cent of total lation, or, in absolute numbers 8,790,194. Of thi of 87.9 lakhs, 38.63 lakhs were workers and lakhs dependents. Now the total population dep on agriculture is 57.21 per cent of the total popu or in absolute numbers, 14,195,161. Of this, v constitute 14.89 per cent or 36.96 lakhs, fully dents 39.93 per cent or 98.99 lakhs and earning dents 2.39 per cent or 5.99 lakhs. The cont obvious. While previously 38.63 lakh worker ported 49.26 lakhs dependents, now 36.96 lakh v (or 42.95 lakhs if we take earning dependents a have to support 98.99 lakhs or roughly 1 crore dents. That means, while the number of work not changed very much, the number of depende increased by at least 50 lakhs. This is indeed a trous process.

(3) It is true that the group 'Industries' an advance on any showing. If we take the c population figures, we find that the percentage o population supported by 'Industry' has advance 10.4 per cent in 1931 West Bengal to 15.36 pe in the present Census. The proportion of work total population also has increased from 4.7 t The proportion of workers to total workers sh still more remarkable rise from 12.04 per c 21.5 per cent. But in spite of this increase, the of dependence has not declined even in this where the percentage of workers is generally hig absolute numbers, West Bengal in 1931 had 17.83 lakh persons dependent on industry, of 8.02 lakhs were workers and 9.8 lakhs depe The proportion between the two was 45 : 55. 'Industry' occupies 3,811,300 persons or 15.36 pe of total population, of whom 6.7 per cent or 16.62 lakhs are workers, 8.32 per cent or about lakhs are fully dependents and 0.33 per cent lakhs are earning dependents. The degree of dence has remained practically stationary, thoug a normal expectation that at least in the 'Industries,' it would decline.

All these facts prove the relatively slow sp expansion with consequential overcrowding of dents in every occupation and ultimately a reg towards agriculture.

III

The two questions we have discussed here a two small facets of the changing processes i structural economy. But they bring out forcib trends which a broader analysis will fully c They indicate clearly the direction we are going obvious that we have now reached the limit pressure on the existing resources is increasing much faster rate than the resources themselves

Life of Buddha (Udayshankar). On the eve of Renunciation

Life of Buddha (Udayshankar). Buddha's Temptation

This youngster is learning to walk with the aid of braces and crutches at the Square and Compass Crippled Children's Clinic in Tucson, Arizona, in the American South-west

Africans, in Nairobi, Kenya, after being arrested by the British troops in October last, were herded into trucks and driven to prison

our existing resources were inadequate enough to permit only a highly sub-marginal living. If in this situation the above trends are allowed to continue, our population will be constantly forced down more and more below the sub-marginal level, which is perhaps synonymous with extinction. What is necessary is a complete reorientation of our structural economy and a release of expansionist forces, which, incidentally, is absolutely beyond the capacity of Community Projects, the latest mechanism invented for that purpose.

——:O:——

THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION IN WEST BENGAL
A Note

By D. N. BANERJEE,
University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

In this Note* I shall briefly state, as far as possible in a spirit of detachment and in an objective manner, my own impressions about the last General Election in West Bengal to the local Legislative Assembly, and also to the House of the People at New Delhi. I may mention here incidentally that I attended, as a student of Political Science, practically all important public meetings held at Calcutta by different political parties, in connexion with the General Election. My object in attending these meetings was not merely to listen to the arguments advanced by different political parties in support of their respective ideologies, but also to study their reactions upon the audience. One general impression I formed about these meetings was that while the leaders of the Congress Party generally avoided in their speeches any vilification of the non-Congress political parties or their leaders, the one thing in which the latter generally agreed, in spite of all ideological differences amongst themselves, was in their condemnation of the Congress as a political organization and the condemnation of the Congress Government both at the Centre and in the States of India. Indeed, there was hardly any word of condemnation which was not used in the meetings organised by non-Congress political parties, against the policies and measures adopted by the Congress Governments ever since they had been installed in power. The partition of India and India's acceptance of the membership of the Commonwealth of Nations were severely condemned, and demands were made for the annulment of the partition, for the immediate severance of India's connexion with the Commonwealth of Nations, and also for the abolition of semindaries without any compensation. None of these "very desirable things" could, it was urged, be brought about if the Congress Party continued to remain in power in India. It was also pointed out by non-Congress political parties that under "the Congress rule" or "mis-rule" since the attainment of independence by India, "the few rich had become richer and the poor had become poorer"; the Congress was "now ridden by blackmarketers and profiteers"; that the continuance of the Congress in office would mean a "perpetuation of hunger, nakedness, black-marketing, and corruption"—in a word, a grave deterioration of the condition of the people at large. Perhaps, truth, humility, charity, and tolerance are inevitable casualties in electoral contests as in an actual war. At any rate, in view of all this it was really surprising to find that, out of 238 elective seats in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Congress "captured" as many as 150 seats (excluding one seat first won by an "Independent" candidate who later on joined the Congress Party). The corresponding numbers in the case of other parties were as follows:

K.M.P.P.	15
Socialist	nil
Jana Sangha	9
Hindu Mahasabha	4
Communist	28
Other Leftist Parties	16
Independents and others	16

The final results of elections to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly as collected by the *P.T.I.* (and published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, of 14th February, 1952) were as follows:

TABLE I

Seats 238 Electorate 1,28,00,000
Results declared 238 Votes polled 75,30,994

Party	*Seats contested*	*Seats won*	*Total votes*
Congress	236	150	28,98,526
Communists	79	28	8,38,438
Socialists	62	nil	2,21,103
K.M.P.P.	126	15	6,34,963
Jana Sangha	85	9	4,28,277
Hindu Mahasabha	36	4	1,85,769
Ram Rajya Parishad	11	nil	3,912
Forward Bloc (Marxist)	50	10	3,92,004
Forward Bloc (Ruikar)	30	1	95,289
R.S.P.	13	nil	51,835
R. C. P. I.	10	nil	32,105
Other parties	25	8	1,46,584
Independents	201	13	15,25,880
Invalid votes	..	..	76,309

(Other parties include: United Socialist Organisation 4, Gurkha League 3, and United Progressive Bloc 1).

* Submitted to the Indian Political Science Association in connexion with its proposed plan for an analytical study of the last General Election in India.

So far as the House of the People was concerned, the Congress won 24 out of 34 seats allocated to West Bengal. The corresponding seats won by other parties were as fololws :

Communist	5
Jana Sangha	2
Hindu Mahasabha	1
R. S. P.	1
United Socialist Organization ..	1

The following table published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 14th February, 1952, gives details in regard to the results of the elections to the House of the People at New Delhi from West Bengal :

TABLE II

Total seats	34	Results declared	34
Electorate	1,28,00,000	Votes polled	77,73,354
Party		*Seats contested*	*Seats won*	*Total votes*
Congress		34	24	32,05,162
Communists		9	5	7,20,304
Jana Sangha		7	2	4,57,148
Hindu Mahasabha		6	1	3,24,870
R. S. P.		3	1	1,08,881
Other Parties (U.S.O.)		10	1	2,67,398
K. M. P.		10	0	6,79,146
Forward Bloc (M)		6	0	3,44,225
Socialists		7	0	1,52,289
Ramrajya Parishad		2	0	13,110
R. C. P. I.		1	0	26,283
Forward Bloc (R)		2	0	86,736
Independents		28	0	11,83,352
Invalid votes		..	..	2,04,448

Several factors contributed to this phenomenal success of the Congress at the General Election in West Bengal. In the first place, there was the prestige of the Congress as the oldest all-India political organization. Its age, its record of service in the past, its contribution to India's struggle for independence, the sufferings and sacrifices of Congressmen during this struggle, and the fact that the Congress was in possession of political power in the country—all these imparted to it a special position of pre-eminence among the political parties of India. Moreover, many people honestly believed, in spite of all that was said against it, that the Congress alone really stood for both progress and order and stability in the country, and that the Party which had done so much to win political freedom, should be placed in power once more, at least, to consolidate that freedom and put through its programme of reconstruction. Moreover, we must not forget that the human mind is ordinarily averse to change, particularly when that change might mean some uncertainty and even a state of chaos and disorder.

> "People," says John Locke in his *Second Treatise of Government*, "are not so easily got out of their old forms as some are apt to suggest. They are hardly to be prevailed with to amend the acknowledged faults in the frame they have been accustomed to. And if there be any original defects, *or adventitious ones introduced by time or corruption, it is not an easy thing to get them changed*, even when all the world sees there is an opportunity for it."

Secondly, the Congress had a fairly well-knit and well-disciplined organization with wide ramifications, and had command over resources both in man-power and in money. This enabled the Congress to conduct its electioneering campaign effectively and even to neutralize, to a large extent, the prejudice and passion that had been created against it by the persistent propaganda of non-Congress political parties. It may, however, be added here that in point of discipline and organizational efficiency, perhaps the Communist Party of India was only a match for it—if not, more than a match for it,—although the Communist Party could not command its resources in man-power and money-power.

A third factor which contributed to the success of the Congress in the General Election—and this also applied, more or less, to the success of some other parties in this Election—was the bewildering multiplicity of Parties and also the multiplicity of candidates in it. A glance at the tables given above will indicate the number of Parties which contested in the Election. In the City of Calcutta alone, for example, with an electorate of about 15 lakhs, there were as many as 231 (235 according to one report) candidates for 26 seats allotted to it in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. The parties contesting the election were the Congress, the Krishak-Mazdoor-Praja Party, the Jana Sangha, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), the Forward Bloc (Subhasist), the Hindu Mahasabha, the Ram Rajya Parisad, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the United Socialist Organization, the Socialist Republican Party, the Bolshevik Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the United Progressive Bloc, the National Synthesis Party, and the Democratic Vanguard. Besides, there were also 119 "Independent" candidates who did not belong to any political party. Each political party had its own peculiar programme and the "Independent" candidates also had their own programme. And generally speaking, there were several candidates, including the "Independent" ones, for almost every seat either in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly or the House of the People. For instance, there were as many as sixteen candidates in the single-member constituency of Muchipara (Calcutta) for the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. As it generally happens in a multi-cornered electoral contest in which only a relative majority of votes is required to win a seat, as in the English and American systems, that is to say, whatever be the number of candidates, the one at the top is elected, in the General Election in West Bengal also, as, I believe, must have been the case in many other parts of India, often a candidate would win a seat in a single-member constituency with a minority of votes actually polled. This applied as much to Congress candidates as to

s belonging to other political parties. For I know of a single-member constituency in ıgal in which while the Congress, Jana Sangha : other candidates fought against one another, unist candidate slipped through them triumis not, therefore, surprizing that although the Party won 150 seats out of 238 elective seats Vest Bengal Legislative Assembly, it obtained ıut 29 lakhs of votes out of a total of a little lakhs of votes actually polled (See Table I In the General Election of 1935 in England, Government parties" won as many as 405 seats 596 actually contested by different political they secured only 11.79 millions of votes out tal of 21.99 millions of votes actually polled *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, 552). Such electoral vagaries or anomalies are le in multi-cornered contests in which only a majority of votes is required to win a seat.

nay be noted here that attempts were made to : the non-Congress political parties, and partithe "Leftist" ones, with a view to fighting the Election against the Congress. These attempts or one reason or another, although some "Lefırties agreed upon some working arrangements the Congress unitedly. For example, one such :" was known as the People's United Socialist comprising the Socialist Party, the Revolu-Communist Party, the Forward Bloc (Subhand the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and was composed of the Communist Party of ıd the United Socialist Organization of which ward Bloc (Marxist), the Bolshevik Party, the Republican Party and several other groups nstituent members. In the single-member ır constituency for the West Bengal Assembly, , there was a straight fight between the Conıdidate, Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West and Sri Satyapriya Banerjee, a nominee of ward Bloc (Marxist), who was supported by Leftist" Parties. Dr. Roy won this election by g Sri Banerjee by a fairly good majority.

lly, Muslim voters and voters belonging to ıinority groups in the population of West generally voted for the Congress nominees. ought that their interests would be better pro-f the Congress came back to power in West rather than any other political Party. Someother, the Congress inspired more confidence minds than any other political party in the

II

all now refer to one or two other aspects of eral Election in West Bengal.

he first place, there was in many constituencies enthusiasm in this General Election. Apart ıblic meetings, poster campaigns, demonstraıd street parades, there *was in almost* every constituency a house-to-house canvassing by candidates or by their supporters. Women also played in many places an important part in this canvassing business, not only in the interest of women candidates but also in the interest of male candidates.

Secondly, the "percentage of voting," to use a familiar expression, varied from place to place. In some areas the percentage was between 25 and 30, and in some areas it was over 70. It will not be wrong to say that the average "percentage of voting" in West Bengal was some figure between 40 and 45, both for elections to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and for elections to the House of the People at Delhi. It may be interesting to note in this connexion that the rural voters, generally speaking, took a greater interest in the elections than the urban voters; that women voters in many constituencies showed a great interest in the elections; that in one constituency an old woman, aged about 90, has been reported by the Press to have walked several miles to cast her vote; and that a large number of Muslims who had previously been registered as voters in India and had then migrated to Pakistan, crossed the Pakistan border to cast their votes in some constituencies which had already had a large Muslim population.

Thirdly, there were cases of corruption in the form of bribery and also cases of false personation in some urban areas. Elections in rural areas, however, were free from these evils. I may, however, mention here on the authority of some District Officers that no undue influence was brought to bear upon them either by a Minister or by any other person in authority over them, in connection with the elections.

Fourthly, elections were not altogether free from the influences of caste-ism, communalism, and provincialism.* In many places candidates were given nomination by different political parties chiefly in consideration of their caste, religion, or place of birth. For instance, if in any constituency voters belonging to a particular caste predominated, then a person belonging to that caste was given nomination. Again, if in any constituency voters belonging to a particular religion predominated, then a person professing that religion was given nomination. Or again, if in any constituency there were a large number of people from East Bengal, then a nomination was given to a person who had migrated to West Bengal from East Bengal. The reason for nomination in each case was obvious, however much we might deplore it. It may also be noted here that, *generally speaking*, although there might be exceptions here and there, the principle of residence in a particular constituency, or of material interest

* It may be interesting to note here that the Congress President, Mr. Nehru, has been reported by the Press to have declared at a gathering of Congress workers in Bombay on 6th December, 1952, that "Communal and Caste considerations played a dominant role in the last elections, particularly in the North." This only confirms our own finding in the matter.

therein, was a governing factor in the nomination of candidates by different political parties.

Fifthly, people may be interested to know why and how the Communist Party of India won as many as 28 seats (see Table I above) in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly whereas the Socialist Party of India failed to secure a single seat therein. As far as I have been able to gather, this success of the Communist Party was not so much due to any love for the Party or its ideology as to the hatred of the Congress Party and the Congress Governments both at the Centre and in some States of India including West Bengal. As indicated before, this hatred had been generated by very skilfully-conducted propaganda against the Congress, carried on, for months together, by non-Congress political parties. They exploited the high prices of the necessaries of life and the refugee problem to their full advantage. They attributed these high prices to the "Congress policy of exploitation" of the "masses" for the advantage of a few rich black-marketers and profiteers who "secretly contributed," in return, enormous sums of money to the funds of the Congress Party. Even a section of the Press in West Bengal materially contributed by its writings to the creation of a feeling of hatred against the Congress. The problems of the Hindus in East Bengal and the refugees from East Bengal were fully exploited for attacking the Congress. At the initial stage, there was no effective counter-propaganda from the Congress side. As a result, many people believed what had been said against the Congress. It may be interesting to note here—and this was practically admitted by the political parties concerned— that many non-Congress political parties carried on propaganda against the Congress *in their own interest,* but that the Communist Party took a full advantage of the prejudice thus created against the Congress Party and the candidates set up by it. Many persons argued that if the Congress was to be at all replaced from power, then its place should be taken not by any moderate, or middle-of-the way, or conservative, Party, but by an extremist party like the Communist Party of India. Thus many non-Congress political parties sowed the seeds and the Communist Party reaped the harvest. And thus I would explain the unexpected success of the Communist Party in the General Election in West Bengal.

Finally, I must say that the General Election was, on the whole, free from violence and rowdyism even though there was adult suffrage. In the early stage of the electioneering campaign, there was some trouble in one or two places. But public opinion in West Bengal strongly condemned this, and thereafter the election propaganda was carried on peacefully by all political parties. This is certainly a tribute to the innate good sense and the law-abiding instinct of the people.

The General Election was not without its humorous side. The importance of bullocks in the economy of West Bengal is well-known and the symbol of yoked bullocks adopted by the Congress attracted a large number of voters in rural areas. On the other hand, the symbol of sickle and the ear of corn adopted by the Communist Party of India particularly appealed to many Hindu women voters in those areas. The ear of corn, they said, represented *Lakshmi,* the goddess of wealth. Some of these women voters would first bow with folded hands before the ballot box of the Communist Party and then cast their vote in favour of a Communist candidate. There were other interesting incidents. Into a polling booth in the district of 24-Parganas walked a village farmer whose bulls and cart had long served him well. He, therefore, wanted "to vote for candidates who have bulls (Congress) and a cart (Independent) as their symbols." When he was told that he could vote for only one candidate, he replied : "Then I shall vote for none," and then left the polling station in disgust "to the applause of other voters." In another polling booth a male voter insisted that his wife "must vote for a particular candidate. " His wife, however, wanted to vote for a candidate of her own choice. The couple quarrelled in front of the polling booth to the amusement of a large number of other voters and then returned home without casting their votes. In another polling centre a middle-aged "upcountry" voter insisted on having an additional vote recorded on behalf of his wife who could not come to the polling booth. The Presiding Officer "had to argue with him for about fifteen minutes to convince him that it was a strictly personal right and could not be transferred in any way." There were also many victims of "the Printer's Devil" among the electorate. According to a Press report, the wrong recording of "sex" deprived about a dozen South Indian voters of their right to exercise their franchise in a polling centre in the Titaghar Constituency in the Sub-Division of Barrackpore. These voters—male and female labourers from a local paper mill, speaking Telugu—"stood in a long queue in the pooling booth, and when their turn came, they were told that their sex differed from that recorded in the voters' list." Thereupon they entreated the Polling Officers to permit them to exercise their right of franchise in the First General Election in the country. The Polling Officers, however, did not allow them to vote, obviously on technical grounds. With adult suffrage and in the present state of literacy in our country, such things as have been referred to above, are inevitable. Yet it has to be admitted that, on the whole, the first experiment in democracy in the country has been successful. Things are expected to be much better at the next General Election. As Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said in their *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* (1918), the character of political institutions will react upon the character of the people and the exercise of responsibility will call forth the capacity for it.

KASHMIR PROBLEM—THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECT

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., PH.D. (London)

Everyone will admit that the much discussed and debated problem of the State of Jammu and Kashmir or shortly Kashmir is a very complicated one and with different facets. In this paper we shall confine ourselves to only one of them, *viz.*, the constitutional aspect.

As is well known the State of Jammu and Kashmir before her accession to India in October, 1947 was one of the two biggest "Indian States,"—Hyderabad and Kashmir. Now in order to understand the nature of the present position of the Indian States, as they were known before and now transformed into part B States, of which Kashmir is one, it is essential to make a brief review of the story of their origin and evolution as distinct political entities, their past relationship with India (or to be more precise, British India) and their transformation after the attainment of Indian independence into full-fledged constitutent parts of the Indian Dominion. We may begin the story by pointing out that Geography and Economics made the subcontinent that was undivided India one, but History and Politics have from time to time made her more than one. At the advent of British rule History brought into existence two Indias (British India and the Indian India) and it is one of the many ironies of History that at the end of British rule that self-same History brought together these two Indias but divided British India into two separate states. We shall be concerned here with the first part of the process. The "Indian India" just referred to consisted of about 600 Princely orders with immense diversity among themselves in various points, such as area, population economic resources, political status, political advancement and so on. The line between the two Indias did not correspond to either ethnic, linguistic or cultural divisions. Their main difference lay in their respective relationship with the British Crown and continuance or not of indigenous rules and institutions. The territories of Indian States were not formally annexed by the Crown and were not therefore British territories like Indian territory, although subject to the suzerainty of the British Crown implying wide control in internal and external affairs. In British India was established the direct government of the Crown carried on through the Government of India and a number of Provincial Governments.

The relationship of the States with the Crown rested on (a) Treaties (b) Engagements and Sanads or (c) some form of recognition of status by the Crown, but were not exhausted in terms of these rights, and obligations flowing from these treaties, etc., were supplemented by usages, practices and sufferance and by decisions taken in particular matters from time to time and embodied in political practices. To this complex relationship was given the compendious title of *paramountcy—a very elastic concept not* amenable to precise definition but something ever adjusting itself to new situations. As the Indian States Enquiry Committee (1928-29) observed: "Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the states. But some implications of paramountcy were beyond dispute, *e.g.*, the states had no international status having no communication with outside powers except through the Paramount power, their defence from outside attack was the responsibility of the Paramount power and they enjoyed a very wide internal autonomy subject to an undefined right of intervention of the Paramount power which ultimately meant the Political Department and this rendered the so-called internal sovereignty of the States practically illusory and unreal. The machinery through which this paramountcy operated was the Viceroy acting through the Political Department. As between British India and the Indian States there was no organic and constitutional relationship and the Crown as represented by the Viceroy acting through the Political Department provided the only visible nexus between the Indian States and the Central and Provincial Governments of India, though the economies of the two Indias being closely linked up there were thousand and one ties between the two by means of agreemants through the Paramount power to regulate matters of common interest like Railways, Post and Telegraph, etc. When the British decided to quit in the summer of 1947 they gave notice to the Indian Princes that Paramountcy with all the rights and privileges and obligations on either side flowing therefrom would lapse with effect from Aug. 15, 1947, the proposed date of transfer of power, as it would become physically impossible for them to fulfil the obligations in the absence of machinery through which it was operated. As that would snap the links that bound them to British India through the British Crown and would create a political and administrative vacuum which could not, in mutual interests of a vital character, be left unfilled, the princes were advised strongly both by the then Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission to fill the void by entering into federal relationship with the Successor Government or Governments as the case might be and also to form sizeable administrative units by means of integration of physically contiguous states so as to fit into the new constitutional structure as convenient units. This advice was heeded to by overwhelming majority of the Princes partly from a sense of compulsion of sheer necessity, as most of them lacked the resources to stand as independent states, and partly also from a sense of patriotism—aroused by the prospect of independence of India. A period of hectic consultations and negotiations followed leading to the accession to the one or the other Dominion according to their geographical position, of all the states, except three, viz., Kashmir.

Hyderabad and Junagadh before the date of transfer of power; that is, after hundreds of years India came to be welded into an organic and constitutional unity, ending the existence of the states as separate political entities. Then followed the twofold process of integration extending from 1948 to 1950—the great achievement of Sardar Patel—integration, both external and internal, external integration meaning consolidation of small states into sizeable administrative units by a threefold process of (a) merger of small states in the nearby Provinces (now described as Part A states) (b) grouping into unions of states (Part B states) and (c) conversion into Centrally administered areas (Part C states) and side by side went on internal integration inside the states, *i.e.*, the replacement of feudal and autocratic form of government by responsible government and democratic institutions. By the time that the constitution of the Indian republic came into force the three states that had originally held back, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir, also became part of and had acceded to Indian Union at different dates and under different circumstances. Besides the five States Unions, the three big states of Hyderabad, Kashmir and Mysore which retained their individually became Part B states of the Indian Union at the commencement of the new constitution as distinct from the British Indian Provinces which became Part A states. Originally some difference was proposed to be made between the position of Part A and Part B States. But eventually in the constitution as it emerged in its final shape the position of the Part B States was practically assimilated to that of the Part A States and the provisions of the constitution in part VI (Arts. 152-236) applying to the Part A states were made applicable to Part B states with some adaptations under Art 238. The principal modification related to the head of the executive who in the case of Part B States was to be titled the "Rajpramukh" in place of the Governor in Part A states with slightly different provisions as to nomination and conditions of service, etc. Another difference from the position of the Part A states is that for a period of first ten years of the commencement of the constitution or a longer or shorter period Part B States would be under the general control and particular directions, if any, of the President, *i.e.*, the Union Government, unless President specially exempts any state from this request by a Governor.

At the commencement of the constitution the state of Jammu and Kashmir however, although put in the list of Part B States as scheduled in the constitution, was accorded a special position and not quite assimilated to the other Part B States and therefore Part A states as well. This was accorded, of course, for the time being subject to stabilisation later because of the special political situation of that state and the circumstances attending its accession into which we need not go here. The postition of the state is at present governed by Articles 1 and 370. Under Article (1) of the constitution *Kashmir becomes, permanently and irrevocably* a part and a constituent unit of the Union of India along with other States of all the different categories. This basic fact should never be lost sight of. But Art. 370 which by the way is one of the temporary and transitional provisions of the constitution exempts the State from the operation of Art. 238 that is, from the obligations binding on other Part B or for the matter of that, even Part A states. It has the effect of limiting the jurisdiction of the Union Parliament to matters specified in the original instrument of Accession, *i.e.*, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, which initially formed the quantum of accession of other Part B states also and such other matter as may be voluntarily surrendered by the Government of the States subject to ratification by the Consembly. In the case of the other Part B States the area was subsequently enlarged to cover the entire Union List and Concurrent List. In the case of Kashmir however the position still remains as at the beginning, although provision is made under the temporary arrangement under Art. 370 for its modification if necessary by order of the President subject ultimately to the approval of the people. Provisions of the constitution other than Art. 1 may be made applicable to the State subject to exceptions and modification specified by order of the President to be made only in consultation with or with the concurrence of the Government of Kashmir respectively according as the order relates to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession or other matters; the concurrence of the Government in these matters is also to be subject to review of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir when convened. The abrogation of this provisional and temporary arrangement with regard to the State will only be made by a public notification by the President subject to prior recommendation of the Constituent Assembly. In other words, it boils down to this that any increase in the scope of the quantum of accession of the States or termination of the provision in constitution conceding the special status to the state will be possible only with the goodwill of the Constituent Assembly envisaged in the constitution for the purpose of framing the constitution of the state and which has been functioning now for some time past.

Now the controversy that has been raging centres round some decision taken by the Constituent Assembly relating to matters like abolition of hereditary headship, a separate state flag, confiscation of lands without compensation, etc. It is not for us here to go into detailed discussion of the merits of these issues. The basic issue that all of them raises is that of the exact nature of the relationship that should subsist between Kashmir as a constituent unit of the Indian Union and the Union itself not during the transitional period only but on a permanent basis so for as the transitional arrangement which has been just discussed is concerned. There is no doubt that it concedes a special and unique place in the federal system to Kashmir alone of all the units. Why was it accorded and whether it was justified are matters irrelevant to our enquiry, but it is

quite clear that the special status so far enjoyed for whatever the reasons has been perfectly constitutional and further that it was meant to be purely temporary and transitional pending final stabilisation of the relationship with the Union with the consent of the people of Kashmir voiced through the Constituent Assembly. That Constituent Assembly is now in session thrashing out a framework of the internal administration for the State as also the relation in which it should stand to the Indian Union. This is the time and occasion for exercise of calm deliberation, sound judgment, patience and restraint, for tactful and judicious handling of delicate problems in full realisation of the basic issues. One false step, careless or hasty utterances, intemperence in the use of language may result in endless harm to the cause that is dear both to the people of Kashmir and the rest of India. Sheikh Abdullah has rightly laid stress on the common ideals and objectives of the peoples of Kashmir and India, the identity of the democratic secular aspirations which have guided them in their struggles for freedom as the real and supreme guarantee of the close relationship between Kashmir and India. He observed : "This abiding kinship (between Kashmir and the rest of India) would not subsist merely on territorial or commercial considerations but on unswerving faith in the ideals for which we here and the millions of the people of India have struggled for over three decades." That is quite true, but that bond of psychological affinity should also be reinforced by political and constitutional arrangements calculated to keep alive a sense of unity amidst diversity. If too much stress be laid on the special position of the State, its separate culture and individuality, eventually a feeling of separatism is likely to get the better of the feeling of affinity with the rest of India. That possibility the present leadership of Kashmir will certainly not view with equanimity. Then again nobody on either side in the controversy as to what should be the future position of Kashmir in relation to the Union has disputed the basic fact that Kashmir's accession to the Union has been full and irrevocable and Kashmir is a constituent unit of the Indian Republic and part of the territory of India. Where there is such a community of ideals, outlook and objectives and a realisation of the basic issue, there should be no difficulty in coming to an agreed settlement on not only the particular issues, such as the form of the leadership, the state flag, etc., over which controversy has raged but on the more fundamental one regarding the nature of the relationship between Kashmir and the Indian Union, given goodwill on both sides and an objective and at the same time partriotic approach.

It is not possible here to describe in detail the sort of relationship that should prevail in future between Kashmir and the Indian Union, but only the broad principles that should govern that relationship may be briefly stated. Here we may perhaps start with some major premises which have been universally accepted, *e.g.*, (i) that there is *an identity of outlook*, objectives and ideals and also of interests between the peoples of Kashmir and the rest of India as well as long-standing ties between them, (2) that there is imperative need of keeping up a close bond of union between the two peoples, not on the basis of domination, but of partnership and fellowship, (3) that Kashmir has already willingly cast in her lot with India and is legally and constitutionally a constituent unit of the Indian Union. When these major premises of fundamentals are granted there should be no difficulty in working out the details of the relationship in accordance with the well-recognised principles of federalisation as their acceptance indicates that the psychological basis of federalism is there. The principles that should be particularly remembered and sought to be applied in the present context are :

(1) Federalism implies sovereignty of the Union as a whole and no division of sovereignty among the units.

(2) Federalism implies division of powers of the state between a centre and the units in such a way as to satisfy and reconcile at the same time a feeling of organic unity of the nation and a feeling of local patriotism and individuality. It thus rests on a delicate balance of powers which should not be allowed to be disturbed by over-emphasis on one of the two forces at work in a Federal Union. It is also desirable that the scheme of distribution of powers should follow a uniform pattern throughout the Union. Thus the allocation of the unenumerated residue either to the centre or units should follow the same line everywhere.

(3) Federalism implies recognition of a fairly equal status as between the constituent units of the Union irrespective of disparity in areas, population, wealth, etc.

It rests on a common feeling akin to that inspiring the members of a family.

(4) Lastly, Federalism implies the supremacy of the constitution or recognition of the Union constitution as the Supreme Law of the land. This is extremely necessary for maintaining the delicate balance of powers between the centre and units and prevent either from exceeding its lawful authority and making unauthorised inroad on the legitimate sphere of the other. The Supreme Court is to stand guard over this arrangement. Besides these, it is necessary to guard against an incipient danger in all schemes of Federal Union. It involves a two-fold loyalty or allegiance in the people—a loyalty to the Union and to the unit. This should not be allowed to create a divided loyalty. Loyalty to the unit need not and should not undermine the loyalty to the Union. That way lies the danger to the stability of the Union.

To apply these principles to only one of the issues of the Kashmir controversy, *viz.*, that of a separate state flag side by side with the National flag of the Republic. There need not be any objection to a separate flag of the state symbolising the popular movement in Kashmir against autocratic rule if that does not supplant the National flag, but exists side by side with it and if due respect be shown to it as the emblem of national unity and national struggle for freedom. For historic reasons the people of Kashmir have developed a loyalty to the

vis-a-vis Moslem states. Had the conference really taken place under Pakistani auspices that would certainly have rebounded to the diplomatic disadvantage of India. This has led to a cruel realisation in Pakistan of the utter hollowness and impracticability of Pakistan's stand in foreign policy. "Fie on ungrateful Iran and Egypt whose cause Pakistan backed with all its resources even at the cost of losing the support of the West on Kashmir issue"—thus wrote *Dawn* in one of its editorials.

The pricking of the pan-Islamic bubble was no less due to the attitude of two other Moslem states, namley, Afghanistan and Indonesia. India's relationship with Afghanistan has been continuously close and cordial and Afghan ambassador in India Sardar Najibulla is the doyen of our diplomatic corps. The two neighbouring Muslim countries Afghanistan and Pakistan are at loggerheads over the Pathanistan issue. Afghanistan thinks that Pathanistan constitutes the "Afghana irredenta" and for this she expects India's moral backing. The long incarceration of the Pakhtoon leaders, Badshah Khan and Khan Sahib, who are highly respected throughout India is viewed with equal disapproval by the Afghan and Indian Governments. India has reason to be grateful to Afghanistan for the latter's open condemnation of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir. Though all of the Moslem states have shown a refreshingly neutral attitude to the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, Afghanisthan is the only one which has gone to the extent of charging Pakistan with aggression. Considering the strategic importance of Afghanistan in Central Asia her friendship for India has an inestimable advantage to us. Pakistan is clearly envious of Indo-Afghan amity and that is why she has banned Delhi-Kabul air service over her territory.

Indonesia is another state which though predominantly Moslem has remained true to the ideal of secular democracy. Indonesians are ever ready to acknowledge the great moral and diplomatic support they have invariably received from the government and people of India during their long and heroic struggle against Dutch imperialism. She too has so far refused to be a party to the potentially anti-Indian pan-Islamic Union, so dear to Pakistan. Only the other day, a mission from Indonesia toured the whole of India, studying the general elections that were being held. This shows that the leaders of the vigorous and young nation look rather to India than to Pakistan for friendly guidance.

Two other Moslem countries came recently in the limelight. They are Libya and Tunisia. Libya took its place as an independent state, after forty years of Italian domination. India was prompt in sending her felicitations and according her diplomatic recognition.

The Tunisians' struggle for complete autonomy has systematically received India's friendly interest. The recent Franco-Tunisian crisis which began with repressive measures on the part of the French drew forth India's sharp condemnation. India enthusiastically supported the Asian countries move in the U.N.O. to raise the Tunisian issue in the Security Council and thereby gained the Tunisian gratitude.

Thus India has been eminently successful in cultivating and preserving the friendship and goodwill of the Moslem countries. Her success is all the more remarkable because her relationship with her immediate Moslem neighbour, Pakistan, has been chronically unsatisfactory. That pan-Islamism has not assumed a concrete shape, as Pakistan desires, should be ascribed to the credit of her diplomatic representatives in these countries some of whom are Moslems.

The only Moslem people who are still groaning under colonial rule and to whom India has perhaps not been able to pay sufficient attention are the Malayans. The Malayan policy of India has lacked the usual vigorous and unstinted support so characteristic of her. India has not declared openly for Malayan independence as against British colonial domination. The reason is perhaps that the Malayan struggle against Britain like that of the Indo-Chinese is terroristic in nature and that it is being led by Chinese communists. This is however not a convincing argument and one hopes that India will accord to the Malayans adequate diplomatic and moral support in order to enable them to achieve their complete independence.

The success of India's foreign policy with regard to the Moslem countries of Asia and Africa should not however be regarded in an exaggerated light. Besides collaborating for preserving peace of the world, India has another supreme task—that of preserving herself from foreign aggression. In order to keep war beyond our frontiers, it is necessary that all our neighbours should be favourably disposed towards us. While taking care to cultivate the friendship of the Moslem countries in the west, India should not lose sight of the importance of our eastern neighbours as well. The recognition of the People's Government of China is a step in the right direction. The goodwill of this mighty nation should be the sheet-anchor of our foreign policy. Burma's position in the east is corresponding to that of Afghanistan in the west and there is every reason to hope that the close political and cultural connection with that country will continue to be strengthened. Another very wise step taken by India is her refusal to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty concluded at San Francisco. She has however arrived at a bilateral agreement with that country by signing a treaty of friendship which determines mutual trade relations.

BURMESE INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The whole of South-East Asia is in ferment today. Unless peace and stability in the region are restored within a reasonable time, the regional conflicts may develop into a global conflagration.

South-East Asia with the exception of Ceylon was overrun by Japan during the last war. The Japanese occupation did at least one good to the countries 'liberated'. It intensified the urge for independence in the countries overrun by Japan. The "imagined and involuntary" acceptance of white superiority received "an almost mortal blow." The defeats sustained by the Western nations at the hands of Japan in 1942 "dealt a final blow to any concept of white superiority which still remained."

The post-war independence of Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines is to be attributed, partially at least, to Japanese occupation (1942-45). But none of them has been able as yet to set its own house in order. Lamentable as this failure is, it is perhaps unavoidable in the formative years of the life of a newly born nation. Alien masters of a country do never eradicate the seeds of discord and disharmony in the countries dominated by them. What is more dangerous, they actually sow the seeds of dissension in many a case. They take care however, in their own interest no doubt, to preserve peace and order in the countries ruled by them. The causes of disunity go into hibernation, as it were. The rulers on occasions lengthen the rope to give a freer scope to disruptive tendencies, again in their own interest, to frustrate movements of national unity and independence. But when the foreign ruler withdraws, the disruptive tendencies take full advantage of the weakness of the successor national Government. Herein lies the real cause of the prevailing disorder in Burma, in Indonesia and in the Philippines. There are contributory factors besides.

Burma declared herself a sovereign Socialist Republic on January 4, 1948. Independence gave the signal, as it were, of a country-wide convulsion, which is no nearer the end today than it was four years ago when it started.

The Communists took up arms against the Government in February-March. They however avoided pitched battles at the beginning. On the contrary, they selected weak spots in the Government defence and concentrated their attention on them. They confined their activities to sabotage. Their policy at this stage may be summed up as "Hit and Run." Government circles were of opinion that the rising would soon peter out. A Burma Civil Surgeon told the present reviewer in July, 1948, that the Communists would be wiped out before the end of the monsoons. Far from being exterminated they are much stronger to-day and are firmly entrenched in some parts of the country. They have a more or less trained army which two years ago numbered about 10,000. A Red Government was once actually set up at Prome about 160 miles to the north-west of Rangoon.

The Burma Communists are divided into two not very friendly groups. The more numerous and influential White Flag Communists take their stand on Stalinism and believe in Socialism in one State. They are led by Thakin Thou Tun. His right-hand man Shri Ghosal is a Bengali graduate of the University of Rangoon. It is reported that there are several other Bengalis in the Party. The Red Flag Communists led by Thakin Soe are no believers in Socialism in one state and take their cue from Trotskyism. It has been reported in the press from time to time that the Burmese Reds are being aided by their fellow-travellers across the borders. Help or no help, the Communist victory and its consolidation in China must have put new heart into the Burmese Reds.

The K. N. D. O. (Karen National Defence Organisation) constitutes the most formidable of the insurgent groups in Burma. The Karens, the most important and numerous minority of Burma, number twenty lacs, more or less. Wrongs at the hands of the majority—the Burmese—in the past rankles in their heart and they demand a sovereign homeland of their own. Knowledgeable circles hold that the Karens are aided and abetted by important groups of foreigners. The activities of Major Tulloch, Mr. Campbell and Dr. Seagrare strengthen the suspicion.

The K. N. D. O. rose up in open revolt against the Government towards the end of 1948 and overran the greater part of the country within an incredibly short time. The K. N. D. O. revolt was, and is, a very real menace—positive as well as negative, direct as well as indirect—to the Government of U Nu. The Karens are among the best fighters of Burma. Non-Karen contingents—composed mostly of the Burmese—are, more often than not, no match for them. Then again, many of the Karen regiments were disarmed when the K. N. D. O. struck. The fighting calibre of the Government army has been considerably diminished in consequence. The K.N.D.O. revolt at the same time encouraged the common lawless and anti social elements and also the diverse anti-Government groups in the country. The Nu Government was thus confronted with a crisis of stupendous magnitude. In March-April, 1949, the writs of the Government did not run over even one-tenth of the country.

The situation has no doubt improved today. But the Karen intransigence has yet to be crushed. They still hold out in the thickly forested country, north of Thaton and east of Moulmein. With the Thai frontier behind them, they can procure supplies of

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CHATUSPATHI EDUCATION IN INDIA

By Dr. J. B. CHAUDHURY, Ph. D. (London), Kavyatirtha,
Secretary, Government Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parishat, Calcutta

Introduction

With the advent of Freedom in India it has become necessary to review the whole question of the propagation of Sanskrit learning in the country and outside.

It is a matter of great regret that the family-members of even very venerable Pandits who are the traditional inheritors of the best heritage of India do not read Sanskrit even in Colleges and Universities, far from taking up traditional Sanskritic studies in Sanskrit Pathsalas. This is mainly due to the fact that even in Free India the study of Sanskrit does not seem to have any economic value whatsoever and naturally, they are reluctant to face the same kind of ordeal their fathers and grandfathers had to undergo in spite of their vast learning in Sanskrit and allied subjects.

The result has been that the best talents of the country are floating adrift into other channels—to the eternal injury of the invaluable cultural heritage of the country. If immediate steps be not taken for the preservation of the Sanskrit Pathsalas training students in traditional methods of Sanskrit learning, the whole structure of the ancient modes of Sanskrit education is sure to be undermined within a short time.

Though many are aware of the excellence of Sanskrit studies—its vast store and intrinsic beauty that are really unparalleled in the world, even then they do not encourage their wards to take up Sanskrit studies, particularly in traditional methods. The vital question, therefore, is how to revive Sanskrit studies in traditional methods in the present age as in the days of yore and thus, help the propagation of Sanskrit studies in the world in modern times.

Thus, though the problem is mainly economic, ignorance of a colossal type about the real nature of Sanskrit studies is also responsible for the neglect of these studies. Still, as soon as the economic aspect of it is to a certain extent settled, the other difficulties will not be insurmountable.

In order to bring about a rejuvenation in Chatuspathi Education in India, there must be reforms from both within and without that will, in near future, help the growth of a strong mass-consciousness about the utilities of the Sanskritic studies as well as the indispensable *nature of the same for Indians whose norm is Religion, whose very existence is spiritual.*

Reforms

Examinations : Syllabus and Curriculum

1. The method of teaching in Sanskrit Pathsalas should also be improved, and the modern direct methods of literary appreciation, and scientific investigations introduced more widely. As for example, Sanskrit teachers are generally apt to over-emphasise the niceties and subtleties of gramatical rules even when teaching literary and philosophical subjects. The result is that not infrequently students fail to appreciate the inherent literary merits of those great literary gems. This is often one of the causes which detract many students away from Chatuspathi education. Sanskrit Grammar is, of course, an important part of Sanskrit Education. But as many Pandits naturally feel, over-emphasis on Grammatical portion makes literary subjects dry.

2. For forming a common background along with other courses of studies prevalent in the country, Tol education should also include courses in other essential subjects besides purely Sanskritic ones, *viz.*, History. Geography and Mathematics in the Adya or preliminary stage. In the Madhya and Upadhi there should be special papers in the History of Sanskrit Literature, Political History of India, English and Modern Indian Vernaculars, particularly, the Mother tongue.

3. For non-Sanskritic subjects in the Adya examinations there should be two papers, *viz.*, (1) History, Geography and (2) Mathematics. The standard should be for the first stage, the same as for the School Final Examination. With this common background, the average Tol student will have no occasion to suffer in practical life, in the field of employment or elsewhere.

4. All examining Bodies should lay great stress upon such practical subjects, as (a) Ayurveda ; (b) Paurohitya : (c) Music and Dramaturgy ; (d) Sanskrit Teachers' Training ; (e) Sculpture and Painting ; and (f) last but not least, Astronomy and Astrology.

5. Sanskrit Education should be co-ordinated in Colleges and Chatuspathis so that University students in Sanskrit and Chatuspathi students may proceed for Research Degrees after their appearing respectively in M.A. and Upadhi examinations creditably.

6. The status, dignity and value of Sanskrit Examinations should be raised immediately so that the First, Intermediate and Degree Examinations of Sanskrit Examining Bodies may become equivalent to the School Final, Intermediate and B.A. Examinations of Univer-

sities respectively. For this purpose, as stated above, these three courses should be suitably revised and widened so as to include some essential subjects, such as languages, Mathematics, History, Geography, etc.

7. Special attention of the Sanskrit Education authorities should be drawn to mass propagation of Sanskrit learning through the time-honoured customs of Kathakata, Yatra-gana, Panchali-patha, etc.

Wealth of Sanskrit—Its Increase

1. It is now high time that the Government should take all possible steps for enriching the already invaluable store of Sanskrit Language and Literature by means of translations of the best foreign works into Sanskrit and similar other methods. Experience has shown that in India no treasure is preserved except through the medium of the Devabhasa. The temporary glitter of Vernacular wealth fades away in course of time and along with the changes of literary forms and pattern, the whole Vernacular work becomes lost in the long run. But Sanskrit is the only universal and immortal language of India and unless preserved in this permanent store, no Indian work can ever survive the ravages of time. India, in fact, with her traditional sense of magnanimity and broad-mindedness, never refused to give an honoured place, in her all-embracing bosom, to the literary treasures of all other nations of the world. Thus, it is befitting to the cultural heritage of India that all that is great and good—in the literatures of the world, should be collected in Sanskrit, the National Language of India, and the vehicle of its eternal culture.

2. Students should be encouraged to take up Sanskrit studies at an earlier stage in life than at present. Now-a-days, even Adya students are generally above the age of fifteen or sixteen. According to the decision of the Government, students will have to undergo a compulsory training up to the age of 11 or 12 in the Basic stage. As the students in general line will begin their secondary stage at the age of 12 as a rule, Chatuspathi students also should begin their studies at the same time.

During the foreign regime Sanskrit Pathasalas received particularly no encouragement from the Government, either monetary or otherwise. For example, only a petty sum of Rs. 40,000 was sanctioned for more than, 1,000 Chatuspathis in Bengal. It means that Rs. 40 only was the quota for each Chatuspathi annually. Further, Chatuspathi students, mostly not knowing English, were faced with grave difficulties practically in all fields. The time has now come to imporve this regrettable state of things.

3. Economic condition of Chatuspathis should be improved immediately. Government should undertake to sanction a sufficient number of grants of sufficient amounts to a far larger number of Chatuspathis than before. These grants should be distributed according to some well-laid principles of quality (*i.e.*, academic qualifications of teachers and higher subjects taught, etc.) and quantity (number of teachers and students and subjects taught).

Well-known Pandits with at least 5 students should be given a monthly grant-in-aid of Rs. 100. Some other Chatuspathis should be given Rs. 75 and Rs. 50 and in rural areas in particular, good Pandits, even without a sufficient number of students should be awarded Government grants. Backward districts should not be lost sight of; there should be at least a few Chatuspathis with Government Grants-in-aid in each district.

4. Well-known Pandits, even without Tol, should be awarded some annual honorarium for their deep learning—a sum of at least Rs. 200 per annum.

5. Each State Government should award Literary pension to all aged venerable Pandits, specially, who are in great need of monetary help, as a mark of appreciation of their vast erudition.

6. The rates of payment to Examiners, Paper-setters, Moderators, Tabulators, *i.e.* all persons connected with Sanskrit Examinations must be in no way less than those in the School Final, Intermediate and B.A. Examinations.

Publication

1. It is a matter of great regret that even two-thirds of the Text-Books of different Sanskrit Examining Bodies of India are not available in print, and students at times appear in examinations without ever reading these Text-Books at all. So, the Government both Central and State should extend their ungrudging help for publication of our valuable Sanskrit Texts at once. Nor will this be a losing concern for the Government as in the long run Sanskrit works of worth are sure to find a ready market among scholars and students all over the world. Chatuspathi Education cannot flourish without the removal of this very great handicap as early as possible.

2. At present, there is really no children's literature in Sanskrit. We must publish this literature without further delay, as without this, it will not be possible to create any interest in the minds of children for taking up Sanskrit studies very early in life. This literature should be mostly pictorial, multicoloured and beautifully printed. As Devanagri script is being made compulsory now-a-days throughout India, children will be able to read for themselves the Sanskrit primers on their own initiative even without the help of others.

3. Venerable Pandits all over the country have to their credit many works which they have not been able to publish for want of adequate funds. Many of these works are worth publishing and some, I can assert on personal knowledge, are works of exceptionally high merit. The State Governments in particular should pay special attention to the publication of those works by these great and learned Pandits, particularly, the translations and compendia in different vernaculars.

Employment of Sanskrit Students

The most important question of getting suitable provision for the successful students of Sanskrit should be immediately tackled on a Government level. The most formidable difficulty of the spread of Sanskrit Education to-day is the dearth of Sanskrit students, particularly, in Chatuspathis. The abject poverty of the venerable Pandits, even of the Mahamahopadhyayas, frightens their family members and to-day students with an average merit decline to face this ordeal in spite of their inherent love for Sanskrit learning. However much we may argue that Sanskrit Education is meant for those who are prepared to dedicate themselves to the sacred cause of Sanskrit learning and culture, we cannot allow them to starve after they have passed their examinations creditably. They must be suitably employed and settled in life in order that they may take the propagation of Sanskrit learning without being hampered by chill penury. They must be placed, economically and in all other respects, in the same footing as there brethern coming out successful in University examinations. The solution of bread-butter question will solve many problems automatically and all our plans will be successful if we may suitably provide our students in different walks of life—in law-courts, Government offices and elsewhere. Only, the best brains should remain for the teaching line.

Administration

1. Each District should have one Government Sanskrit College which will serve also as a nerve centre of all the Pathsalas in the whole district supplying books, relevant papers, important information and so on. The Chatuspathis and District Government Colleges should be under the direct control of a Central Government Organization, which should again be under the control of the Education Directorate of the State. Monthly meetings of all the Pandits of the same district should be held in the Government District Sanskrit College.

2. There should be one Sanskrit Research Institute in each State, directly under the control of the Centarl Organization.

3. Each State should maintain an Oriental Library under the direct supervision of Central Organization for Chatuspathi Education—for use by all the Pandits and other lovers of Sanskrit Learning, with a lending department. Pandits with their proverbial poverty are greatly handicapped in their literary pursuits for want of books; this difficulty must be removed as far as possible. All manuscripts procurable from individuals should be collected in the Central Organization of each State to facilitate dissemination of Sanskrit Learning.

4. There should be an All-India Committee for the co-ordination of Sanskrit studies all over the country. It should also be equipped with an official organ for voicing its opinion in official quarters in particular. The Committee should also be responsible for devising ways and means for simplifying Sanskrit Language, whenever necessary, for the understanding of the people at large.

5. The standardisation of Sanskrit Examinations all over India is another long-felt desideratum. The importance of this can no longer be ignored. No examining body stands to lose by this; on the other hand, if a common standard be determined, the Government and other employing bodies will be able to make provision for the successful candidates on a permanently suitable basis.

Conclusion

The reforms on the above lines have already been effected by the Government of West Bengal through its Central Organization for Sanskrit education, *viz.*, Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat, with excellent results. So we have no doubts that similar attempts in other parts of the country will also produce the same results.

Attempts should now be made to establish four regional universities for the North, South, East and West of India. India is a continental country and four universities should not be considered a big demand, if we remember that in a small country like Japan there are twelve Sanskrit Universities exclusivelly conferring Sanskritic degrees upon successful candidates. In course of time, the Central Sanskrit Organizations of different States should be affiliated to these universities on a territorial basis. Undoubtedly, the Central Government should provide funds for advancing the Schemes of State Governments, particularly, for the establishment of these Sanskrit Universities.

Right-thinking persons will see easily that Sanskrit is the *de facto* National Language of India. A common stock of eighty per cent Sanskrit words is used by all literary persons throughout India. If the Devanagri script be made compulsory by the Government of India, a common platform for propagating Sanskrit learning on a much wider scale will soon emerge. People will then see for themselves that they can understand simple Sanskrit very easily and it is the only real connective link of the whole of India, and but for this very great bond of common love, India would soon be shattered to pieces. Shorn of the light of Sanskrit, India is all dark; illumined with this bright lamp, as the *de facto* National language she fills up the whole world with lustre and will ever continue to do so.

MADRAS
The City of the First English Church in India

By K. N. MEHROTRA

Located on the Coromandal Coast at a strategic point in the sub-continent of India with a well-developed and up-to-date harbour, with fine buildings adorning its beautiful thoroughfares, Madras is the connecting link between the Northern and Southern part of India. It is the seat of the Government of the State of that name, and is the third largest city of India.

Rice fields of Madras, a view from the moving train

Fort St. George, Madras, with St. Mary's Church in the background

Madras Central Station, terminus of the M. & S. M. Railway

Francis Day of the East India Company obtained in 1639 from the representative the Hindu power of Vijayanagar, Shri Ranga Raja, Rajah of Chandragiri, a grant of a site of land on which now stands the Fort St. George, and this was the beginning of the formation of the Madras State. Later on, the district of

Headquarters offices of the M. & S. M. Railway, Madras

Chingalpat was obtained from the Nawab of Carnatic in 1763. The Northern Circars were ceded by Shah Alam in 1765. The districts of Madras, Salem and Malabar were obtained from Tippu Sultan after the Third Mysore War of 1792. Kanara, Coimbatore and the Nilgiris were obtained after the Fourth Mysore War in 1799. The districts of Belary, Cuddapah, Karnul and Anantpur were ceded by the Nizam in 1800 and the remaining portion of the Carnatic Dominion was obtained in 1801. Thus the Madras State of which the city of Madras is the capital, was formed. The State includes that part of India which was one of the first to be settled by the English and other foreign nations.

High Court buildings with the Lighthouse in the background (front view)

Madras is famous for having an observatory which keeps the time for our country. The chief product of Madras district is tobacco, the chief exports are rice,

tea, cotton, indigo and oil-seeds. People here are of the Dravidian race and the language spoken are Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.

High Court buildings with the Lighthouse in the background (side view)

Madras is the city of numerous beautiful and historical buildings. The Marina or the drive along the sea-front is the resort of Madras in the afternoon. Along it are several fine buildings, such as the Fort,

Bird's-eye view of Madras city from the Lighthouse

Madras Harbour, a view from the Lighthouse

the Senate Hall, the famous Madras University and also the Aquarium, which although a small one, is well worth a visit. At the other end will be found the High Court and Law College, housed in a handsome and extensive group of buildings. Opposite to the High Court and across the China Bazar Street, is an imposing structure of the International Y. M. C. A. building.

Bird's-eye view of the China Bazar Road, the chief business centre of Madras

The old fort now contains most of the Government offices and in it is St. Mary's Church, the first English Church in India. The arsenal contains many curious trophies of the wars in which the Madras regiment

People's Park

were engaged. About one mile from the Fort in an extensive part stands the Government House.

The Madras Central Station, terminus of the

nd South Marhatta Railway, is a beautiful with a tall clock tower. It is a very busy trains arrive and depart every few minutes. north of it lies the extensive Marshalling

The Zoological Gardens

the above railway. The big workshops of the are in Perambur, four miles north of the tion. The Headquarters Offices of the M. and ailway (now Southern Railways) are to the e east of the Central Station, one of the buildings of Madras. Constructed of granite ling is a recent addition to the architectural ts of the city.

lephant while saluting in the Madras Zoo

road leading to the harbour is known as the ach Road and runs from the Parrys' Corner right up to Royapuram. The Imperial Bank of India, the Reserve Bank of India, the General Post Office as well as the offices of the Madras Collectorate, the Customs and the Port Commissioners are on this road.

The Ripon Building housing the offices of the Madras Corporation

There is a big and beautifully constructed Light House in the High Court buildings and one can have a clear bird's-eye view of the city of Madras and the Madras Harbour. The China Bazar Road is the chief business

The statue of the ape-man in the Madras Zoo

centre of the city and contains many of the business houses of the city.

Opposite to the Central Station are the General Hospital and the Medical College. The hospital is reputed to be one of the best in India, and contains up-to-date equipment in all branches of medicine.

The Madras Museum

The Coovum river divides the General Hospital and the Central Station on the one side and the Moore Market and Ripon Buildings on the other.

The Madras beach with fishermen at work

The Moore Market of Madras is somewhat like the Craford Market in Bombay and New Market in Calcutta, and one can get anything here, new or second-hand, from pin to an elephant. Behind the Moore Market is the People's Park and the Zoo. The park contains rare trees and plants, whereas in the Zoo there is a rare collection of animals, birds and reptiles. One is attracted by an apeman's statue in the Zoo which seems quite natural. The statue reminds you of the Apeman's era when Man was living an animal's life.

The Senate House and the University of Madras

The civic administration of the city is carried on by the Madras Corporation with an elected body of members. The offices of the Corporation are housed in another beautiful building of the city known as the Ripon Bpildings near the Central Station.

The electric train of the South Indian Railway

The next place to be visited is the Museum, which is reputed to be one of the best in Asia. A huge collection of sculptures, images, archæological remains, stuffed birds, mammals and many other varieties are exhibited here.

The Mount Road, like Chouringhee in Calcutta, is the fashionable shopping centre of Madras. In this locality are to be found the offices of the famous newspapers like the *Hindu*, the *Madras Mail*, the *Indian Express* and the *Swadesamitran*.

The Law College, Madras

From the Mount Road one moves to Triplicane, where are located the offices of the Board of Revenue and many other Heads of Departments under the Government of Madras. These buildings were formerly the place of the Nawabs of Arcot. Triplicane Marina Beach is said to be the second best beach in the world.

In the north of these buildings is the Senate House of the Madras University, which is one of the largest of the Indian Universities.

Building of the International Y. M. C. A.

The temple of Shri Parthasarathi Swami here is said to be one of the richest temples of the South. Devotees gather here in thousands on festival days like Vaikuntha Ekadasi.

The General Post Office, Madras

From Triplicane, we proceed to Adyar, the headquarters of the Theosophical Society of India. In the extensive grounds of the Society's premises one feels at home with nature. The colourful scenery, the century-old huge banyan tree penetrating the earth with its hundreds of roots, like a huge umbrella spread in the sky are all grand.

About a few miles away from Madras, and at Mahabalipuram there are five monolithic temples hewn out of granite rock by the Dravidians (who inhabited parts of India long before the Aryan invasion), in about the 6th century. Besides the fifth temple, there stands a large granite elephant, which was formerly buried in a mound. These temples are reputed to be one of the oldest examples of the Dravidian rock hewn temples.

The Grand Trunk Express is seen approaching the city of Madras

The city of Madras contains an excellent bus service to various parts of the city. The South Indian Railway runs the Electric Train Services from Madras Beach to Tambaram railway station touching important places in and around the city of Madras. Other means of transport in the city are the electric tramways, taxis and man-driven rickshaws. With all these modern developments, Madras is fast becoming one of the well-planned and most modern cities of South India.

(Photographs by the writer)

PHILADELPHIA

A Shrine of American Freedom

By ROGER BUTTERFIELD

THE starting point of the history of the United States as a nation is in Philadelphia, the shrine of national freedom, in the Atlantic Coast State of Pennsylvania. Many of the beginnings of the nation are still there and available for inspection. History is a casual part of the city's everyday landscape. It is seen in a modest red brick building, a street lamp, a grave a few feet off the sidewalk, a house still being lived in.

In the heart of this modern city—where the American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were written—are many treasured relics of the nation's past.

In 1776, the delegates of the 13 English North American colonies, crowding into a ground-floor room in downtown Philadelphia, debated the question of becoming a free and independent people. They voted to do so in July of that year, and Americans have never asked for a recount of their balloting.

At Independence Hall, which Philadelphians call the State House, anyone can open a door and walk into the room where the American Declaration of Independence was adopted and signed. It is not a large room—it probably would be inadequate for a modern Congressional committee hearing. But it is a beautiful room, and in its day it was big enough to give birth to the idea that all men are created equal, and are endowed with the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In this room, George Washington, then a 43-year-old planter in the southern colony of Virginia, the only Congressman in uniform, took his seat in the Second Continental Congress. He said nothing day after day, but his presence and his uniform expressed clearly his conviction that freedom must be fought for. When the time came to appoint the first American commander-in-chief, the Congress turned almost inevitably to him.

In this same room another Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, 33 then, waited unhappily while his fellow-Congressmen picked apart the words and phrases he had put into the Declaration of Independence "the historic expression of the American mind." Jefferson was a slender man with curly red hair and a sensitive disposition. When the Declaration of Independence was finally approved it was mostly Jefferson's work.

Eleven years after the Declaration, in the same Philadelphia room, the Constitution of the United States was written. Some amendments have been made to it since, but it retains the same basic principles. Over the years it has offered evidence that men can pursue their individual happiness and yet govern themselves without the aid of kings or dictators, or the rule of any particular class. The men who met in Philadelphia to write this Constitution were up against the problem which now *plagues the whole world*—how to combine majority rule, *minority rights, and security for everybody*. Aggressive young thinkers like James Madison and Alexander Hamilton took the lead in solving this problem, so far as the disunited 13 States were concerned. (James Madison was elected fourth President of the United States, 1809-1817. Alexander Hamilton was appointed in 1789 the first U.S. Secretary of the Treasury). Madison drew the original plan for a government with three equal and balancing branches: executive, judiciary, and a legislature of two houses, both elected on a basis of population; Hamilton proposed a lifetime President who would have almost as much power as a King. Delegates from the smaller States insisted that each State must have an equal voice in the legislature, and that the President's term must be limited.

City Hall, Philadelphia. Atop the structure is the statue of William Penn, founder of the city

The compromise which was reached with one Chamber of Congress elected on the basis of population (House of Representatives) and the other on the basis of equality among the States (Senate), did not fully satisfy anybody at the time. But it has long since passed the main test—it has worked. For flexibility and endurance no compact has ever quite matched the Constitution of the United States.

In Independence Hall is American's favorite historic relic, the Liberty Bell. On July 8, 1776, it summoned the citizens of Philadelphia to an open-air mass meeting for the first public reading of the Declaration of

Independence. Thereafter it rang on all patriotic occasions until it cracked in 1835. It will never ring again in the old clear tones but the words around its top—*"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the Land unto all the inhabitants Thereof"*—are still the height of eloquence to Americans. There is no charge to see the Liberty Bell. Nor is it a sight for American eyes alone. People from any land can push through the swinging doors without asking anybody's leave, look at the Bell, put their hands on its bruised surface, or take

The Home of Betsy Ross, in Philadelphia, in which the first American Flag was made

a photograph of it. The Liberty Bell hangs from its 200-year-old yoke of English oak, which has been skilfully reinforced by concealed steel beams, and a set of iron hooks, which grips the bronze shell from the inside to prevent further cracking. Around the base of its platform are four mahogany panels which enclose a kind of hand truck on wheels. In case of fire or other emergency two moderately muscular guards could strip off the panels and push the 2,080-pound Bell outdoors in about two minutes.

The tides of politics which made Philadelphia, under the Continental Congress, the first seat of the new nation, have long since shifted to Washington, D.C., and the leadership in business and finance it once enjoyed was lost to New York City more than a century ago. But in the art of living *with history Philadelphia* remains pre-eminent. Freedom seems particularly at ease there, and welcomes callers.

Independence Hall and the group of buildings which surround it are part of the workday scene in a city of more than 2,000,000 people. Every morning, noon, and at 5 o'clock each evening they are brushed by the stream of humanity flowing to and from nearby shops and office buildings.

Along any street that leads away from Independence Hall there is some fragment of American history. A few doors east on Chestnut Street is the gilded weathervane of Carpenters' Hall, which started life as a meeting place for master builders and became, for a while, the first

The statue of Benjamin Franklin in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, founded in 1824

capitol of the unbuilt nation. The First Continental Congress met there, in 1774, to consider what should be done about the British navy blockade of Boston. On Second Street are the graceful spire and white boxed pews of Old Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal), which still has prayer books from which King George's name was erased in 1776. Farther north is the house where, American tradition says, the first American flag was stitched together by Betsy Ross.

Up Market Street from the Delaware River is the route that young Benjamin Franklin took on his first arrival in the city, with a "great puffy roll" under each arm, and his mouth stuffed with warm Philadelphia bread. He was the first American to become a world figure. It was in Philadelphia that Franklin started the first fire

company and first public library in America, introduced paved streets and non-smoking chimneys, invented bifocals and the lightning rod. The four-sided gas lamps which illuminate Independence Square at night were designed by him. He organized the American Philosophical Society, one of the oldest and most distinguished of American learned bodies.

Philadelphia is 57 years younger than New York City and 52 years younger than Boston, Massachusetts, both of which played such important roles in the early history of the United States. But at the time of the American War for Independence it was the second-largest English-speaking city in the world, and because of its central location on the seaboard, it seemed the logical choice for the first capital of the new nation. The source of its early prosperity was the unique Quaker (Society of Friends) policy of religious liberty for all, and considerable political liberty for many. In the eighteenth century, Philadelphia became the main stop for the flow of European enlightenment to America, and for immigration and commerce as well. To it went teachers and soldiers, painters and doctors, silversmiths and clockmakers, solid merchants and penniless exiles, pamphleteers like Tom Paine and freethinking scientists like Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen and founder of the first Unitarian church in America.

Several of the old mansions along the Schuylkill River in Fairmount Park (now city-owned) were the scenes of fighting during the American War for Independence. However, since the summer of 1777, Philadelphia has not known the sounds of battle.

Today a great program of restoration and conservation is going forward in the historic areas of Philadelphia. New approaches and vistas are being opened up around the more important buildings. Northward from Independence Hall, the State of Pennsylvania is cutting a wide mall. The Federal Government is providing another mall eastward and southward toward the Delaware River. On January 2, 1951, the city of Philadelphia turned over the keys of Independence Hall to the United States Department of the Interior, after keeping them for 135 years. The National Park Service has taken permanent charge.

Those who visit Philadelphia will find there something unique. They will find the original setting for a nation's dream, which is that freedom belongs to "all men," with an equal chance for happiness. The city that gave that thought to the world will always be worth knowing.—From *Holiday*.

——:O:——

A NINETEENTH CENTURY MARRIAGE IN NORTHERN INDIA

By Prof. HARBANS SINGH, M.A.

Ranjit Singh's reign in the Punjab is famous for his victories in battle and glowing acts of generosity and heroism. It is no less remarkable for colourful events like the Maharaja's meeting with Lord William Bentinck and the marriage of his grandson, Prince Nau Nihal Singh. This marriage was celebrated with unique pomp and eclat. No other event in India witnessed such profuse shower of gold and silver and such gay festivity. No marriage in the world perhaps cost so much money and was attended by so many people. Ranjit Singh had half a million people as his guests for the occasion. He gave away in one day twenty lakhs of rupees in charity.

Prince Nau Nihal Singh was then sixteen years old. He had already shown his ability as warrior. He had been sent on various campaigns and had more than fulfilled his proud grandfather's expectations. In the midst of one such campaign his marriage was arranged with the daughter of Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala, one of Ranjit Singh's principal noblemen.

Ranjit Singh sent invitations to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief Sir Henry Fane, his old friend Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor of Agra, and a number of Indian chiefs. The rulers of Faridkot, Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Malerkotla, Kalsia, Kapurthala, Naraingarh, Mandi and Suket responded to the invitation. Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, with Lady Fane and staff, attended on behalf of the Governor-General. Ranjit Singh received the guests at Amritsar with usual ceremony and lavishness.

As Sir Henry Fane crossed the Sutlej at Harike on March 3, 1837, he was met by Prince Sher Singh, Ranjit Singh's second son. The Prince, in his beautiful tiara of diamonds, emeralds and rubies and followed by a large number of attendants, looked most elegant. The guests were impressed by his good nature and quiet and dignified manner. He at once made friends with Sir Henry Fane, who came to see him in his tent on the following day. The Prince had brought with him an artist, who, standing in front of the two chiefs, made a likeness of Sir Henry Fane. The guests admired the furnishings of the Prince's camp, especially the dressing room which was filled with looking glasses and French scent bottles and other European luxuries of toilet.

The Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by Prince Sher Singh and his train, left for Amritsar. Two miles from the city, they were met by Prince Kharak Singh,

r-apparent and father of the bridgeroom. Sir was presented with a *zeeafut* of five thousand

He entered the city under a salute of guns om the fort of Gobindgarh. Upon reaching his ıe also fired a salute of twenty-one guns in honour Maharaja. Then he came to pay his visit to haraja, who was staying in his garden-house, the agh. Ranjit Singh was dressed very plainly for asion. He was in a green Kashmir turban and single row of pearls round his neck. The under which he sat was made of beautiful Kash- ıwls, inlaid with gold and silver. It was sup- on silver poles. The ground was spread with and carpets. The jewels and dresses of the ja's court were of the richest description. Hira son of Dhian Singh, the Prime Minister, looked ıs of jewels—he had so many on his breast, arms ıs. Ranjit Singh received Sir Henry Fane r and talked to him in a friendly and graceful

Some of the many questions he asked him e size of the East India Company's army, the of battles he had been in and the way the cast their guns.

the evening was held the ceremony of presenting ı to the bridegroom. Sir Henry Fane presented thousand rupees, Dhian Singh one lakh and five thousand, and Gulab Singh, founder of the House of Kashmir, his brother Suchet Singh, Misar ıand and other Sardars fifty-one thousand each. hiefs and guests made offerings according to their ıd position. The presents altogether were valued lakhs of rupees.

ı marriage party started for the bride's place on ts richly caparisoned and decorated. Passing the streets of Amritsar, the procession reached rbar Sahib, where blessings were sought for the ıom. The Maharaja put the bridal crown rarest pearls, hung on gold threads, on the fore- Prince Nau Nihal Singh.

ı party formed a brilliant cavalcade composed rb-looking men, mounted upon stately elephants. was the splendour and bustle of the occasion. ls of thousands of spectators, who had come from s of the country, lined up on both sides of the ım Amritsar to Attari, the bride's village. For round there were crowds of men cheering the on as it passed along. Ranjit Singh had ordered ntaining coins worth two thousand rupees each to ed at the disposal of the guests. The money ng showered to the people at each step. Ranjit the members of the royal family and the more nt guests cast gold mohurs to the crowds. At d of the procession was a moving throne, decked a most splendid style, on which dancing and ontinued all the way.

dar Sham Singh had made equally elaborate ments for the reception of the marriage party. ıssage to his Haveli was spread with velvet and brocade. The guns and fireworks were let off as the party arrived. The Maharaja was received with an offering of one hundred and one mohurs and five horses, Prince Kharak Singh with fifty-one mohurs and one horse and the other Princes with eleven mohurs and a horse each. The guests were then conducted to the top floor of Sardar Sham Singh's castle. The bride- groom sat between the Maharaja and the Commander- in-Chief under a canopy embroidered with silver and gold. Ranjit Singh wore on his arm the famous Koh-i-Nur.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

After 9 o'clock began the marriage ceremony. The air became thick with the holy chants and the felicita- tions to the Maharaja from all sides. A display of fireworks was held in the centre of the large enclosure where camps had been laid out for the Maharaja, Sir Henry Fane and other guests. The entertainment and gaieties went on far into the night.

Ranjit Singh surpassed himself for bounty at the time of the distribution of alms. The large number of poor people who had come for alms, and the spectators were driven into a space of about five miles in cicum- ference, entirely surrounded by soldiers. No one was allowed to come out except at the eighty outlets, where officers were stationed to distribute the money. Each one was given a *butki*, worth five rupees. As a person received his *butki*, he was sent out of the circle and not allowed to come in again. A sum of twenty lakhs of rupees was distributed in this manner. It is said that a man came carrying a pot on his head. He com- plained to the Maharaja that he and the members of his family had not received their share of the alms. The Maharaja asked him where the rest of his family was. The man uncovered the pot he had been carry- ing. It was full of ants. Ranjit Singh at once said, "You count the members of your family and have

butki for each. Else, you have your pot filled with *butkis*. The man had to choose the latter course. Ranjit Singh gladly fulfilled his word.

The Maharaja and the guests witnessed the sports at which wrestling bouts took place between the famous wrestlers of the country. Elephant-fighting and contests in lancing and swordsmanship were also held. In the afternoon the bride's dowry was displayed. It consisted of eleven elephants, 101 horses, 101 cows, 101 buffaloes, 101 camels, hundreds of gold and silver utensils, five hundred pairs of shawls, and ornaments, jewels and silk and brocade dresses worth lakhs of rupees. Sardar Sham Singh also made presents to the Maharaja and the guests.

Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, grand-son of Ranjit Singh

After two days of feasting and merriment, the party left for Lahore. Since the festival of Holi was near, Ranjit Singh did not let his guests depart. He wanted to give a banquet at the Shalamar Gardens in the evening. But the water from the Ravi had not yet come sufficiently far down the canal which brought it to the garden. The water was required for the fountains. The entertainment was postponed until the following evening.

The Shalamar Gardens were brilliantly illuminated with rows of small earthen lamps, placed at regular intervals on the buildings and down the sides of the walls and the tanks. At every ten or twelve yards were placed coloured lamps. The fountains playing in the light of these lamps looked magnificent. The whole scene seemed an imitation of fairyland. Special arrangements were made for the English ladies to witness the fireworks. A tent was erected for them on the top of a house. The Maharaja looked after the guests personally. He won their hearts by his most amiable and genial manner. The festive eve was prolonged to the small hours of the morning.

On the third day, Ranjit Singh visited Sir Henry in his camp. The Commander-in-Chief and his staff came out half way to receive him. While passing through the troops which had been drawn up in his honour, he looked minutely at the King's 16th Lancers. He had seen these troops at Rupar at the time of his meeting with Lord William Bentinck.

Ranjit Singh turned the formal occasion into a pleasant function by his natural and easy ways and his acute and well-informed questions and conversation. He asked the Commander-in-Chief if the Russian interest was doing the English much harm in Persia and whether Persia could give Russia any useful aid in the event of their coming towards India. Many more questions which showed Ranjit Singh's intellectual equipment and curiousity were asked. Sir Henry then took him into another camp where the presents had been laid out. An elephant, eight horses, a double-barrelled gun, a rifle and a brace of pistols were among the presents. The Commander-in-Chief apologized that the presents were not better, saying that he had not had sufficient warning of the visit.

Sir Henry Fane saw a review of Ranjit Singh's troops on the banks of the river Ravi. They were all very well turned out and armed in the European fashion. The Commander-in-Chief praised their skill and discipline. Ranjit Singh was present at a similar review of the Commander-in-Chief's escort. He was greatly impressed by the movements of the English soldiers. At the end he sent to the soldiers eleven thousand rupees as a mark of his bounty.

One day the guests were invited to see the court jewels. Some of them were the finest in the world. The Koh-i-Nur was, of course, the most attractive. There were jewels in swords, armlets, bangles and neckleces and one was costlier than the other. Then the guests went to a grand entertainment given by Ranjit Singh at his palace in honour of the English ladies. The ladies also went in to see the Maharaja's wives. Mai Nakain, mother of the heir-apparent, Prince Kharak Singh, received them. Mrs. Ventura, wife of Ranjit Singh's general, Ventura, and Mrs. Allard, wife of General Allard, acted as interpreters.

At last the festival of Holi, for which the guests had been detained, arrived. The Maharaja invited them all to his camp. They were provided with baskets full of red powder balls, large bowls of yellow saffron and gold squirts. As soon as the guests were seated, the Maharaja poured colour on Sir Henry's bald head while Dhian Singh rubbed him all over with red powder. This was a signal for general colour splashing and ball throwing. The worst sufferer in the rejoicing was an Afghan ambassador who had just then arrived at Ranjit Singh's court from Kandahar.

After having been in Lahore for a fortnight, Sir Henry asked his leave. A farewell Durbar was held and presents were brought for him and his party. Ranjit Singh shook each of the guests by the hand and wished him good-bye. Everyone felt sincere sorrow at parting from such a kind and generous friend. Prince Sher Singh came as far as the Sutlej to see the party off. On the way, a soldier of the English escort died. Sher Singh placed a wreath on his grave and ordered a guard to be placed over it until a wall was built round. The Englishmen greatly appreciated this act of courtesy. On the banks of the river Sir Henry Fane held a Durbar in honour of Prince Sher Sing and presented him with a buggy and horse.

In honour of Prince Nau Nihal Singh's marriage, Ranjit Singh started an Order of Merit, which was known as Kaukab-i-Iqbal-i-Punjab, Star of the Prosperity of the Punjab. The Grand Master of the order was Prince Nau Nihal Singh. The order had three grades, each having its own medal. The medals bore the effigy of Ranjit Singh on one side and had silk ribands of gold and scarlet colour. They were in the shape of a star and were meant to be worn round the neck. The first-grade medal was ornamented with one diamond. It was meant for the members of the royal family and those chiefs who showed great devotion to the person of the Maharaja and his family. The second-grade medal had a diamond and an emerald set in it. It was bestowed on loyal courtiers and Sardars. The third contained a single emerald and was open to the civil and military officers who rendered some special service to the country.

———:O:———

A NOTE ON A POLITICAL CRIME OF 1856

By S. B. CHAUDHURI, M.A.,

Presidency College, Calcutta

On the 22nd of January 1856, at about 5-30 P.M. one Bisheshur, a sepoy of the Calcutta militia on guard at the jail, made an attempt on the life of Mr. Money, the District Judge of the 24 Pergunnahs in the jail compound. The facts of the case as recorded in a report (hitherto unpublished) submitted by the District Magistrate to the Commissioner of circuit Nuddea Division are given below :

To

The Commissioner of circuit, Nuddea Division

18th February 1856

Sir,

In my letter dated, 25th ultimo, I reported that an attempt had been made to shoot the judge of the district.

As the prisoner has been committed by me I have the honour to annex a copy of my reasons for the commitment, which give full particulars in the following words :

About 5-30 P.M. of the 22nd January 1856 I was riding past the "Allipore jail," when I observed the judge Mr. Money was there, on an official visit. As this was Mr. Money's first visit to the jail, I went there to see if he required assistance or information from me—my visit was wholly unpermitted.

I remained a short time with the judge in the jail, and after coming out, we were in the act of stepping into his carriage when the report of a guard (?) was heard—almost immeditely it was discovered that a shot had been fired at one of us by the prisoner Bisheshur, a sepoy of the Calcutta militia, on guard at the jail. He was forthwith secured. On counting his ammunition one cartridge and one guncap were missing. The mark of a musket ball was soon after found at the north-east corner of the jail wall. . . The ball itself was then picked up by Mr. Flodjunior (witness No. 16).

The Prisoner was secured for the night in the Hajat ward of the jail and next day I proceeded in the case. The prisoner freely confessed that he had *fired at the judge with intent to murder.* I then made every enquiry in order to discover whether there has been an investigation of this crime, but it is not prudent for me to record what were mere suspicions. It is sufficient for me to state that I am fully satisfied that no one besides the prisoner is concerned.

It is no doubt a suspicious circumstance that shortly after the judge's arrival at the jail, one sepoy (the prisoner) left the guard of honor (?) posted within the jail, pleading sickness and that just before my arrival, another sepoy Dookee (witness No. 4) left the same guard on a simliar plea. Both these men were together in the picket guard house where the shot was fired from that house—still I feel convinced in my own mind that Dookee was not aware of what was going to happen. I feel certain of this because the moment after the shot was fired, I noticed Dookee rushing from the picket guard house, with an expression of horror and consternation on his face which I conceive it utterly impossible he could feign. Again it does not take two men to fire one musket. Had Dookee really formed a plot with the

prisoner he would either have fired another musket, etc . . . or he could have remained quiet.

The difficulty no doubt is to account for the prisoner's motive on any other supposition than that he has been instigated or bribed. He says himself that he *has long hated Europeans and wished to kill them.* But this is not consistent with the fact of his having been for 14 years a well-behaved soldier who must in that time have had many previous opportunitities of shooting Europeans had he actually wished to do so. He was in the habit of reading some books which have been examined but without throwing any light on the point, the prisoner appears to be perfectly sound.

From his appearance and conduct when arrested it struck me that he was under the *influence of bhang* or a similar drug—This may account for the crime.

I commit the prisoner for trial this 30th day of January 1856 corresponding with the 18th of Maug 1262 B.S.

Fergusson
District Magistrate.

The incident described above, though isolated in a way has considerable significance which cannot be missed. The mutiny which broke out a year after with its orgy of murder and arson was not a sudden outburst of frenzy against European element in the country, but was the resultant maelstrom of a long chain of grievances and discontent of the sepoys against British rule in India. Judged in that light, the attempt on the life of Mr. Money which was motivated by a spirit of hatred against the Europeans bears all the appearances of a link in the fateful chain of events leading to the general conflagration of 1857.

The District Magistrate did not believe that the prisoner Bisheshur had long hated the Europeans and wished to kill them because he had been for fourteen years a well-behaved soldier. This view certainly stands discredited in the light of subsequent events which showed the attitude of the disaffected sepoys who were living in the most cordial relationship with their superior officers in the past and made the regiment their 'home'. Fergusson's analysis was perhaps typical of the civil service which refused to believe that the company's rule was leading towards a crisis—a manner of viewing things so ridiculously exposed in the famous 'Red Pamphlet'. It is quite probable that Bisheshur's hatred of the Europeans may not have been acute in the early part of his career and only grew with the social and political distemper of the age rising like a crescendo in the 50's of the nineteenth century. It was a cool, calculated and deliberate attempt made with the full knowledge of risks involved; and though Bisheshur alone was the assassin, Dookee's complicity, though the magistrate held different views, was not above question. Moreover, as the later practice showed the Sepoy's invariably took bhang before committing a crime of this nature. Bisheshur who thus acted under the influence of bhang in many ways anticipated the behaviour of the mutineers.

It was no doubt sheer madness on the part of Bisheshur to take recourse to this step for destroying the power of the foreigners whom he hated most but terrorism serves its own purpose of advertising discontent and the diabolical method he adopted showed the temper and mood of the sepoy or should we say of the whole Bengal militia in general in 1856 lying sullen and sulky and ready to burst forth.

———:O:———

SOUTH AFRICA—LAND OF GOLD AND DISCORD

BY JOHN NEVIN SAYRE*

DISCORD was not lacking in South African before the finding of gold and diamonds there, but the discovery of such riches has multiplied the friction and vastly complicated the country's problems. Had the new wealth been controlled and exploited for the improvement of living standards, education and the betterment of all sections of the people, it might have lessened the discord. And if also there could have been a spiritual perception of basic human justice, and a full use of love and human understanding, South Africa might today be leading the world in the glory of a multi-racial Christian society.

Today, South Africans are keenly aware of the *crisis through which their* nation is going. Although they tend to resent outside criticism and the myth that only one race can be to blame for the sorry state of race relations, they are not complacent. Indeed, fear of trouble that may come upon the country pervades all groups. Most of those we interviewed declared that conditions were getting worse, and some of them felt that they were at a desperate stage. As one man said: "We are living on two volcanoes, either one of

* Mr. Sayre is a well-known Christian minister and internationalist, Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The recent years he has travelled all over the globe, and his latest trip, to South Africa, afforded him opportunities for first-hand observations which he has embodied in this article. His report is released by *Worldover Press.*

ould soon explode." One was the growing between whites and non-whites; the other was ger of civil war between the two principal roups.

Old Boer-British Conflict Alive

vas surprising to find that on the psychological paganda front the old war between the Boers British is still going on and being fanned to tensity, especially by the Malan government. uld have thought that the divisions caused by r had long ago been healed by generous acts tain's Campbell-Bannerman government, the p of the federal Union of South Africa, and ; years of service to the Union by General Jan But this is not the case. There was a section Boers who in their hearts never accepted defeat, garded Smuts as a "Quisling," who bided their t were busy nourishing Boer aspirations. It is o have taken the lead in "apartheid," who cling Afrikaans language, and who got control of the ent in 1948 after Smuts' death. This has a split not only between British and Dutch Africans, but inside the Afrikaner group itself.

Malan and the Nationalist Party propose to n Afrikaner country and possibly an independent parate from the British Commonwealth. They trust the British, are hostile to the United and fear the Communists whose South Party they have outlawed. They have lly annexed South West Africa and seem to ill more territory. They mean to build up a race and a master language, and keep non- habitants "in their place." They are tightening old controls of segregation, and promulgating es. They do not intend that members of dark- races and nations shall ever be admitted to vileges of citizenship.

natives are to have a homeland in separate es, somewhat like American Indian reservations, hey are to live under tribal discipline, which, , is finally subject to white control. Some of ill work the farms of white South Africans. who labor in the mines and the big cities are housed in adjacent segregated "locations."

Malan government appears quite willing to the decisions of the country's judges and the African constitution if these stand in the way. h the present government was not voted into y a majority of the nation's white electorate, it to win a majority at the next election. The lists know what they want, believe that they are ly and patriotically right, do not care for civil , and are ruling by dictatorial methods.

United Party Has Mixed Program

United Party was the party of General Smuts. pposed to a number, but not all, of the above measures. About 70 per cent of its members are white Afrikaners (not Africans) and the rest are white South Africans largely of British extraction. It wishes to uphold the courts and constitution, and demands an immediate general election. It wants to stay within the Commonwealth. It is willing to have South Africa a bilingual country, but fears that English may be crowded out of the schools, universities and government by the Afrikaans language, pushed by Afrikaner Nationalism.

This party opposes the abrogation of civil liberaties and the withdrawal of the limited franchise rights for the "Colored" people which have been in existence for a number of years in the Cape of Good Hope Colony. It fears the encroachment of Nationalist dictatorship, and in the present crisis has been building up a group known as the "Torch Commandos." headed by "Sailor" Malan, a cousin of the Prime Minster. The government charges this group with being "subversive," and there are ominous clashes between it and the police which are played up in the papers almost daily.

But the United Party would be split wide open if the issue of assimilation between races and the extension of votes to all racial groups—whether outright or by a gradual method—should be pressed upon it. Consequently, on this question it is in a weak position as compared to the Nationalists' firm policy of segregation.

Magnitude of the Race Problem

Those who are familiar with race questions in the southern United States should realize that South Africa's race problem is far more acute. The estimated total population of South Africa is 12,000,000, and there are only 2,500,000 whites. Granted that the 9,500,000 non-whites are not united, that they are without arms and unorganized, and for the most part amazingly patient, the whites know what a disaster it would be if these millions were to withdraw their labor. Such a fear, played upon by frequent news stories of crimes against whites, makes the white groups jittery. It intensifies the bitterness when the whites oppose each other.

If now the white parties should fly at each others' throats in exasperation, it would be madness. But when emotions get to the boiling-point, madness can happen. It hardly looks as if such an extremity will be reached. If, however, the United Party were to be victorious in the next election, it would constitute an important gain. Its belief in law and constitutional procedure would leave the way open for peaceful methods of change.

The campaign of civil disobedience, along the lines of the crusades led formerly by Mahatma Gandhi in India and South Africa, has been dramatic and thus far singularly unaccompanied by outbreaks of violence against the white regime. Upwards of 5,000 demonstrators, native Africans and resident East

Indians, have violated segregation laws in a spirit of non-violence, and have suffered arrest. The campaign is led both by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. For once the non-whites have come together in strong, challenging action to show their unwillingness to accept a second-class citizenship. The movement has been a great welling up of protest, and in the main non-violent, though there have been violent outbreaks between whites and native Africans, as at Port Elizabeth in October. These exceptions do not necessarily indicate a breakdown in the non-violent campaign, for they have happened before, and are not as a rule connected with the present non-violent demonstrations. It is too early, however, for final judgments on the campaign's ultimate value. Yet when Mohandas Gandhi began in South Africa, on his campaign a third of a century ago, it looked like a forlorn hope. God has often used the weak of this world to confound the strong.

Enlightened Whites

There are white minority groups and individuals who are trying to build a multi-racial society that will move in the direction of gradual extension of democracy and civil rights for all. These are the leaven. They are few, they are separated from each other by vast distances, and they contend against terrific odds. But they are valiant for truth. These groups have nurtured such persons as Alan Paton, Michael Scott, Senator E. H. Brooks, Hon. Margaret Ballinger, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, Rev. A. W. Blaxall. Rev. H. P. Junod, Rev. Ray E. Phillips, Dr. W. J. G. Mears, Dr. Ellen Hellman, Principal R.H.W. Shepherd, Dr. J. Muir Grieve, Dr. F. W. Fox, Maurice Webb, Dr. Alan Taylor, Bishop Wilfred Parker, Manilal Gandhi and Principal Mtimkulu. There are various others scattered about the country whom it was not possible to meet, and those who are named represent just a sample of nationally-known South Africans who are conspicuous for their service to a multi-racial state. There is a still wider circle whose names are written in heaven.

In the forefront of the voluntary organizations that have turned the light on race relations and striven for their betterment, is the South African Institute of Race Relations, now in its 23rd year. In a recent statement to the government, it expressed its basic position, and set a standard for future work and hope. Said the Institute, the true basis for a settlement of the race question is wrapped up in these principles :

1. Belief in the value of the individual human being and his right, by virtue of his being, to the fullest expression and development compatible with similar rights of other individuals within the pattern of a democratic state.

2. Belief in the values of democratic society with its accepted freedoms, rights and duties.

3. Acceptance of the brotherhood of man in its Christian interpretation.

———:O:———

D. H. LAWRENCE

Prof. K. C. PETER

D. H. Lawrence is a genius. Much more than that. He is a revolutionary in the realm of literature. He isn't sexy, sex-soaked, or sexually hyper-sensitive as made out by certain critics. To say that his novels do not rise above the pelvis is as untrue as stupid. One has to size him up—Lawrence the man—to know the truth. Not only a poet is he, but also a novelist belonging to a different class, a class by himself. His poetry in its force of expression and forthright statement rivals only T. S. Eliot's. He is intensely individualistic, sensitive and feeling. Style is sincerity, says Joad. Style is the man himself.

Change the World

Having seen and experienced life first-hand, D. H. Lawrence wants to change it. He cared to rub his upright shoulders against the coarse realities of life. As *a world-shaker,* Lawrence is classed with Balzac, Zola and Hugo. He shook the world to rouse it from the stupor in which it fell. Like Aldous Huxley and Eliot, he did his best to rouse the world to a new awareness of the strange heart-beats of life.

D. H. Lawrence gave four-square opposition to humbug and sham with which the world is full. He took infinite delight in tearing to pieces all customary and conventional insincerity and hypocrisy. In literature, as in art, these contagions of life have penetrated. As misfortune will have it, life today has been reduced to routine. Life, its vitality lost, becomes dull and meaningless.

Lawrence found fault with even Shakespeare for being untrue to himself.

> "And Hamlet how boring, how boring to live with
> So mean and self-conscious, blowing and snoring
> His wonderful speeches, full of other folk's
> whoring."

rence is not against Shakespeare the playwright, nst the circumstances that made him what he s is self-evident from what he wrote of his

"My mother was a superior soul
A superior soul was she
cut out to play a superior role
In the God-damn bourgeoisie."

nge the world he must, though he has labour under serious limitations—change the ı order to make it a better place for humans in.

Not Monkeys, But Men

pecialist branch of unimaginative literary critics wrence a 'decadent,' which he is not. James *Ulysses* knocked the bottom out of pretentious, ɔrary life, exposing the lifelessness of exis- ıd high-sounding emptiness of art. In reality, ɛrs and novelists do not stand to blame, but the ɔn they were destined to live in does. In this ng modern civilisation poets and novelists can- far from the madding crowd, even if they try. version and distortion of values in present-day is the villain of the piece. With hopeless bar- all around and nothing else to hold on, with ıith in himself lost and self-confidence destroyed, ɾ is left adrift anchorless on the deep stormy : modern thought. The poets and novelists just the world, painted it in their own heart's eld out lessons for the readers to draw.

'thing civilisation' that envelops us is skin- ip-shod and stupid. Dollar Almighty has stolen ɛart. Greed is on the throne. The unscrupulous avaricious fatten on the poverty of slum-dwellers, atten on filth. Morality has lost its charm, culture ɾity, life its soul. Man, the highest of God's has fallen on evil days and evil ways.

Lawrence, Jesus is a hot-headed revolutionary, gainst the exploiters on behalf of the exploited, l millions. And Lawrence's intense spirited ılism led him to bring out the pure artist in The sufferings and emotions, the miseries and of men and women form the subject-matter of ght and intense study. He is down on all the ith clay feet with all the thunderbolts he can Supercharged with emotion, he wrote :

"For God's sake, let us be men
Not monkeys winding machines
Or sitting with our tails curled
While the machine amuses us
Radio, film and gramophone
Monkeys the bland grim on our faces."

dedly, he is no decadent. The machine ɔn of ours is at fault. It de-humanised us. ɛ's works do cover the facts and forces of today ıtographic realism. His accent is not on man, ɛey, but on man, the man.

Baffled

Despite the guarantees doled out by UNO and the various charters, freedom from want is yet to be accomplished. Collective security is not yet translated from a slogan into a reality. Political stability is torpedoed straightaway by social insecurity. And social security cannot be had until psychical maturity is achieved. Psychic maturity in its turn depends upon social happiness and ease. The vicious coil is thus unwinding and winding itself. Natural then that the observant artist feels the impact of conflicting forces. And through the sieve of his mind those impressions gain form and shape. No wonder then Lawrence is "consistent with inconsistencies." To expose the world in its true colours, he has trespassed not only the forbidden but even the dangerous. Not in vain Paguy said, "A living disorder is far better than a dead order."

Symbol of the Modern Age

In more respects than one, Lawrence symbolises the modern age—the age of clashes and contradictions. Machine-civilisation, he realised, has made robots of us. The automaticity of machines has entered human mind too. Today, man runs down his routine just like a machine does. If a man parts from the beaten track, he is ridiculed and laughed at. To be human has become difficult. D. H. Lawrence found himself at a loss, being a misfit in modern complex and multiplex society, a square peg in a round hole. No doubt, he did his best to change the hole in order to fit the square peg in. Partially he succeeded, though it was realised only 20 years after Tuberculosis dug his grave. While the parcels of other novelists and artists refuse to be unpacked, Lawrence stands bolt upright in the hostile world with his cards open on the table. Blame him, praise him, he holds his own.

Face the Music

Lawrence's is a mind definitely sensitive to every gust of passing wind. The most fleeting passions, the subtlest shades of emotions, the tenderest rustles of feelings are caught in his mind's camera-eye. He can recapture them with gusto at will. Through observation and experience, he got down to the roots of life's problems.

Well-equipped with weapons of offence and defence ready, he took sides in what Nietzsche calls "war without mercy." Thus the scribe and pen-pusher in him turned out to be the heroic crusader, ruthless in attack. His fortitude was amazing, for his was a lone fight against the whole world of evil, make-believe and prudery. His was a fight that knew no retreat. Eliot found life's sheet-anchor in the philosophy of the cross and Aldous Huxley in the fount of perennial philosophy of the East, but D. H. Lawrence went in search of truth, went on finding it and telling it. He was angry with the world, threatened it, decried it, disowned it, only to come back

to it at last. He never believed in leaving the world to stew in its own juice, to perish in its own poison. He was out to change it. Hence the emergence of the many Lawrences, one not knowing the other, to right the wrongs of life, to mould and remould the multi-faceted world. In that shady, dim, yet clear light, we have to assess the worth of Lawrence's attainments.

Love's Labours

Life wasn't kind to Lawrence. He bore the full brunt of life's worst. So hyper-sensitive was his heart that often his head gave way. His soul went out to the suffering and poverty-stricken. Psychical suffering touched the cords of his heart, more than physical suffering did. His works reflect in detail the conflict of emotions to which often sensitive human souls are subject. Critics with the solitary exception of Richard Aldington never knew him well. They can't help a man by sitting tight on his neck. But Lawrence was to live and actually lived in the light of his invisible sun. He discovered the guilty secret of everybody's life, the guilty secret without the guilt. Time and again, his emotions have surged up in a great tidal wave of revolt. That we are lodged up in our own private grief, he makes us feel. And factually we are.

Lawrence wasn't weak-kneed and powerless. The many Lawrences in him, individually taken, are strong willed men themselves. He is Bert to his mother, Cristo to Mexicans, Lawrence to his wife. In every one of his works, there is he denouncing the world, condemning it in order to reform it. He wants the world to find its creative self.

Oscar Wilde sang :

> ". . . .To have known Love,
> How bitter a thing it is? "

Ella Wheeler Wilcox wrote :

> "Love is a mood no more to man
> And love to a woman is life or death."

Knowing it more intensely, Lawrence filled in the blanks. He portrayed vividly, brother-sister affection, son-mother attachment and true "phallic tenderness." Yet, all of them have relation to reality and are tied down to naked earth. If at all D. H. Lawrence attempted to settle accounts with his dark God in the last december of life or to pray for the emergence of supermen, it is to throw into high relief the sharp thorns of life on which men fall and bleed. Only by way of escape, he did so—escape from the trap of embittered violently painful life—escape from the agony of life.

An Intenser World

Often his own opinions collide with one another. His romantic poetry and fiery criticisms of life had its emphasis on challenge to evil. Obscene novels are like giving the hungry man the description of a sumptuous dinner. But the works of Lawrence were far from being pornographic. With choice words, apt phraseology, and powerful diction, Lawrence easily heightened emotions. In life, emotions reach the zenith, whipped up by the cruelties and injustices that individuals suffer, and Lawrence simply depicted them. G.B.S. had once to portray an emotional summit thus : "When I loved you, I gave you eternity in a single moment, strength of the mountains in one clasp of your arms, and the volume of all the seas in one impulse of your soul." Can we call it pornographic? If we do, it means that we lack the sense of realism. Modern life demands that we shall take courage by the forelock.

A Genius Misunderstood

Aldous Huxley after studying Lawrence at close quarters writes :

> "To be with Lawrence was a kind of adventure, a voyage of discovery into the newness and otherness. For being himself of a differnent order, he inhabited a universe, different from that of common men—a brighter and intenser world of which, while he spoke, he could make you free. He looked at things, with the eyes, so it seemed, of a man who had been at the brink of death and to whom as he emerges from the darkness, the world reveals itself as unfathomably beautiful and mysterious."

Do Not be Sad

D. H. Lawrence died in his 45th year at 10 o'clok on the night of 2nd March, 1930. Just before his death, suffering from the pangs of TB, he wrote to Katherine Masefield :

> ". . . .And it is time to go, to bid
> Farewell to one's own self and find
> An exit from the fallen self."

And he went.

Elsewhere, he writes :

> "Do not be sad. It is one life which is passing away from us, one 'I' is dying; but there is another coming into being which is the happy creative you."

Can we call him who wrote those lines 'a coward,' 'a decadent'? Nothing can be farther from truth. Standing firm on the hard-shelled idealism, easily he unmasks his anti-bourgeoisie battery. He fought untruth and hypocrisy, tooth and nail. By all means, he was an *enfant terrible*. He had defects. But they count no more than spots on the sun.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

IE HOYSALA VAMSA: *By William Coelho. Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1950. Pp. Price not stated.*

his is the second of the series of dynastic histories cient India prepared under the auspices of the nown Director of the Indian Historical Research tte of the Bombay St. Xavier's College, Father , who contributes to it an appreciative Foreword. s offered originally as a Bombay University ch thesis for the M.A. degree, but the author has incorporated fresh epigraphic material so as to it up-to-date especially in the field of social and the history of art. The Hoysalas, who the Mysore plateau from c. 1100–1350 A.D., an honourable place among the ancient Indian dynasties. They link up the Western Chalukyas harashtra with the great Vijayanagar kingdom was the heir to their fortunes. What is more, left a very valuable impress upon the art and ure of their region. The author deals exhaus- with his rich epigraphic and archaeological matter- nd he shows sound judgment in his treatment of ous disputed questions of history and chrono- His style is sufficiently easy and clear to make ok attractive to the general reader, while it caters or the needs of the scholar. Though he nes his work as dealing exclusively with l history, he has added in his last three rs valuable notices on the state of society, istration, religious conditions as well as art and ecture in the Hoysala kingdom. On the other one cannot but deeply regret the numerous nts which disfigure it almost from beginning to The want of maps and a royal genealogical table to be deplored.

P. N. GHOSHAL

EKHA A book on Art and Anatomy of Indian ges and symbols: *By K. C. Aryan. Published Ekha Prakashan, 1949. Price Annas. Profusely illustrative drawings in colours and black and Pp. 140. Price Rs. 15.*

e warmly welcome this excellent handbook of ing. Designs. Profusely illustrated with drawings ly to commercial artists, calligraphers, designers and students of art generally. The s and models are set out and explained Lettering and Calligraphy, Initial and Mono- Emblems, Coat of Arms and Heraldry, Colour and Composition, Ornaments, Indian Dress, d Instruments, Weapons, Footwear, Portraits and Costumes. Each section is dealt with ant illustrations drawn from the rich history of the designs of old Indian art. This helpful dictionary of designs will be of great help to all art-students, designers and commercial artists. The book should find its place in any and every schools and art studios. The drawings in the section of Musical Instruments, Arms, Boats, and Indian Costumes, are somewhat clumsy and do not maintain the level of the standards of the other sections and should be replaced in a second edition. The book has won, nevertheless, our unstinted praise and admiration.

O. C. G.

1. OUR CONSTITUTION: *With a Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1-8.*

2. THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: *By J. Thottil. Pp. 200 + xi. Price Rs. 4-8.*

3. EVERYMAN'S CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: *By Principal S. L. Bahl. Published by the author. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 4-8.*

All the three books are handy volumes on the new Constitution of India written with the object of placing it at the disposal of common men and women in a form which will be within their easy reach.

The first volume is a publication of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting with a Foreword by the President of India. The Ministry is to be congratulated on bringing out this excellent little brochure. Much useful information has been compressed in this small volume of 103 pages. The charts and diagrams used will prove particularly helpful in supplying much useful information at a glance. It can even be carried in one's pocket for ready reference by legislators, ministers and others who have constantly to refer to the Constitution in the course of their daily routine business.

The other two books are [illegible] not modest in their claim. They do not pretend to be helpful to scholars in [illegible] the needs of students or practising lawyers' [illegible] the one is frankly [illegible] the other [illegible] possessing the [illegible] which [illegible] *Basu's Commentary on the Constitution of India*. [illegible] the college [illegible] satisfied [illegible]

Both of them have [illegible] historical background of [illegible] the Constitution [illegible] Mr. Thottil [illegible] discussion of the Constituent [illegible] the Preamble [illegible] Mr. Bahl [illegible] Fundamental Rights [illegible] Directive Principles, and [illegible] Union and State Executive. Part IV [illegible] Constitution

tion. Then follow three chapters offering critical commentary on certain aspects of the Constitution, such as how far it is Parliamentary or Presidential, Unitary or Federal, and the character of democracy envisaged in it. The last two chapters again are analytical, relating to the judiciary and amendment of the Constitution. The Chapter on Unitary or Federal character of the Constitution is very interesting and instructive. The comparison made between the present Constitution and the 1935 Constitution in respect of certain features in this chapter as well as in Appendix B where the three lists of subjects are compared will prove very helpful. Appendix C also gives useful information setting forth the estimated population on the basis of the last censes and allocation of seats in Parliament and State Legislatures of the Union. The book, however, has been rendered extremely unattractive and uninviting by very bad printing and the use of too small type in printing—which makes it almost impossible to read the volume. Another peculiarity that deserves mention is the absence of any Contents. To make the book readable it is essential to mend these defects at the earliest opportunity.

Principal Bahl's book in discussing the provisions of the Constitution follows exactly the order in which they occur in the text. The discussion has been concised in plain, simple and non-technical language so as to be easily understood by common men and women. The author's attention is drawn to a serious mistake in the list of Part 'B' and Part 'C' States given on pages 33 and 34. Vindhya Pradesh is shown under Part 'B' States instead of Part 'C' and Cooch-Bihar (now merged in West Bengal) which should have been omitted from the list of Part C States has been shown there. Obviously the lists have been taken from the text of the Constitution as originally published, but it should not have been so in a book published as late as May, 1952. The books may be commended to the public as useful handbooks on the subject.

A. K. GHOSAL

LANDMARKS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (Volume I—1600 to 1919) : *By Ganesh Nihal Singh. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. 1950. Pp. xv + 393. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The book was handsomely noticed in this *Review* after its first publication in 1933. This is its second edition. The volume, as its name indicates, deals with different aspects of our national life since we came into contact with the British. The period spreads over more than three hundred years. The author narrates, in the first part, the advent of the British, the Beginnings of the British Rule and the Last Days of the East India Company. The second part has been divided into three distinct periods, namely, (a) 1851–1892, (b) 1892–1909 and (c) 1909–1919. The first period tells us of (1) the Beginnings of Representative Institutions, (2) Changes in Administrative and Political, (3) Constitutional Developments of Self-Government, (4) the Rise of the Indian Nationalism and (5) the Indian Councils Act, 1892. Period II is covered by the following topics : (1) Congress Activities and Congress Sessions, (2) Rise of Religious Nationalism, (3) Indian Nationalism and Movements, Constructive and Revolutionary, (4) Repression and Reaction, (5) Rise of Muslim Communalism and (6) Morley-Minto Reforms. The third period is covered by the topics : (1) Congress Activities and Congress Sessions, (2) Revolutionary Activities, (3) Congress-League Movement, (4) Montford Reforms, (5) Rise of Gandhi and Non-Co-operation and (6) the Home Rule Movement.

The background of our freedom struggle is to be found in the age-long efforts both constitutoinal and extra-constitutional. Before the transfer of India from the hands of the East India Company to the British Crown, both the enlightened Indians and Europeans joined hands in wresting power from the unwilling hands of the British autocrats. But after the transfer, the struggle was to be carried on by the Indians alone. The growth and development of political associations and societies in different provinces of India, culminating in the establishment of the Indian National Congress, was no less due to the estrangement of the two from a feeling of superior race-consciousness generated amongst the Britishers here and abroad after the transfer. Our freedom movement henceforward passed through a zig-zag course, sometimes constitutional, sometimes extra-constitutional. The latter course took a concrete shape in the Revolutionary movement of the Swadeshi days in Bengal and Maharashtra. This movement spread all over India during the World War I. The idea behind it was the establishment of a full-fledged independent India. The volume under review traces all these aspects of our freedom struggle. It will serve as a guide to those who wish to study the subject elaborately in all its bearings.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

TOWARDS PLANNING : *By V. Vithal Babu, M.A. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. Price Rs. 15.*

Essentials of an economic planning have been discussed in this book with complete mastery on the subject. In dealing with planning, the author has taken into account all aspects of it,—short and long terms, potentialities in every direction, fiscal, financial and physical. Snags in planning that may emerge from a defective policy making and an uneo-ordinated implementation of policy have also been discussed. The book is rich in historical details of plans that have so far been put forward before the people. Important features of Bombay Plan, Visvesvaraya Plan, Gandhian Plan, Neogy Report, Gyan Chand Report, National Planning Committee's Plan have been included in the book which will provide a very useful background to the study of the Five-Year Plan that is now being finalised. Chapters on the Fiscal Policy and Planning dealing with import and export policies, Indo-Pakistan Trade relations, India's balance of payments, State trading, Social redistribution of incomes and expenditures, reforms in taxation, and particularly the chapter on snags in planning will be very helpful to those who need a thorough knowledge of these matters. The author favours mixed economy. The book is a valuable addition to the literature on Indian economics. One defect of such books is that they tend to go out of date in a few years because the statistics soon become old. Addition of a short appendix every year, if possible, will maintain the usefulness of the book for a long time to come.

D. B.

COLONIAL AND COLOURED PEOPLES : *By N. G. Ranga, B. L. (Oxon). Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 342.*

Africa and Asia have been the happy hunting-ground of the exploiters from the beginning of modern history. The exploitation of the East by the West is [illegible] phenomenon. There has been [illegible] relationship between the White and the Coloured.

The volume under review from the pen of Shri N. G. Ranga, is an eloquent [illegible] of all the coloured peoples

e world. A powerful indictment of imperialism, it es the hollowness of all tall talks regarding the led 'whiteman's burden' and his 'civilizing' n. Mrs. Pearl Buck rightly pointed out long ago the 'whiteman's burden' means in reality the n of the whiteman on the shoulders of the non-. Mr. Ranga points out how colonialism has led the progress of humanity. He describes s some of the attempts made by the coloured es to win independence.

learned author points out and rightly at that that olonial powers must quit the colonies in their interest. The sooner they do it, the better it is em. What is happening in Africa and South-East today should awaken these powers to the realities situation. It is no use condemning the Kremlin e happenings there. They represent attempts by disinherited section of our species to regain its eritage and would have taken place even if there never been a Soviet Union.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKERJI

N INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF DUISM: *By Bepin Chandra Pal. Published by yatri Prakashak Limited, 41-A Bakdopara Road, tta 6. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 4-8.*

he author was a powerful orator and a popular of Indian nationalism. In 1887 when he was ith of thirty he leapt into fame by a remarkable n for the repeal of the Indian Arms Act in the Indian National Congress. Towards the end of st century he visited England and U.S.A. on a ing mission. Along with Rabindranath and oindo he participated in the National Move- and remained in the forefront of public life for half a century. He was sentenced for refusing ar witness against Sri Aurobindo and imprisoned ix months. During his confinement in the Cul- Presidency and Buxar Central jails the book review was written and first published. It is ited again after 43 years.

epin Chandra Pal is the author of several Bengali English books on religion and politics. Rightly urobindo observes that he was one of the iest prophets of nationalism. The present book, ed into five chapters, studies Hinduism in the of comparative religion. In the first chapter uller's presentation of Hinduism is considered criticized. He also makes bold to point out the tions of the views held by Jones, Colebrook, n. Moore and other Western scholars. In one he aptly observes that the poetry of the Rig- indeed defies Hegel's classification and stands elf as a distinct class or type. The book, though what antiquated, presents an opportunity to what a Hindu orator and nationalist had to say the growth and development of Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

T THE THRESHOLD OF LIFE: *By S. Satyamurthi. Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 222. Rs. 5-8.*

n India this form of literature in English has been popular by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His letters daughter Indira (now Mrs. Indira Gandhi) ed a wider sweep of subjects. Satyamurthi, writ- om a sick-bed at General Hospital, Madras, 941, spoke of the pitfalls at the age when boys girls—the latter more early—become conscious of sweetness in life.

There is nothing particularly new in this topic to be dwelt on, and Satyamurthi did not attempt it. In simple language—a contrast to his speeches—he offers advice that parents do, however, ignorant they be, the mother specially. Carefulness in the choice of friends is specially insisted on.

From the tenor of the letters, the girl Lakshmi appears to have chosen education as her vocation in life. Politics Socialism and Communism—are referred to (p. 154). The problems raised by "untouchability", "unseeability", rampant in South India, cannot be ignored. Since Gandhiji came to the leadership of Indian Nationalism, it has gained a new meaning. And even the most orthodox of Hindus have had to re-think in the matter and re-adjust their conduct thereto.

In pp. 189-181, Tamilians are complimented for their keenness, humorousness, charity and other manly virtues. Their shrewdness and worldly wisdom are topics that are enshrined in popular sayings which Satyamurthi hoped to collect and annotate. Death cut short this wish. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari has been doing something in that line.

Satyamurthi played a great part in the Home Rule agitation led by Mrs. Besant. And when the latter came to support the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Diarchy he turned his wrath on her and poured words that were not decent. He outlined all this and came to be a great parliamentarian becoming Deputy-Leader of the Congress with Bhulabhai Desai as his chief. It is a record of which the Tamilians can be proud.

SUDESH CHANDRA DEB

THE NEW CZECHOSLOVAKIA: *By Ramkrishna Mukherjee. Published by Current Book House, Bombay 1. Pp. 104. Price Re. 2-4.*

Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay of the Calcutta University has written a Foreword to this publication. Dr. Mukherjee, in six chapters, *viz.*, Czechoslovakia and the Western World, A Land of Popular Democracy, A Land of Freedom and Prosperity, A Land of Progress, A Land of Peace and Problems of Czechoslovakia, has given a very interesting account of the progress of that country which has very recently (20th February 1948) adopted a new system of Government on the Soviet pattern. According to the author, "it is building socialism in her own special way." In education, agriculture, industries and in co-operative methods, or for the matter of that, in all spheres of national uplift, the Czechs have made tremendous progress in the first two years' plan since the "liberation," and the second three years' plan is very vigorously pushed through. Dr. Mukherjee writes from his first-hand personal experience and as such his picture of the country is correct and reliable in spite of the general notion that an iron curtain hangs over all lands under Soviet influence. Those who think that the Soviet is more international than the national countries, discern from Dr. Mukherjee's picture of new Czechoslovakia that it is more national both in its economic and cultural programme than international. The book throws new [illegible] on a 'new' country and deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

FANCY TALES: *By Mavilai S. Iyengar. Published by Shakti Karyalaya, Madras 17. Price Rs. 2.*

FLEAS AND NIGHTINGLES: *By C. R. Mandy. Published by Thacker and Co. Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4.*

TALES AND PARABLES OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA: *Published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Tales and parables have been the most common medium for mass education in religious ethics and philosophy. From the episodes of the *Upanishads* down to the very popular tell-tale stories, which Sri Ramakrishna, an unlettered man so to say, used in the last century to draw public attention to the highest concepts of philosophy, over centuries tales and parables have set up a traditional importance of their own. It is a mistaken idea that tales are meant exclusively to please the young boys and girls. The elderly people may also regale themselves with these stories, and may even enrich their minds with the sparkling gems of thought foiled against those stories. How many tales are there which we have with relish heard from our grandmothers or such people who were hardly literate? How much do we like to escape from the unpleasant life that we daily live and to be placed in the environments that the popular stories create? Shri Isvaran has given permanent shapes to some 14 stories that will breathe air of magic and dream into our minds panting for relief from the throes of stark realism.

Fleas and Nightingales, as the book is named after, are so much characteristic of the East. The East is so squalid and splendid, so pestilent and poetic. Mr. Mandy has taken 14 slices from life in the East, with its peculiar customs and beliefs, and have painted 14 word-pictures, miniatures so to say, with variegated shades and tones of colours. As the title of the book suggests there are always some undertones of suggestion, either poetic or pestilential, in every sketch. These undertones, in whatever way suggestive, make the stories alive with the pulsations of the breathing heart of the artist story-teller.

Tales and Parables of Sri Ramakrishna is the revised edition of *The Parables of Sri Ramakrishna*, first published in 1943. The change of the title of the book has been necessary, as the publishers say, because much new matter has been incorporated. This new matter comprises the tales which the Master told in order to impress upon public mind the gist of every such tale.

Tales are based on facts experienced in life, with which the [illegible] association. While as parables [illegible] of high moral value, parables occupy [illegible] proper place in the teachings of [illegible] especially [illegible] the characteristic [illegible] special. Many of the [illegible] Ramakrishna told [illegible] who gathered round him to draw from experiences in [illegible] life. Some were based on [illegible]

[illegible] Master [illegible] which [illegible] We hope [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

58th year ! **58th year !!**

PRABUDDHA BHARATA
OR
AWAKENED INDIA

(Founded by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)

A High Class English Monthly devoted to Universal Religion, Comparative Philosophy, Education, Art, and other topics of national and international interest.

Subscribers are enlisted from January.

Annual subscription : **Inland Rs. 5 ; Foreign 14 sh. ; U.S. $ 4 00**

CONTENTS OF JANUARY 1953 SPECIAL NUMBER

The Eternal Quest—*By Dr. Amaresh Datta*
Vedanta and the Problem of Human Relations—*By the Editor.*
The Voice of India—*By Swami Tejasananda*
Sri Ramakrishna Temple at the Belur Math (*Illustrated*)—*By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.*
Karma-Samadhi—*By R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar*
The Conception of History in Ancient India—*By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.*
New Hopes—*By Anirvan.*
Ramakrishna Vedanta and the Unity of Religions—*By C. T. K. Chari, M.A.*
A Pilgrimage through the Himalayas (*Illustrated*)—*By Swami Apurvananda.*
The Tantric Cults : I. Shākta Tantra—*By Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D.*
A Comparative Study of the Commentaries on the Brahma-Sutras *By Swami Virescvarananda*
Literature and World Peace—*By Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.*
Some Positive Aspects of Advaita Vedanta—*By Swamy Gambhirananda.*
Religion and Science—*By Dr. Mohan Lal Sethi, D.Sc.* Etc., Etc., Etc.

Beautifully printed and excellently got-up.—Price As. 12.

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

uthor. Some of the colophons (pp. 37, 134, 172, 246) efer to him simply as Pandita Damodara, son of Visnu Bhatta. On the basis of internal evidence, the earned editor is of the opinion that the author was either very ancient nor very recent, and that he was ot a resident of North India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RUPAKATHA : *By Ajoy Chandra Guha. Published by Saraswati Library, 6/1A College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Ancient tales and legends have attracted many modern scholar. Permeated by the primitive man's ense of wonder, they have a charm of their own and hey represent, in an unsophisticated way, his simple hilosophy of life. This neat volume of little less han a hundred pages, contains five such tales of Bengal y some excerpts from the author's forthcoming work on rison. That the author, who has won laurels in politics, as a very rich, cultured mind and a literary gift is amply borne out by his every [illegible] nd science and this collection of legends. A balance etween intellectual [illegible] assesses is not very common in [illegible]

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

BHARAT KE NIRMATA : *By [illegible] Published by School Publications Advisory Committee, Allahabad. Illustrated. Pp. 112. Price Re. 2*

Fifteen short biographical [illegible] makers of Modern India, in the [illegible] ducation and science, such as [illegible] awaharlal Nehru, Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, etc., is very welcome for the young. The omission of the name of one of the 'makers,' outside the Hindi community, is however a serious one. A [illegible] and boys.

VISHVA YATRA : *By Sohanlal and I. N. Sang. Published by Sohanlal Publications, Ambala Cantonment, Illustrated. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the first part of the projected series dealing with World Travel and [illegible] for school students. The present [illegible] cover the Himalayas, Lhasa and Alpine Caves, Sikkim, From Cape to Cairo, Tibet, Cairo, Suez. The authors have [illegible] and, indeed, their object of teaching [illegible]

G. M.

GUJARATI

MAHASABHANA TIRAVO : *By Vithaldas [illegible] Published by [illegible] Gujarat Vidyapith, [illegible] Illustrated. Pp. 319. Price [illegible]*

[illegible] sessions [illegible] Congress [illegible] session in [illegible] 1947 [illegible] would [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] Kothari [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Re-writing of Indian History in Free India

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji writes in *The Indian Review*:

Now that freedom has been achieved there is a demand from all quarters that Indian History should be re-written and that there should be a new approach to historical studies. The demand is indeed as natural as it is intelligible. But the implications of this demand need clarification lest they should be misunderstood or exaggerated. It is, therefore, necessary to find out in what directions a new approach is called for.

Historiography has so far been one of the most neglected branches of learning in India owing mainly to circumstances resulting from alien rule. The only approach to our country's history that was recognized or encouraged by the foreign rulers was the one that suited their interests, and this was doubtless vitiated by the usual racial and imperialist bias that characterizes the average European when he looks at Oriental history and civilisation. Most of the Indian scholars who were nurtured in the school of history that, for want of a better nomenclature, may be called "Anglo-Indian", echoed consciously or at any rate unconsciously what their foreign prototypes were fond of repeating. Under these circumstances, a really objective history of India could not have been attempted successfully. Criticism was not free, and Indian historians were fully aware that there was a body of critics outside their own circle of fellow-workers, watching carefully and as alert and as ready to take offence, as any of their own countrymen could be. This consciousness of an ever seeing, even inquisitional audience constituted a kind of invisible, yet potent, censorship which cast an unhealthy influence on the progress of historical research in India.

While the Indian scholar was circumscribed by the manifold handicaps and restrictions, the average foreign historian, with honourable exceptions, betrayed a psychology which is characteristic of a ruling race. He was naturally more interested in the achievements of British rule in India than in the greatness of the Indian achievements of past ages. He usually viewed everything from the Western or British standpoint, and his opinions were coloured more or less by the current notions of imperialism. Most often than not, he had very limited or no knowledge of the Indian languages and likewise little or no access to the materials in private custody. He, therefore, judged things and events on the basis of European accounts or records.

A good deal of Indian history was misread, misunderstood or misrepresented—a fact which we all deplore today.

It is now up to the Indian scholars to throw themselves free from all kinds of alien bias and critically study the life of the Indian people, and check the old picture on the *basis of records* hitherto imperfectly known or entirely kept *away from the reach of the historian*. The process of re-writing of Indian history calls for an enterprise which is beyond the powers of any single man or organisation or even a generation. It is this fact which is being overlooked by those who are impatient to have a new history of India written on right lines. It must be remembered that the task will take a long time, and will involve an expense which is also beyond the reach of the class to which our historians generally belong. This great work will have to be achieved in planned stages and by expert co-operative effort. There is ample scope for individual enterprise, but, what we should now frankly recognise, there will have to be more and more conjoint effort in this direction.

So far as India's ancient history is concerned, the old approach was usually one-sided and superficial. The European scholars were more concerned with political events than with things of cultural and sociological interest. They cared more for foreign evidences than for local traditions or accounts which did not corroborate the European standpoint. They were eager more to detect foreign influences such as Sumerian, Persian, Greek, Chinese or Arab than to study local evolution or indigenous developments.

As for medieval Indian history, the older school of historians gave an equally disproportionate attention to political facts and military events. We were told more about wars, invasions, religious persecutions or acts of royal barbarism and misconduct than about the unique synthesis that emerged in all aspects of medieval life and civilisation. The natural consequence of this perverted view of medieval Indian history has been the growth of communal hatred in modern times.

The old approach to the modern period of Indian history was likewise misleading and also biassed. The European scholars usually started with the presumption that British rule in India was a blessing for the country, and that it was the British who had rescued Indian from age-old anarchy and confusion. They depended mainly on the English records alone, and had little inclination to utilise all the available evidences on the Indian side. They looked upon the conquests of a Wellesley or a Dalhousie as acts of statesmanship, while they dismissed those of an Asoka or an Akbar as instances of cupidity and lust for conquest.

In the eyes of the European scholars, the European could do no wrong, or did so only under exceptional and fully extenuating circumstances.

It is, however, necessary to remember that the rejection of the old approach should not lead us to the other extremes of chauvinism, sectarianism communalism, casteism or provincialism. The new-born national pride in India may give rise to an apologetic kind of Indian history which in the long run may prove to be unsound and unhistorical as that of the Anglo-Indian school of history used to be. There is no need for already there are symptoms of such blind zeal to idolize the past and everything that is indigenous. The truth must be sought for, though yet the Indian historian should not hesitate to tell the truth. Let us not forget that History is a science or has to be one, and

it cannot be treated as either publicity or anda. No extra-academic considerations should the historian in India into sugar-coating the of our national history for the satisfaction of ic spirit or racial conceit.

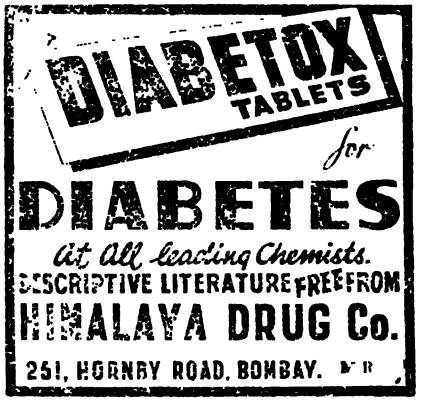
here are various pitfalls in the path of the Indian an of today. *First,* there is the danger of national hich may turn the historian into a hero-wotshipper blind apologist. *Second,* the historian may develop mmunal outlook. India's partition has already talk going on about the so-called *"Bharatiya"* uated this danger. for there is already some *'Pakistan"* schools of Indian history. *Third,* al or provincial feelings may sway the historian's k, for have we not heard already about the so- *Maharashtriyan* point of view. the *Sikh* point of the *Rajput* point of view, the *Bengali* point of the *Dravidian* point of view, and so on? *Fourth,* istorian may align himself with a particular caste ial group, and thereby give a wrong turn to the itation of history. We must beware of such as the *Brahmin* point of view or the *non-Brahmin* of view in matters historical. *Fifth,* the historian get associated with some political ideology or such as socialism, communism or any *"ism."* The growing tendency to judge every- in the light of the set terms and formulas of chool of thought will make historical research a of ideological propaganda. *Lastly,* our historians he risk of being influenced by party loyalties. d days, court historians wrote in deference to hims of their royal masters. It will be an evil day l, if the historians of our own times turn ers to the ruling party of the day.

The new approach to Indian history will fore be entirely scientific, and will not be tted by any extraneous motives, howsoever able or desirable.

he historian will have to make an inductive as well ective approach to his subject. He will have oduce a more integral and correlated picture of fe of the common man than was attempted before. utions, cultural or otherwise, will have to be d not in isolation, as hitherto done, but as inter- d links in the chain of national culture or economy. inter-relation of history with other social sciences have to be classified in detail so as to enable us ow the entire truth. The sciences like Sociology, opology, Geography, Economics, etc., must come a the purview of the historian. Archaeology, smatics, Epigraphy and Archives will receive a greater attention than they have hitherto ed.

Hitherto, Indian History has meant the history of and royal dynasties and not that of the common people and their life and culture. The historian of the future will have to concern himself more with social economic and cultural aspects than with wars and invasions and royal conquests. Political events will of course form the steel-frame of history, but sociological developments will necessarily attract greater attention in future. The common man has so far been almost totally ignored or neglected by the Indian historian. The life of the common people will now have to be studied on the basis of all available and hitherto undiscovered sources, documentary or otherwise. Archives of all types will have to be carefully explored and sifted. Despite the laudable efforts of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress, much remains to be done still. The Regional Records Survey Committees are yet in their state of infancy. We are hardly far advanced beyond the fringe of a vast field of exploration. The very immensity of historical material at our disposal makes our task indeed very difficult. A band of tireless workers is needed to explore every nook and corner of this field before we can reach a stage when the re-writing of Indian history will be practicable or desirable.

How History has been, or may be misused is too well known to need a detailed recapitulation. The historians of free India will have to resist the temptation of becoming panegyrists or propagandists. The craving for uncritical applause will have to be restrained, and, above all, prejudices of all kinds will have to be got rid of. Only then will the standard of historiography be raised in Free India. May the historians of India prove themselves worthy of the trust that is reposed in them, and may they contribute their humble mite to the glory of the Indian Republic!



Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science

S. N. Sen writes in *Science and Culture* :

In the history of science and of scientific thought, Roger Bacon, the thirteenth century English Franciscan friar, represents a unique character, with hardly any parallel, about whom scholars have held and still hold divergent and conflicting views. In the 16th century, Roger Bacon was usually regarded as a necromancer, black magician and alchemist interested in many secret arts and sciences, of which a familiar example is found in the play Robert Greene composed about 1592. According to Thorndike, Gabriel Naude was perhaps the first to draw attention to the scientific originality of Bacon's writings and thoughts, in 1625. Jebb, in publishing in 1733 the complete edition of *Opus Majus*, Bacon's *magnum opus*, also tried to establish Bacon as a scientist of great genius. Efforts of these early scholars not only succeeded in discovering the scientist in Bacon and restoring him to the world of intellectuals to which he properly belongs, but started an entirely opposite current of thought even depicting him as a harbinger of modern experimental science. The researches of J. S. Brewer, J. H. Bridges and others during the nineteenth century and of Emil Charles, Robert Steel, A. G. Little, Lynn Thorndike, G. B. Vanderwalle and other Baconian students in the present have thrown a flood of light on Bacon, making it possible to form a far more correct estimate of his life and character, his writings and contributions and his place in the history of scientific thought.

Even to-day Bacon has remained a controversial figure that he has always been, some historians regarding him as an outstanding modernist and a 'martyr of science' and others holding a more reserved and less enthusiastic view.

But all have maintainined the exceptional nature of his writings and thoughts which easily single him out from his thirteenth century contemporaries.

That interest in Bacon has by no means abated is evident in Dr. Easton's new study (*Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science* by Dr. Stewart C. Easton, Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, pp.225. Price 25 sh. net.) in which an attempt has been made to understand the Franciscan friar in the light of latest researches. 'As a thinker he may have been original, but he was only unique in the sense that all thinkers are unique.' Moreover, Bacon has to be understood against the intellectual background of the thirteenth century Europe and against the full set up of the failures and successes of his own personal career as a student, as a teacher and as a friar in the Order he chose. Alive to this necessity, the author has very successfully kept this background before the readers, discussing the state of university education at Oxford and Cambridge, the influence of teachers who taught at these places immediately before and in Bacon's time, the interest in Aristotle and the attitude of the University authorities (Paris) toward [illegible] on Aristotle's works.

The main facts of Bacon's life are that he was born in England [illegible] to tradition at Ilchester in Somerset about 1214, of a fairly rich and possibly noble family, studied at the University of Oxford, receiving his Bachelorate in arts and his degree of Master of Arts in about two which has age might be anywhere between 21 and 26. About 1240 he was invited to Paris to lecture on *Aristotle and about* 1250 he ceased to teach at the *University of Paris to some extent* and returned to England. *All these dates* [illegible]

His interest in natural sciences roughly coincides with the end of his Paris lectures on Aristotle and appears to have been aroused by his reading of the pseudo-Aristotelean work *Secret of Secrets*. From this time onward till 1267 when he composed his *Opus Majus*, a period of 20 years or less, he mastered all branches of science, wrote works on medicine, alchemy, astronomy and astrology, physiological psychology, mathematics, optics, physics, experimental science and his great synthetic works *Opus Majus*, *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium*. The three last named were prompted by the mandates of Guy de Foulques, as a Cardinal and as Pope Clement IV, received between the years 1264-67. Bacon died in 1292, possibly on the traditional date of June 11.

The activity of a long life spread over almost the full length of a century and much neglected and unnoticed by contemporaries and chronicles for a considerable length of time after him, and the poor state of most his MSS. have presented a formidable task for historians anxious to build up a coherent biography and understand his psychological make-up and the evolution of his thoughts.

The influence of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln and Adam Marsh on Bacon whose admiration for both was profound has been admitted on all hands. Bacon personally knew Adam, but it is doubtful if he ever met Grosseteste.

But the work which influenced Bacon most and raised hopes in his mind about the possibility of discovering a universal science was the book *Secret of Secrets* by the pseudo-Aristotle, but erroneously ascribed to real Aristotle by Bacon and Albertus Magnus.

Bacon was led to think that there was a philosophy which included all sciences.

'And this 'philosophy', as he is never tired of telling us, is not only what in his time was called philosophy, the scholastic discipline including 'physics' and 'metaphysics,' but all sciences which have since been called empirical. All have their contribution to make to the gaining of what he called *integritas saptentiae*."

This belief in a universal science or in 'the unity of knowledge', as Prof. Sarton puts it, grew stronger in him with years. His labours of about 20 years, from the end of his career at the University of Paris to his presentation of the 'Opera' to the Pope, during which he composed most of his important works, were directed to the sole objective of establishing his belief into a truth. In such an attempt no branch of study can be ignored. All must be fully taken into account and fitted in. In medicine, he composed *Medical Opuscula* (1250-60), in mathematics *De laudibus mathematicae* (1257), *De termino Paschali* (1250), *Communia mathematica*

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

35, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches : College Sq. Cal. Bankura.

Chairman : JAGANNATH KOLAY M.P.

, *Computus* (1263-65), in optics *Perspectiva* , *Treatise on Rainbow* (1263), in physics *De dicatione Specierum* (1262) ; and also a number rks on alchemy and physiological psychology.

he Papal mandate was the most significant event con's life and all students of Bacon pay consider- ttention to this. Dr. Easton has devoted a full r on it. Sometime in 1263 or 1264 Guy de ucs, Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina, presumably on initiative of Bacon, requested him to send his gs and suggested remedies for current evil condi- advising at the same time to proceed in utmost y. In 1265 Foulques became Pope Clement IV about a year later in June 1266 he repeated his st to Bacon to send him his writings and views the same injunction of secrecy. By 1267 Bacon eded in composing *Opus Majus*, *Opus Minus* and *Tertium* and complied with the Pope's request nding the first, and, according to some scholars, he second and the third. The Pope's reactions on ig these works are not known—probably he did ave much time to form any, as he died in 1268.

Opus Minus and *Opus Tertium* clearly reflect 's anxiety to improve upon and supplement the nation hastily given in *Opus Majus*. Dr. Easton s that *Opus Majus* and *Opus Minus* were sent to Pope, but not the *Opus Tertiun*. While more or complete copies of the first two have been found e Vatican library, no MS. of the *Opus Tertium* has been found there despite intensive search.

Chapter IX has been styled 'The Universal Science ger Bacon', which is undobtedly the most important e whole book inasmuch as it seeks to explain 's view of science and his method of arriving at knowledge. I think it should have been more priately called 'Bacon's Philosophy of Science and lethodology'. Any form of investigation presupposes xistence of a belief of a certain kind.

For a natural scientist it is essential to have belief that nature is knowable and that there possibility of finding out the truth about a ain range of phenomena.

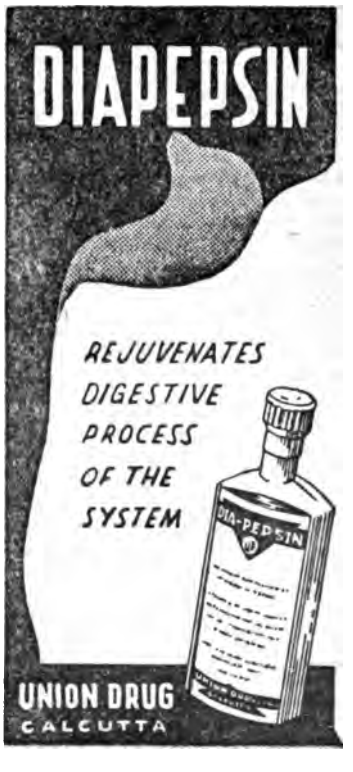
Modern science with the vastly improved ex- ental method and technique usually seeks to find ow' certain things happen and to show 'how' certain omena can be made to repeat objectively anywhere at any time. From this demonstration of 'hows,' it to build up a body of theories aiming at an expla- n of 'whys' and 'whats' which it believes to be ly unknowable.

The medieval attitude was quite the other way . In the absence of suitable methods of observation experiments, tools and appliances, the medievals largely unable to direct their enquiries to 'how' s happen and instead were driven to enquire, by the ulative and syllogistic methods, 'why' they happen. So when there was no adequate means of finding ledge by direct observation and experiment, such ledge must be born in the minds of capable men, ied to the great sons by the infinite grace of God. medievals accepted such revealed knowledge for ed.

Bacon, too, pinned his faith to revealed knowledge an important variant that was really new and origi- nd which entitles him to lasting fame. This variant at revealed knowledge cannot by itself acquire certi- it does so only through the intermediary of 'experi- . "If revealed knowledge (hypothesis) could be rmed by observations in the world of sense, this would to confirm faith in *all* revelation, including the s of religion. It was not enough to accept the revelation on authority alone ; since, as Bacon realized, we can never be really certain until a thing is demonstrated to be true by the evidence of our senses." In other words Bacon's acceptance of revealed knowledge was provisional ; it depended on empirical verification of the data of revelation.

Bacon recognizes three stages or dignities of his science of experience. The purpose of the first is to provide verification ; the second is concerned with discovering the inter-relationship of the various sciences and thus developing a synthesis of all scientific knowledge, the need for which Bacon felt very deeply ; the third is concerned with the use and application of sciences, a task which devolves on the practical scientist and the technician.

Roger Bacon was primarily a thinker, 'one of the greatest thinkers of all ages' (Sarton), and a visionary. Despite his emphasis on experiments or more correctly on empirical knowledge derived from experience, he was a poor experimentalist himself. He did spend a part of his two thousand pounds on experiments, specially in optics, where he undoubtedly made some observations. He also observed the stars, studied the rainbow and reflection and refraction of light from hexagonal stones and crystals producing bright colours. He was acquainted with the doings of alchemists. What appears to be true, he intimately knew the experimental work of Peter of Maricourt and others of his time, and took full advantage of their work. While he lived, there were great discoverers, experimentalists, and men of science of whom Albertus Magnus was the greatest. "But his greatest work still stands to-day with the hallmark of genius upon it; with all the faults of his brilliant and erratic nature impressed upon it for all to see : but still, without any doubt, a masterpiece."



Unity and Harmony in Sanskrit Literature

The following is an address, as published in *The Aryan Path*, delivered on August 26, 1952, by K. Balasubramania Aiyar at the Indian Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore :

In one scene, Shakespeare shows us Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark, walking, reading a book. Polonius meets him and asks, "What do you read, my lord?" And Hamlet answers : "Words, words, words."

Evidently not satisfied with this answer, Polonius further asks, "What is the matter. . . .that you read?"

Now it may be true that some books we read are "words, words, words." But no great literature is merely words.

The English word "literature" is derived from the Latin *litera* (letter). But the word for literature in Sanskrit is much more expressive and significant. It is *Sahitya* or the state of union.

Bhamaha, the great Indian rhetorician, expands this as the union of *Sabda* and *Artha*, namely, word and sense united together, where the harmony consists in enhancing the beauty of the *rasa* or æsthetic sentiment of the composition. It is a complete harmony and commensurateness between the expression and that which is expressed, between form and content.

Another great Indian *Alankarika*, Kunthaka, has described it thus : *'Sahitya* is the harmony between one word and another in the expression and between one idea and another in the expressed."

The great Vaishnavite saint, Para-arabhatta, similarly speaks of the *Soubhratra* (brotherliness) between the words and the brotherliness between the ideas and prays to Lakshmi to vouchsafe to him this boon of literature. Hence the finest poetry consists in the perfect union or complete understanding that subsists between the word and the sense. Metaphorically, this has been sometimes described as the marriage of word and sense. Wilfred Meynell, in his biographical note to Francis Thompson's poems, writes : *"Sister's Songs* is a poem to be read aloud, for sound and sense herein celebrate their divine nuptials."

Kalidasa likens the union of Shiva and Parvati in the *Ardhanarisvara* form to this union of *Vak* and *Artha* word and sense. In *Raghuvamsa* (I.1) it is said, "For the correct understanding of words and their meaning I bow to Parvati and Parameswara, who are the parents of the universe and are associated together like words and their sense." It is not the ordinary union of sound and sense, which consists in a word having a meaning and denoting it. It is a union *par excellence* in which, apart from the ordinal meaning of the words and sentences of a literary piece there is a suggestion of a noble emotion or idea which enhances the beauty of the composition and causes a profound æsthetic joy in the heart of the [illegible] This has been called *Dhvani* in Sanskrit [illegible] The poems of great poets like Valmiki, Vyasa, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bharavi, Magha, Sriharsha, Bhatti, Bhattanarayana, Kumaradasa, Kamban, Tulsidas, Bharatidasan, Subramania Bharati, Rabindranath Tagore, Iqbal, Sarojini Naidu, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, Kuvempu, Bendre, Masti, Kavikunjara Bhima Kavi, Kuvalayananda Kuppuswami Sastri, Ramanujan, Sundaram, Ramakrishnan, Viswanathan, Ramaswami, Sivaraman, Sankaran, Sivaramakrishnan, Ramachandran, Venkatesan, Sivaramakrishnan, Ramachandran, Venkatesan, Sivaramakrishnan, Ramachandran, Venkatesan

Kanva likes to call the trees the nearest and dearest latives of Sakuntala and to fancy that the trees olied to him in the beautiful sound of the cuckoo. fore parting from the hermitage, Kalidasa says, she es leave of the *vanajyotsna* creeper, which has just ined itself on the branch of the mango tree. Kanva moved with the same feeling of satisfaction at Santala's joining her husband as at the creeper approach- g the mango tree. This poetic fancy of the oneness of n with Nature is sustained by the conviction of the nskrit poets of the truth of the one Sprit which rvades all creation, and exists as much in the objects Nature as in the human mind.

John Ruskin, in his *Modern Painters*, Vol. III, refers this as the "Pathetic fallacy." He says:

"This fallacy is of two principal kinds. . . .it is the fallacy of wilful fancy, which involves real expectation that it will be believed; or el-e it a fallacy caused by an excited state of the feelings, king us, for the time, more or less irrational."

By way of illustration, he quotes these lines from ton Locke:

They rowed her in across the rolling foam—
The cruel, crawling foam.

"The foam is not cruel, neither does it crawl. The te of mind which attributes to it these characters of living creature is one in which the reason is unhinged grief. All violent feelings have the same effect. ey produce in us a falseness in all our impression external things, which I would generally characterize the 'Pathetic fallacy'."

Indian poets have taken a different view.

Indian poets see no fallacy nor anything thetic in the attribution of human feelings to jects of Nature and in the realization of the ity and harmony of the sentient and the non- ntient.

They feel as Wordsworth felt when he wrote of:

. . . .that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

And again, when he says:

. . . .And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things. . . .

In the *Meghasandesa*, Kalidasa poses this very estion and answers that the love-laden soul will see difference between sentient and non-sentient beings d he therefore takes as the text of his poem the nding of a message with a cloud by the Yaksha during a period of his separation from his beloved, from his mporary residence on Mount Ramagiri, in Central dia, to the distant city of Alaka in the Himalayas, ere his beloved resides. He puts in the cloud, in exquisite poetic fancy, in which the natural descriptions the lover is finely [illegible]. His [illegible] kha, in the *profound* [illegible] *a long drawn out* "pathetic fallacy" according to Ruskin, and describes the delights which the cloud will enjoy among the rivers and the mountains, the trees and the creepers.

As already pointed out, Indian poets have never doubted this truth of unity and harmony; and Vyasa in the *Srimad Bhagavata* refers to a clear outward expression of this unity. Describing the cosmic nature of the heart of that self-realized Soul, Suka, the son of Vyasa, it is said that, when in his grief at separation from Suka, who was of the tender age of five, Vyasa followed the running boy calling aloud, "My son! My son!" the whole forest resounded as if in response: "Son! Son! Son!" Vyasa explains it as due to the *Sarvabhuta-hridaya* of Suka. Truly has Shakespeare said:

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

Similarly, Sanskrit literature speaks of the unity and harmony of Nature with the Godhead. The Sanskrit writers see the power of God in the awful silence of the mountain peaks, in the wonderful glow of the dawn and in the glorious colours of the sunset. Indian civilization has reared lofty temples which reach the skies as houses of God, and erected them on the tops of hills and in the dales. The Rishi of a Vedic hymn in praise of the Dawn pictures the Dawn in this manner (*Indian Wisdom* by M. Williams):

Hail, ruddy Ushas, golden goddess borne
Upon thy shining car, thou comest like
A lovely maiden by her mother decked,
Disclosing coyly all thy hidden graces
To our admiring eyes; or like a wife
Unveiling to her lord, with conscious pride,
Beauties which as he gazes lovingly
Seem fresher, fairer each succeeding morn.
Through years on years thou hast liven on and yet
Thou art ever young.

Kalidasa refers to the Himalayas as *Devatma*.

In fact, the form of Shiva has been conjured up from the scene of the great mountain bearing the dark clouds resembling Shiva's matted locks on its peaks, white with snow resembling the ash-smeared body of Shiva, with the Ganga rolling down its slopes, its peaks reaching up to the skies, with the sun and the moon shining on them.

In the 13th *sarga* of *Raghuvamsa*, Rama sees the blue ocean as resembling the blue form of Vishnu. The great Swami Vivekananda once, when asked by an American lady why Vishnu was painted blue, answered, "Blue is the colour of infinity; look at the blue sky and the blue ocean."

Again, Kalidasa likens the mingling of the white waters of the Ganga with the dark blue waters of the Yamuna to the broad breast of Shiva on which the dark-coloured snake coexist with the white ash smeared on his body.

In the *Kumarasambhava* [illegible] Parvati doing penance on the [illegible] the drops of rain fall [illegible] The description of the [illegible] from her eyelashes to her [illegible] to her thighs [illegible] the scene of water [illegible] the Himalayas [illegible] with the Mountain [illegible] of Kalidasa.

OUTSTANDING
PRODUCTS OF
HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM : Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course ; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.
OONIM : General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week ; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks ; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM : Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged. wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION : An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff. iching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL : A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON : The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injuriour, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50 ; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL : The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA : For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM : The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. NOVUM SIMPLEX, Rs. 12-8. NOVUM FORTE, Rs. 50; NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. CIVITA : MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100 ; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO : An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit : Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE : We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. 'Phone : 242972

Strength to Strength

From height to height and from strength to strength the Hindusthan is making a record of outstanding progress every year. It is an arresting landmark in the onward march of Indian Life Insurance. The 45th Annual Report for 1951 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and distinction which always have been so characteristic of th Society

THE FIGURES THAT TELL

Assurances in Force	Rs. 81,02,36,164
Total Assets	Rs. 19,98,13,853
Life Fund	Rs. 17,66,19,628
Premium Income	Rs. 3,72,27,528
Claims Paid	Rs. 83,57,978

NEW BUSINESS

16,28,85,800

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,
4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Full Employment to be Achieved in China

Full employment will be achieved in China step by step in the coming years. The Government has decided to assist the greatest possible number of urban dwellers to take part in the forthcoming large-scale economic construction, under a recent decision of the Government Administration Council.

Over two million two hundred thousand unemployed found jobs in the past three years as a proportion of industrial production expanded from ten to nearly thirty per cent of national economy. There is still an acute shortage of skilled workers, technicians, school teachers, etc., in the country. Large number of poly-technical institutes and vocational schools have been set up to train skilled workers for all fields. Young government workers and middle school graduates have been enrolled to meet the nation's expanding needs. Short-term training classes will be opened in factories to raise technical and educational level of workers in preparation for more mechanised production. Job training will be given to a number of school graduates, including many housewives, who were unable to find work because they had learned no trade before liberation. After training, they can engage in teaching, work in public health, co-operatives, etc.

With the decline of some trades that served parasitic demand of vested interests in the old society, including opium dens, gambling houses, etc., people who made their living in these places will also receive job training so that they can take part in the constructive work. Special committees will be set up throughout the country to solve the problem of proper allocation of man-power. All those who want to find employment will be given opportunity to register with the government. Returned overseas Chinese will receive special attention by the government to help them find suitable jobs.

Commenting on the government decision, the Peking *People's Daily* has pointed out, "The conditions now for solving the problem of unemployment are far more favourable than before because China's national economy has already advanced from the stage of revival to expansion. Large-scale construction work soon to begin will require a vast labour force. It is obvious that greater the manpower the better as China undertakes new democratic construction and advances to Socialism." "Capitalism," the paper added, "cannot solve the problem of unemployment. Under that system, unemployment has, on the contrary, become an excuse for monopoly capitalists to extort superprofits and to carry out imperialist aggression abroad. Their absurd theory of 'overpopulation' is shown to be utter nonsense."—*Bulletin of the People's Republic of China.*

—

NOTICE!

Purchasers & Local agents of the Modern Review of Delhi and New Delhi area are hereby requested to contact with our Sole Selling Agents :

MESSRS CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY,
12/90, Connaught Circus,
NEW DELHI. (Phone 44762)

Rene Grousset

Death of a Great Humanist

Jean A. Keim writes in *News from France* :

When the great French orientalist Foucher, now 87 years of age, learnt of the death of Rene Grousset who was 20 years his junior, before even thinking of the personal sorrow he experienced in the loss of a pupil and friend, he declared as a scholar :

"He would have written many more great works had he lived to be as old as me."

Rene Grousset still had indeed many more plans in mind, but even so the work he has left behind him is extraordinarily extensive. From the time he took a degree in history at the age of 18, in 1903, to his death on the 12th of September last, he worked unceasingly. In 1912, he entered the administration of the Beaux-Arts : after the 1914 War, in which he was badly wounded, he was appointed joint-curator of the Guimet Museum with Joseph Hackin. In 1933 he was appointed director of the Cernuschi Museum. In 1944 he became chief curator of the Guimet Museum which he made into the great French Museum of Asiatic Art. In 1946 he was elected to the French Academy. Meanwhile, he carried out cultural missions in Syria, Iran, Japan and Canada a great Ambassador of France for whom he eminently represented the great forms of humanism.

When a journalist one day asked him for his biography, he replied with that sweet and mischievous smile so well-known to those who were fortunate enough to be his friends :

"My biography is my bibliography."

Rene Grousset wrote much, and none of his work, even a preface to a book or an exhibition catalogue, is of indifferent merit. He has managed to restate certain problems and present them in a form that is more practical and simpler to understand. His first great work was a *History of Asia*. And since then he has examined in all its forms the history of this Asia that for so many people has touched only the brink of world history. He wanted to give this continent the place that it merited, and thus modify the traditional viewpoint that had been handed on to us in our education. With the *History of the Crusades and the Frankis Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Grousset gave these expeditions a new political explanation, by showing up the carefully considered work of the Papacy. He wrote a *History of Armenia* : "He studied the Empire of the Levant, Iran, the Empire of the Steppes, Gengis Khan and China."

But for him, history was not limited to politics. He began by studying the "Indian Philosophies" : then he published fine illustrated albums showing the great movements of art in Asia, not to mention the two books that are valuable to scholars for their documentation and to other readers for the novelty of the subject and the clarity and precision of the style, *India and its Art*, and *China and its Art*.

When Rene Grousset entered the French Academy, M. Henri Bordeaux welcomed his new colleague and described him as bringing with him "a whole continent in his luggage."

Tribute to Beauty...
Quality toilet products are real aids to beauty culture. Our toiletries are humble tribute to Beauty.
Calchemico's
MARGO SOAP
NEEM TOOTH PASTE
BHRINGOL MAHABHRINGARAJ HAIR OIL
LABONNY SNOW AND CREAM
KANTA KERCHIEF PERFUME
UTTA 29

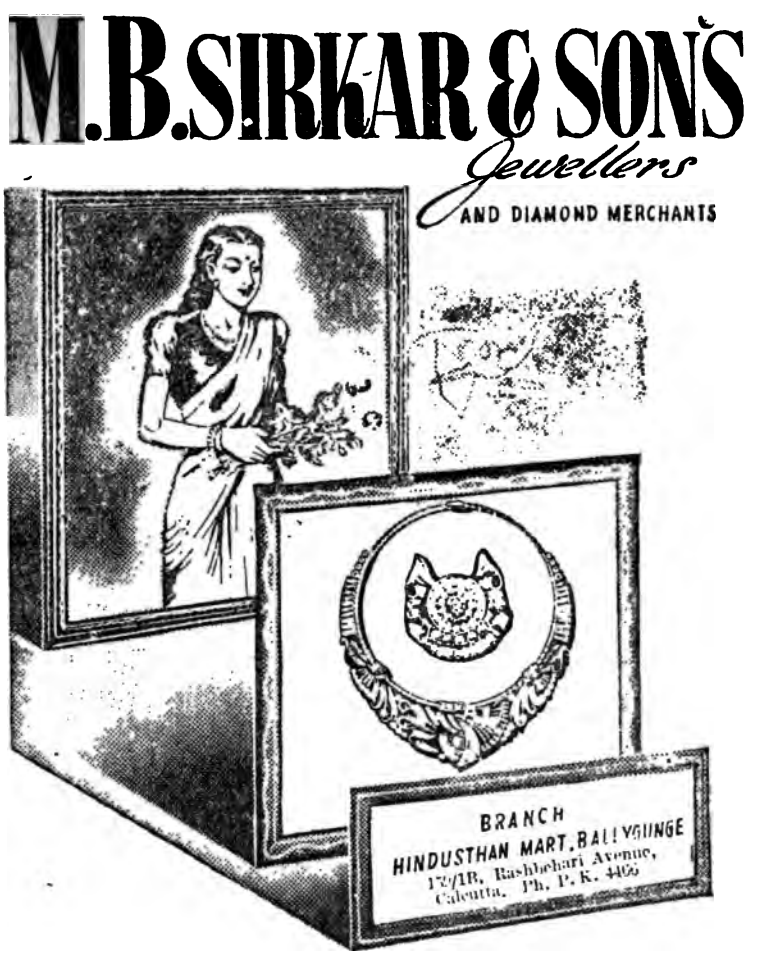
Rene Grousset's erudition was extraordinary. This historian, who never put down a number, a name or a date without being certain of it, possessed an infallible memory : the numerous index-cards that many have attributed to him existed only in their imagination : Rene Grousset never took notes and was never at fault.

His days were occupied by his duties as curator, the many commissions in which his enlightened opinion was sought, and the many appointments he granted to all those who wished to consult him, whether they were professors who wished to discuss controversial point or students who came to as ask advice. To each of them, he would give an idea or a word of encouragement. His nights he spent on his personal work, composing those fine books which open up new horizons and sweep away that arbitrary barrier that limits valid civilisations to the Mediterranean horizon.

The work of popularisation, which many consider as beneath a scholar, Grousset considered a duty : in addition to his scholarly studies, works on the history of Asia, the history of the Crusades, the history of China were masterpieces of their kind, in which history, though simplified, was not mutilated, and the interest was always alive.

This scholar, who had brought his main efforts to bear on the vast Asiatic continent, was not, for all that, indifferent to the rest of the world. In his two last works, he rose from the history of Asia to the history of the world : he tried in some way to make a synthesis of his work as a historian, and to give it a conclusion. *Balance-sheet of History* goes from the Sumerian epoch to the atomic bomb : civilisations follow one another, each a point of departure for the next : in full command of his subject, Grousset draws from it a philosophical conclusion, in which he affirms, in spite of all, his optimism as a Christian. After studying civilisations, he makes a precise study, in his *Figure-heads*, of the part played by great men, and his examples are drawn as much from Greco-Roman antiquity as from later periods, not to mention the great conquerors of an Asia that was ever present to his mind.

A great humanist, an honest historian in an age when personal feeling has governed even men of science with his precise knowledge and sure judgment, Rene Grousset had won world renown. Having homage to his outstanding qualities, Unesco had entrusted him with drawing up the third volume of its *Scientific and Cultural History of the World*. He had hardly completed the plan of the work when death cut off in its prime one of the most enlightened minds of our age.


M.B.SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS
BRANCH
HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE
12/1B, Bashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta. Ph. P. K. 4466
167-C 167-C I BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA, (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCN.)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM Phone AVENUE 1761 - Gram BRILLIANTS

China's Achievements in Education in Past Three Years

China expects to have [illegible] college students, [illegible] secondary school students, over 90 million elementary school pupils this term, declares Ma Hsu-lun, Minister of Education in a special article on China's achievements in education in the past three years. Comparing with 1949, the year before the Kuomintang, the number of college students will [illegible] secondary school students [illegible] and elementary school pupils [illegible].

[illegible] colleges and universities in China in 1952 with [illegible] students, [illegible] teachers and [illegible] staff members. Together with [illegible] and [illegible] training, [illegible] teachers. [illegible] colleges [illegible] per cent of the total number of college students [illegible]

term compared with only 18.9 per cent in 1946. The total nubmer of students in teacher's training colleges this term will be 90 per cent above 1946. In addition, large number of secondary technical schools have been set up. These are to meet the demands of China's forthcoming large-scale economic construction.

Special attention is paid to the education of workers and peasants and their children. Their children now constitute over 80 per cent of the elementary school pupils, and they and their youngsters, 60 per cent of the secondary school students and over 20 per cent of the college students. A wide network of short-term elementary and secondary schools has been set up for adult workers and peasants. They get special subsidies from the government in addition to the usual food subsidies received by all students in colleges, secondary technical schools and teachers' training schools. No school fees are paid.

Spare-time education has developed very rapidly. Some 3,020,000 workers are attending spare-time schools this year. About 14 million peasants studied in spare-time schools in 1951. It is expected that in 1952 the number will reach 24 million. Last winter, more than 42 million peasants attended winter literacy schools. Some 50 million will study in the coming winter.

This year, the widespread adoption of a quick method of learning written Chinese initiated by Chi Chien-hua, a teacher in the People's liberation Army, will greatly speed up the campaign against illiteracy. After being tested in the People's Liberation Army, Chi Chien-hua's method has been adopted for factories, villages and among urban illiterates. It is expected that illiteracy will be wiped out among more than 10 million government workers coming from the ranks of the workers and peasants, industrial workers and adult peasants by next spring.

Under the new school system, all roads lead to higher education. Entry into institutions of higher learning is not limited to students from regular secondary schools, but is also thrown open to those from short-time, spare-time and technical schools. Thus, all schools, including universities and colleges, are open to the vast majority of working people.

The People's Government has also paid special attention to the education of minority nationalities. Five institutes for nationalities have been set up with a total student body of 8,000. In the Inner Mongolian autonomous region, elementary schools have been trebled, compared wtih the highest level in pre-liberation days. The people's Government is helping some minority nationalities to establish their own written scripts.

In New China, teachers are respected by the people and the People's Government. Their political and economic status has been raised. They have their own mass organisation the China Educational Workers' Trade Union. They have their representatives both in the People's Government and people's representatives conferences at all levels. As compared with last year, the average salary this year for a college instructor increased by 18.6 per cent, secondary school teachers by 25.5 per cent and elementary school teachers by 37.4 per cent.

"In the past three years, we have transformed the semi-colonial and semi-feudal educational situation of old China. Now, all educational institutions and the whole of educational work belong to the people and are at their service," said Ma Hsu-lun. "Millions of illiterate workers, peasants and toiling women can now read newspapers and books and take part in various social activities. Tens of thousands of college graduates and hundreds of thousands of technical school graduates have been given work in various fields of construction. The rich creativeness of the liberated Chinese people will be fully developed. The days of 'poverty' and 'ignorance' wrought by the imperialists and reactionary regimes are gone for ever." -*People's Republic of China.*

BOOKS FOR YOUR LIBRARY

Salesmanship Sales Management & Advertising
by M. Satyanarayana Rs. 7-8
A comprehensive book on the art of selling and advertising

Ancient Indian Culture
by Prof. K. C. Chakravarty Rs. 9-8
A manual of Ancient Indian History

Company Secretarial Practice
by M. Satyanarayana Rs. 10-8
A complete hand-book for the Company Secretary and students of Company Law

Planning for a Shortage Economy
by Prof. C. N. Vakil Rs. 5-8
Five year plan fully discussed

Gandhian Economic Thought
by J. C. Kumarappa Rs. 1-4
Gandhiji's views on the shape of India's Economy.

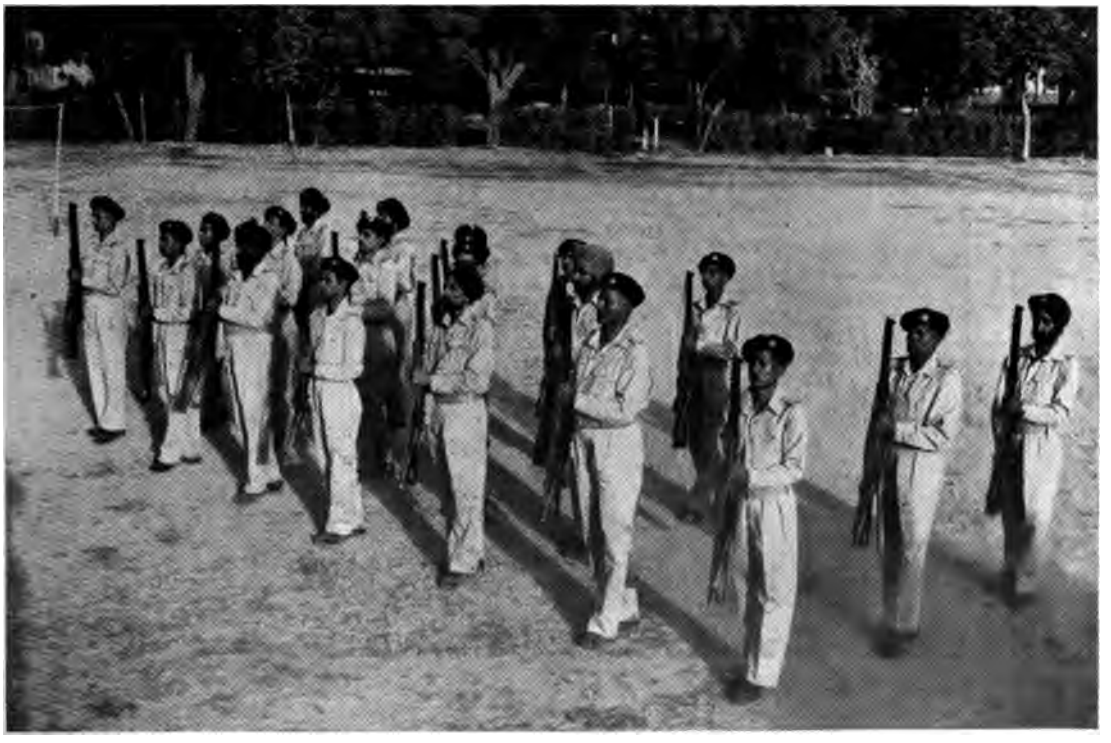
Industrial Peace
by S. V. Punekar Rs. 1-8
A frank discussion of the relations between Capital & Labour

Economic Consequences of Divided India
by C. N. Vakil Rs. 16

VORA & CO. PUBLISHERS LTD.,
3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, BOMBAY 2

Printed and published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Men of a Territorial Army unit at a shooting range



A Territorial Army contingent is undergoing training

stand, however, considerations other than language should also be borne in mind. These had been mentioned in the resolution.

"Maulana Azad repudiated suggestions that the resolution was calculated to 'shelve' the question. On the other hand, he emphasised, the Steering Committee had realized that the issue could not be evaded. All that was intended was to avoid haste and not to ignore considerations other than language, such as finance.

"Critics of the resolution fell in two opposite categories—those who thought it was dilatory and those who regarded it as unnecessary encouragement to separatism. The former were in an overwhelming majority."

The report further stated that Mr. Rajagopalachari, "with typical frankness" described the concept of linguistic States as "tribal." Mr. Rajagopalachari's forefathers, with the same frankness, had termed millions of unfortunates as "untouchables," and with the characteristic behaviour, that usually comes as a corollary to such frankness, had deprived less fortunate people of many of their birthrights, with what results all students of social and political history know. Where egotism and avarice parade as Superior Knowledge, we do not know whether to laugh or to get angry. Why cannot Sri Rajagopalachari profit by his own experiences, as for example, those of his first ministry and of the days of 1942, when he was advocating Pakistan in collaboration with the C.P.I., and let the brothers who believed they could not get justice without partition depart in peace and amity without indulging in such a display of spleen?

Linguistic States are the only remedies against discrimination and oppression of linguistic minorities in heterogeneous States. If there were no nepotism, no misuse of power as in Bihar, and no attempt to superimpose one language over another, then there would be no call for partitions or new demarcations of boundaries. Where all those evils are on the increase, as in the Indian Union under Nehru, there can be no other remedy, be it "tribal" or be it divine.

The main plank of Pandit Nehru's Congress platform, indeed the principal *raison d'etre* of his government, is the much blazoned Five-Year Plan. The official resolution went as follows:

"The most important and urgent task before the country is to ensure economic advance for the nation and to raise the living standards of the people with a view to ending poverty and unemployment by greater production and equitable distribution, and thus realizing the objective of social justice and equality laid down in the Constitution. To this end all resources of the nation must be directed in a planned manner, aiming more particularly at providing productive employment for all, so that everyone becomes a *partner* in the Welfare State, sharing in its burdens *and benefits alike.*

"The Congress welcomes the first Five-year Plan.

"It agrees that the programme for rural development and increase in agricultural production in respect of both foodgrains and industrial raw materials is of the first importance and food self-sufficiency must be realized at the earliest possible date. The Congress welcomes the recommendations in the plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small-scale industries, and the building up of the community on co-operative lines.

"The Congress views the plan as a first planned and important step designed to prepare the way for much more rapid advance on all fronts of national activity and welcomes it as the promise of the progressive fulfilment of its aims and objectives. The plan depends for its success on the co-operation of the people in the largest measure in every phase and at every stage of the process of implementation. It is a call to the country and an invitation for leadership, at all levels, to mobilize this co-operation and voluntary effort of the people. To this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up new India, the Congress invites all the people of the country."

The three main factors on which depends the materialization and successful fruition of such Plans are, in order of their importance, Personnel, Resources and Potentials, taking it for granted, of course, that the plan itself is well-conceived.

There is no doubt about the potentials of course, we have them in plenty and more. The question of resources too is not too doubtful, as we can profit from the examples of other nations who have achieved success in the past with even lower potentials and more meagre economic resources.

But the question of Personnel is vital, indeed it is of the essence. On that will depend success or failure and that only. Such plans need a brain-trust at the top, composed of experienced men of discrimination, with clear foresight and keen acumen, and free from all blemishes of greed, bias, nepotism or hide-bound party-consciousness. Under them there should be a cadre of supreme executives, devoted, capable and selfless, who can rouse a spirit of enthusiasm amongst all workers, high or low, and imbue them with a spirit of service. Where and how is this army and staff going to be formed?

Planning Reconsidered

A decade ago planning in mixed economy was viewed by an eminent economist as just like putting square pegs in round holes, planning being considered to be the monopoly of socialist and totalitarian economies. The *laissez faire* economists loathed the idea of the State having anything to do with activities which were the province of the business community. The high priests of classical economics would regard

this State interference in economic fields as a sacrilege on the sanctity of private property and Whig champions of individual liberty would shudder in their graves to know that in a Welfare State economic freedom is at a discount as against the overall interests of the community. Out of the ruins of the first World War, there came the rebirth of the 'demos' whom Burke called "swinish multitude," and he emerged with the right to live—a legal right as distinguished from a moral one. In India, of course, the right to live is not a fundamental right and consequently not a legal right.

The Five-year Plan may be viewed as the sheet anchor of the Party-in-power in India and obviously it now forms the basis of all economic activities in this country. Pandit Nehru in his Presidential Address to the Hyderabad session of the Congress states : "The major and most urgent problem for us today is that of economic advance, advance not only for the nation as a whole but also with regard to the conditions of the masses of the people who live in it. We have to fight poverty and unemployment and improve the conditions of life of our people. Our resources are limited, even though our wish to progress is great . . . This plan initiates a process of balanced economic development of the country with a view to raising the standard of living and bringing about an increasing measure of economic equality and opportunities for employment . . . That Plan is not based on any doctrinaire approach and is not rigid. It is modest in a sense, and yet it has far-reaching consequences . . . Although there is a private sector, our stress is laid on the public sector which should progressively expand. Though the development of industry is exceedingly important, special stress is laid on agriculture, because that is the basis of our economy . . . Our subject is to prevent monopoly control and to limit private profit, so as to bring about a distribution of economic power . . . We have to put a ceiling on land and we have to encourage co-operative farming . . ."

India wants economic betterment, higher standard of living, employment for the unemployed, prevention of the excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of the few and harnessing of our resources. The achievement of self-sufficiency in food production is one of the main aims of the Plan and the completion of the river valley projects is a prerequisite factor in making agricultural production a certainty. Agriculture is still a gamble on the rainfall and until irrigation is assured, self-sufficiency in food production will remain an elusive objective. There are so many 'ifs' in the completion of the river valley projects that years may pass before all the 'ifs' are fulfilled. Fundamentally, the entire basis of agricultural planning suffers from a defective vision in so far as it envisages the uneconomic wastage of huge man-power *over agriculture. Agricultural* preponderance is indicative of economic backwardness.

No data on population are provided in the Five-year Plan and it is reasonably certain that the Planning Commission was unable to visualize the number of people who would have to engage in the achievement of the scheduled output and also those who will consume the goods and take up the services allotted. No stock of man-power is taken and no goal for labour productivity is set forth. No attempt has been made to estimate the total number of available able-bodied persons and to distribute this total among the various sectors—and no estimate is made of the balance of man-power that is required to constitute the co-operative farming. Even the lumping together of the estimates of the individual sectors and subsectors of their labour requirements for the scheduled outputs at the desired levels of labour productivity, would have been helpful. Planning of production without planning of available man-power is defective.

Further, the Plan lacks provisions regarding the price pattern which is to operate in the 1951-56 period.

Regarding national income the Plan is almost static in outlook. It states that the national income of India in 1950-51 was approximately Rs. 9,000 crores. At the fourth meeting of the Consultative Committee for the Colombo Plan, held at Karachi in March, 1952, India's estimated gross national product was placed at Rs. 10,400 crores. In 1948 India's national income was Rs. 8,730 crores. Normally thus the average rate of increase in national income may be placed at Rs. 500 crores a year and under planned production the rate of rise must be expected to be higher. But it is just the contrary. After a planned production period of five years, the national income would stand at Rs. 10,000 crores a year. Then what is the rate of increase in national income ?

In some respects, the Plan is either superfluous, or redundant or inadequate. In our January issue we pointed out that in respect of rise in national income, and also in cotton textile and jute production, the Plan is too modest to require any planning at all. Planning presupposes lack of competition and overproduction, the two evils of capitalist economy which flourishes on private competitive production. In their eagerness to tame the Indian rivers and harness their resources, the Plan has overlooked this aspect of competition which is now inevitably creeping into some aspects of planned economy, as for example, the electric power to be generated by the Damodar Valley Project as well as the Hirakud Project will be combinedly a surplus. Who will consume this great volume of electric power ? The Damodar Valley can supply electric power to the coal belt, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and other great industries. But Hirakud's power will go a-begging in the market—where is the consumer for its electric

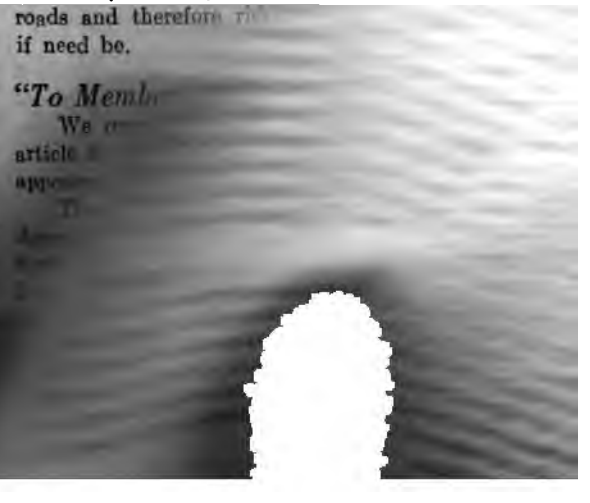
supply? Other industries are to be developed so as to make the hydro-electricity economically paying. It appears that Sindri Fertilizer Factory is already facing difficulty in disposing of its 1,000 tons of daily production of ammonium sulphate. These are the problems which should be taken into consideration.

The Plan envisages additional annual employment as follows: industry including small-scale industries (4 lakhs annually), major irrigation and power projects (7½ lakhs annually), agriculture (14+1½+7½=23 lakhs annually), building and construction (1 lakh annually), roads (2 lakhs annually), cottage industries (20 lakhs annually plus 36 lakhs will be provided with fuller employment), tertiary sector and local works (there will be more employment here, but it is not possible to estimate it). The most disconcerting feature of this planned estimate of employment is that the means of production being not fully in the hands of the State, it seems to be premature to estimate the additional rate of annual employment. The private sector will raise, to its convenience, the periodical plea of over-production and less profit and will start retrenching labour. What remedy does the Government contemplate undertaking in that case?

The administrative problems need not be underrated. It may be that India is unique in Asia in the strength of its administrative structure. The Indian Civil Service have many devoted officials who have accomplished miracles in the last five years. The resettlement of the refugees, the negotiated incorporation of over 500 princely States in the Indian Union, the general elections and, indeed the scope and detail of the Plan itself—all these are administrative achievements of the highest order. But the introduction of the Welfare State must mean an enormous multiplication of responsibilities. State intervention in industries has the same consequence; and at the most vital level of all for the Plan—in the village—administration must in some areas be built almost from scratch. In the princely States the structure of administration was always slight and land reform has abolished the old intermediaries—the Zamindars and the Jagirdars—in many States. The peasant is the pivot of the Plan. But in many areas it would be difficult to reach him.

The Plan is aware of such problems and one of its main aims is to fill the vacuum in part by developing the machinery of government, in part by furthering the activities of the villagers themselves. Village Councils—Panchayats—are being [illegible] restored; the co-operative movement [illegible] a widespread degree only in Mad[illegible] to be fostered. On the official [illegible] urged to assign responsibility [illegible] *district officers and to in[illegible] sphere of action will be t[illegible]* new approach will be tried out in the Community Development Projects.

As regards financing the Plan, the prospect of raising capital internally is rather gloomy. During the planning period, the annual rate of capital investment will be about Rs. 400 crores. The total business and industrial investments in India during the period of about five years beginning with 15th August, 1947, have been of the order of Rs. 400. That is, the annual rate of capital formation comes to about Rs. 80 crores. Including investments in the public sector, the total investments may come to nearly Rs. 100 crores a year. There is little prospect that the rate of saving will go up five times higher overnight. In a population of over 368 million, only about 700,000 are in a position to pay any taxes. In 1951, only 14,000 had an income of more than Rs. 40,000 a year. In these conditions, to expect a higher general rate of saving is to ignore the reality. The Plan envisages that [illegible] 1955-56, the rate of saving would have gone up [illegible] per cent a year. Evidently, there is the admiss[illegible] the present rate of saving is less than that [illegible] could there be such a high rate of annual [illegible] (Rs. 400 crores) by normal budgetary [illegible] and voluntary savings? The taxation [illegible] reached its maximum point and to i[illegible] further may be disastrous. Under t[illegible] of indirect taxes, the middle class is [illegible] saving would come only from the [illegible] increase the burden of taxation [illegible] the consumption and that may r[illegible] ment and employment as well [illegible] or raising loans is not very pro[illegible] of voluntary savings is very [illegible] Plan a financially successful [illegible] need have to resort to def[illegible] scale than that contempla[illegible] this procedure may be f[illegible] no doubt, in the system [illegible] roads and therefore ri[illegible] if need be.



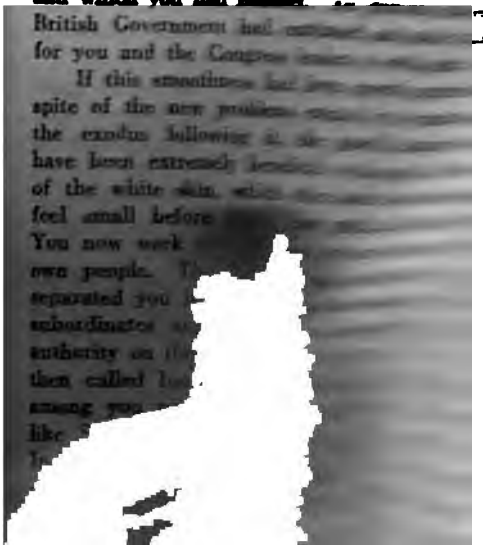
"*To Memb[illegible]*

We [illegible] article [illegible] appe[illegible]

emoluments. Your
improved since Indep
of government that
elected to change its
if it retained most of
absolutely new men in
order to carry out new
A government with the
have made heavy cuts

The bureaucracy, as
know, almost a loathsome
headed,' 'high-handed
'arrogant,' 'impudent,'
were some of the
you by the various
the members of the
purposes, Free India
bureaucratic rule. Inde
that the younger sections
radical changes to take
their and the people's
organization is that their
elected to continue the
assumption of office, the
and sense of responsibility
system as it was. Perhaps
circumstances in which
about. Perhaps this became
radical ideologies both of
one of Marx on the economic
been wholeheartedly
Congress.

So there was not much difference
and the traditions which were
and which you had imbibed



British Government had
for you and the Congress

If this smoothness had
spite of the new problems
the exodus following
have been extremely
of the white skin,
feel small before
You now work
own people.
separated you
subordinates
authority on
then called
among you
like
is

That
rn out
explore
in the
remotest
ialism or
n-violence
nd capital,

ition than to
never grudge
you use it for

peration, willing or
much we may detest
t there would be no
ney the exploiter. But
chains that bind us. This
d is not the extinction of
but a transformation of the
ween them and the masses into
purer.
sed with catchwords and seductive
the West. Have we not our
ition? Are we not capable of find-
tion to the question of capital and
is the system of *varnashrama* but a
nizing the difference between high and
as between capital and labour? All that
he West on this subject is tarred with the
lence. I object to it because I have seen
ye that lies at the end of this road. The more
et even in the West today stand aghast at the
r which their system is heading. And I owe
r influence I have in the West to my ceaseless
our to find a solution which promises an escape
the vicious circle of violence and exploitation. I
been a sympathetic student of the Western social
er and I have discovered that underlying the fever
at fills the soul of the West there is a restless search
r truth. I value that spirit. Let us study our Eastern
stitutions in that spirit of scientific enquiry and we shall
evolve a truer socialism and a truer communism than the
world has yet dreamed of. It is surely wrong to presume
that Western socialism or communism is the last word
on the question of mass poverty."

Eisenhower's Inaugural Address

In these days of world-wide tension and suffering, the inaugural address of the new President of the U. S. A. has a special significance. One commendable feature of it is its brevity. But there is no clarification of the issues that might follow because of the change-over in party control. Still there is enough in it to make it worthy of record.

In the opening words of his historic address, President Eisenhower noted the continuing challenge

when everything is ready for taking fire, a little spark is quite sufficient to set it.

My appeal to you is to give a place to God in your life and conduct. In your desire to advance your material position you have banished Him from your homes and offices, calculating that money is a better friend than God in adversity and old age. But your calculations are false and will mean the ruin of yourselves and the whole country. God grant you wisdom and strength to become truer and better servants of the people."

Retirement of General Cariappa

Gen. Cariappa, the retiring C-in-C of the Indian Army, was presented with the robes and diploma of Doctor of Science (honoris causa) of Agra University. The presentation was made by the Registrar of the University, Dr. L. P. Mathur, at a ceremony at the Central Secretariat here.

Gen. Cariappa was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science (honoris causa) at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of Agra University in December, "in token of the great esteem and affection the National Cadet Corps of the university has for him."

Gen. Cariappa was the guest of honour at a garden party organized by Army HQ this evening. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, the Home Minister, Dr. Katju, and several high-ranking service officers were present at the reception.

A foot-high silver infantryman mounted on a pedestal bearing the army crest and the formation signs of Army HQ and the three Commands was presented to Gen. Cariappa at a special reception held at the Defence Service Club. Lt.-Gen. Thakur Nathu Singh, GOC-in-C, Eastern Command, presented the souvenir on behalf of Army officers.

Gen. Cariappa said that he regarded the souvenir as a symbol of his affection for the jawan—the backbone of the army.

The Agra University has thus rectified to a certain extent the omissions made by other public bodies, the failure to acknowledge and acclaim the sterling services rendered by this gallant son of India. In these troublous times that we are, and have been, passing through, the Army has been a bulwark of true steel against all dangers. That it has remained staunch and highly efficient, despite the flood of intrigue and corruption in Nehru's Government, is to the everlasting credit of the soldier and gentleman who has been its C.-in-C. for so long. That we have failed to realize that fact shows how blind we are.

Why the Army

We are the most peace-loving of all men, but we confess we are getting a little tired of the bletherings about *Peace and Ahimsa,* in season and out of season, *whenever our army is* mentioned, by our "Great" *ones. The army and the fighting forces* are vital neces*sities for every nation that wants to* preserve its freedom and keep its homes inviolate. The *Gita* in its true concept is clear on the duty of a warrior. To those who in their ignorance refuse to believe it, we present the following story about Abraham Lincoln :

"An eminent theologian called on the President to protest against the desecration of the Sabbath, when Union armies engaged in battle on the Lord's Day. Lincoln, as usual, listened respectfully. When the full argument had been stated, he glanced up with a smile and observed : 'Do you know that this Administration is in entire accord with those sentiments?' "'I am more than gratified to hear it,' answered the clergyman.

"'Yes, indeed; and there is only one other influence that you need bring to bear in order to stop the pernicious practice of fighting battles on Sunday.'

"'What is that, Mr. President?'

"'Why, just see the Confederate generals, and get them to let our soldiers alone'!"

Peace Congress Address

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace met in Vienna from December 12 to 19, 1952. It was attended by 1,857 representatives from 85 countries. The Indian delegation numbering 30 was headed by Dr. Safiuddin Kitchlew. The three items on the agenda were : 1. The independence and security of nations ; 2. Termination of the wars now raging, above all the war in Korea ; 3. Relaxation of international tension.

In an appeal issued after the conclusion of the Congress, it said :

"We call for all hostilities in Korea to cease immediately.

"While towns are shattered and blood flows, agreement becomes impossible. When hostilities have ceased, the parties will more readily reach agreement on the questions at issue between them.

"We call also for the immediate ending of hostilities in Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Malaya, with unqualified respect for the right to independence of the peoples concerned.

"We call for an end to the violence employed to stifle the national aspirations of peoples to independence, as in Tunisia and Morocco.

"The Congress of the Peoples for Peace proclaims the right of all peoples to self-determination and to choose their own way of life without any interference in their internal affairs, whatever motive be invoked in justification. The national independence of every State constitutes the essential condition of peace.

"The ashes of the last war risk bursting into flame in both Europe and Asia. However, negotiation can and must achieve a peaceful solution of the German problem and the Japanese problem. We consider that a peace treaty, excluding its participation in any military alliance directed against any country whatsoever, must be concluded at the earliest possible moment with a united, democratic Germany, a

Germany where there shall be no room for the Nazism and militarism that have brought such woe to Europe. We propose the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan, that shall end its occupation and allow the Japanese people to return into the fellowship of peaceful nations.

"We demand an absolute ban on atomic, chemical and all other means of exterminating civil populations.

"We criticize the shortsighted who claim that the arms drive is capable of strengthening a country's security. We are convinced that the arms drive strengthens, on the contrary, the threat to all countries, great and small.

"We call on the peoples of the world to struggle for the spirit of negotiation and agreement, for the right of man to peace."

In the "Address to the Governments of the Five Great Powers," the Congress declared :

"The Congress of the Peoples for Peace, meeting at Vienna, December 12, 1952, expressing the will of mankind, solemnly invites the Governments of the United States of America, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the Peoples Republic of China, and of Great Britain and of France to open the negotiations on which peace depends.

"Agreement between the Five Great Powers, the conclusion of a Pact of Peace will put an end to international tension and will save the world from the greatest misfortune.

"This is the demand of all the peoples."

Unfortunately, after this appeal was broadcast, came the news of the Jew-hunt in the domains of the Soviets. The details of that coincide so nearly with the anti-Hebraic methods of the Hitler-Goebbels era, that it gives a severe shock to all right-thinking peoples. The noble sentiments set forth in the appeal somehow sound very hollow after that.

Indeed in our country we need not import foreign appeals either for peace or for the rights of Man. We quote hereunder from an article by Gandhiji, written for the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in 1934 and reproduced in the *Harijan* for January 24 :

"Class war is foreign to the essential genius of India, which is capable of evolving communism on the fundamental rights of all on equal justice. Ramarajya of my dream ensures rights alike of prince and pauper.

Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature. I do not subscribe to it, for I know that the essential difference between man and the brute is that the former can respond to the call of the spirit in him, can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and, therefore, superior to selfishness and violence, which belong to the brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man. That is the fundamental conception of Hinduism, which has years of penance and austerity at back of discovery of this truth. That is why, whilst we have had saints who have worn out their bodies and laid down their lives in order to explore the secrets of the soul, we have had none, as in the West, who laid down their lives in exploring the remotest or the highest regions of the earth. Our socialism or communism should, therefore, be based on non-violence and on harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant.

Ryots themselves have no greater ambition than to live in peace and freedom and they will never grudge your possession of property provided you use it for them.

All exploitation is based on co-operation, willing or forced, of the exploited. However much we may detest admitting it, the fact remains that there would be no exploitation if people refuse to obey the exploiter. But self comes in and we hug the chains that bind us. This must cease. What is needed is not the extinction of landlords and capitalists, but a transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something healthier and purer.

Let us not be obsessed with catchwords and seductive slogans imported from the West. Have we not our distinct Eastern tradition ? Are we not capable of finding our own solution to the question of capital and labour ? What is the system of *varnashrama* but a means of harmonizing the difference between high and low, as well as between capital and labour ? All that comes from the West on this subject is tarred with the brush of violence. I object to it because I have seen the wreckage that lies at the end of this road. The more thinking set even in the West today stand aghast at the abyss for which their system is heading. And I owe whatever influence I have in the West to my ceaseless endeavour to find a solution which promises an escape from the vicious circle of violence and exploitation. I have been a sympathetic student of the Western social order and I have discovered that underlying the fever that fills the soul of the West there is a restless search for truth. I value that spirit. Let us study our Eastern institutions in that spirit of scientific enquiry and we shall evolve a truer socialism and a truer communism than the world has yet dreamed of. It is surely wrong to presume that Western socialism or communism is the last word on the question of mass poverty."

Eisenhower's Inaugural Address

In these days of world-wide tension and suffering, the inaugural address of the new President of the U. S. A. has a special significance. One commendable feature of it is its brevity. But there is no clarification of the issues that might follow because of the change-over in party control. Still there is enough in it to make it worthy of record.

In the opening words of his historic address, President Eisenhower noted the continuing challenge in the

world today. He said the forces of good and evil are massed, armed and opposed as rarely before in history.

He summed up this conflict as freedom pitted against slavery, light against dark.

"We are called, as a people, to give testimony, in the sight of the world, to our faith that the future shall belong to the free," he said.

The 2,500-word address did not announce any specific policies or actions of the new administration. Rather, it outlined the moral and ethical principles to which all Americans can adhere regardless of political party.

President Eisenhower outlined nine fixed principles by which, he said, he hoped the United States would be known to all peoples.

The first three of these principles call for the development of strength to deter aggression, a pledge against appeasement, and recognition that American strength is a trust upon which rests the hope of free men everywhere.

The second three principles recognize the identity and heritage of each nation, pledge help to the free nations to achieve their own security and well-being, and to encourage productivity and trade.

The seventh principle expresses a hope for the strengthening of special regional groupings within the United Nations to meet the different problems of different areas.

The eighth principle declares that the United States considers all continents and people in equal regard and rejects the insinuation that any race or people is inferior or expendable.

In the ninth principle President Eisenhower pledged respect for the United Nations as the living sign of the hope for peace. He declared that the United States will strive to make the United Nations not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force.

President Eisenhower said that these basic precepts are not lofty abstractions but laws of spiritual strength that generate and define the material strength of the United States.

"Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry," he said. "Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity on the farm and in the factory.

"Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible."

In discussing the first principle for the development of strength to deter aggression, President Eisenhower said that the United States was ready to engage in a joint effort to make possible a drastic reduction of armaments.

"The sole requisites for undertaking such effort," he said, "are that in their purpose they be aimed logically and honestly toward secure peace for all; and that in their result they provide methods by which every participating nation will prove good faith in carrying *out* its pledge."

In his pledge against appeasement President Eisenhower said that the United States will never try to placate an aggressor by trading honour for security.

"For in the final choice," he said, "a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains."

President Eisenhower said that the faith of the United States is "faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed by eternal moral and natural laws."

This faith, he said, decrees that the people elect leaders not to rule but to serve. It asserts the right of individuals to choose their work and the right to a reward for their toil, he said. This faith, President Eisenhower continued, inspires the initiative that makes American productivity the wonder of the world.

Because of these principles, he said, the political changes in the United States today do not imply turbulence, upheaval or disorder.

Rather, he said, the change expresses a strengthening of dedication and devotion to the precepts on which the United States was founded, and a conscious renewal of faith in the nation.

"The faith we hold," he said, "belongs not to us alone but to the free men of all the world. This common bond binds the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes."

"It confers a common dignity upon the French soldier who dies in Indo-China, the British soldier killed in Malaya, the American life given in Korea."

President Eisenhower said the United States had been persuaded by necessity and by belief that the strength of all free peoples lies in unity, their danger in discord.

"To produce this unity, to meet the challenge of our time," he said, "destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership."

"So it is proper that we assure our friends once again that, in the discharge of this responsibility, we Americans know and observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughfully calculated goal and spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies.

"We wish our friends the world over to know this above all: we face the threat—not with dread and confusion—but with confidence and conviction."

The U.S.A. Presidential Election

The Presidential election in the U. S. A. had more than usual significance to the world outside as all of us understand. There are different views, but all the same the following summary as given in the *World Interpreter* of November 21, is of interest:

"Why the Eisenhower sweep, and what are its portents in social, economic, inter-racial and international affairs?

Most explanations of the landslide are, it seems to this writer, far too simple. To be sure, it was a personal triumph for Eisenhower. But it goes considerably deeper. Look back, and you'll see. In spite of Roosevelt's great victories, the popular vote for Democratic

candidates has been declining proportionately ever since 1936. Roosevelt's plurality in that year was 11,000,000; in 1940, 5,000,000; in 1944, 3,500,000. Truman's plurality in 1948 was 2,136,000. For 16 years, there has been a slow but inexorable Republican trend. This year it caught up.

What about foreign reactions? With the sole exception of the West German government, virtually every government and people the world over wanted Stevenson. Many Americans, it must be feared, will assume that all these prejudiced foreigners were thinking primarily about a loss in U.S. aid. To some extent that was the case. But concern overseas went much further. There was a general expectation that, if the Republicans won, protective tariffs might come back and reciprocity be shelved. The world bitterly recalls the Smoot-Hawley tariff of 22 years ago, and its help in deepening the depression.

It will be a miracle if the neutralist movement in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, which says to Russia and the U.S. "a plague on both your houses," is not immensely stimulated. American isolationism will be feared. Perhaps wrongly, but on the basis of the campaign, war will be dreaded as a greater possibility. Witness what happened in Japan on the days immediately after the election; there was a tremendous boost in munitions stocks and the prices of commodities related to war production. In Britain, in France, and to some degree in Germany, there is likely to be a stronger outspokenness by millions of people against signing the treaty for a European army, and against accepting American leadership for the unification of Europe.

And what about Korea? Asian people were kept from hostility towards the American role there only by the fact that it was a United Nations defense against aggression; the talk about letting Asians fight Asians has embittered millions. The President-elect's trip to Korea may help him learn some things, most of which could be found out right at home: that South Koreans can't protect themselves, by themselves, until 1956 and probably never; that the morale of Chinese Red troops is high and their equipment formidable; that the South Korean government is as much of a problem as anything else. And here's something everybody forgot: if the defense of South Korea is turned over to the South Koreans, who will have the right to decide policy? They will! And Syngman Rhee's regime says bluntly it has no faith in a truce, and its Foreign Minister says, on the war prisoner question, that all prisoners are "our brethren," and must not be sent to any neutral country! This means that *the more the South Koreans take over the battle line, the smaller the chance for a peace.*

The Chinese nationalists on Formosa are sure that the change of administration at Washington signifies greater help for them, and even, perhaps, their use in an expanded military campaign with American help. They may be wrong, but those who favor using Chiang Kai-shek's *forces are now in strategic* Congressional positions. If Eisenhower on the scene should learn the truth, as MacArthur on the scene did not, that Chiang is abhorred generally by Asians, what can he do?

On Public Affairs in general, such prehistoric Senators as Cain and Kem have gone, while some anti-isolationists are in. Yet Dixiecrats who backed Eisenhower will have no problem about joining up with such northern antediluvians as McCarthy, Bridges, Ferguson, Butler, Capehart, Hickenlooper and Jenner, all of whom seem slated for top committee posts, with Jenner in the most vital of all as head of the rules committee. This is not to say that some good things may not be expected, especially on questions of reorganization and elimination of waste. But on issues vital to world relations, those who care about the United Nations, Point Four, helping allies struggle towards self-help, unifying the non-Communist nations, are facing a fight. They will be reminded again and again of the old saying: "There is nothing new except that which has become antiquated."

Nazimuddin on Indo-Pak Amity

As the solution of the Kashmir problem is mainly dependent on the mutual agreement—or otherwise—between India and Pakistan, the following report of the speech by Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, at the Republic Day reception at the Indian High Commissioner's house at Karachi, is of some import. We do not know how deep lies its significance, but still it should be considered with care.

The Prime Minister said, "It is essential for India and Pakistan to blend their energies for prompt and peaceful elimination of all causes of bitterness," and on his part, he added, "it has been and shall continue to be my constant endeavour to achieve that end."

Recalling the joint struggle for freedom, the Prime Minister said that he could not see any conceivable reason why India and Pakistan should not live in closest co-operation. He assured the people of India that "we in Pakistan have no other wish except to see India happy and prosperous and as a good friendly neighbour."

Khwaja Nazimuddin, regretted that with the passage of time the Indo-Pakistan dispute had not been resolved and in fact, had become "more difficult."

He said, "Mr. High Commissioner (for India) you were quite right in saying that these (Indian Republic Day celebrations) have greater significance in Pakistan than in any other country for ours was a joint struggle for freedom.

"When the division of India was agreed to on a voluntary basis by all parties concerned it was said that it would be a parting as between two brothers who would thenceforward live in independent homes instead of under one paternal roof, but that the bonds of kinship would remain to bind the successive generations in amity and goodwill.

"It was along these lines that we in Pakistan had hoped that our relations with India would develop.

It was, therefore, a matter of great regret to us that difference between the two countries developed at such an early stage and the passage of time has not only not resolved them but rendered them more difficult."

Mr. Nazimuddin recalled that the late Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan offered to submit all disputes between the two countries to conciliation or mediation and failing that, to arbitration. "I stand by that offer and I shall welcome any effective measures that can be devised to give a concrete shape to our sincere desires for a just settlement of all disputes that unfortunately exist between our two countries," he said.

"I do not wish to conceal the fact that the prolonged stalemate that has supervened in resolving these disputes has caused considerable bitterness among our peoples. I would be the last person to minimise the dangers inherent in such a situation," he said.

The Premier deplored "war cries from whichever quarter they come."

"Any armed conflict between Pakistan and India would, I consider, be a disaster of the first magnitude and would plunge the whole of Asia into turmoil," he added.

Kashmir

With the coming of Dr. Graham for the Kashmir parleys, this vexed question has taken a fresh turn. As such the following extract from the report of the three General Secretaries of the Congress to the A.-I. C. C. is very cogent.

Kashmir: "In spite of the fact that India and Pakistan have arrived at agreements on some issues, the vital issue of Kashmir remains unsolved. It is here that the conflict of ideologies between the two countries comes about. India is secular. Pakistan theocratic.

"During the period under report the U.N. did not move anywhere nearer a solution. It is because this august body shuts its eyes to the vital fact that Pakistan is the aggressor. This fact was established by the eminent jurist, Sir Owen Dixon, the U.N. representative.

"Whatever be the efforts of the U.N. or its representatives to bring about a settlement on this issue between India and Pakistan it is deplorable that no effort that has so far been made on the issue of demilitarization cared to treat the invader and the defender on different footings. Whoever mediates or whatever formulae are brought before the U.N. assemblies, it is idle to think that India will ever make any sort of compromise on principles for the sake of convenience."

This stand has been re-iterated in the Congress session deliberations.

Sheikh Abdullah and the Parishad

But quite apart from the Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir, there is a new and extremely queer problem *facing that region. This is the Praja* Parishad agitation. *We have to understand it fully, if* we have to discuss it. And the first step towards that understanding is to assess the leader of Kashmir's ruling party, Sheikh Abdullah. We have a glimpse into his personality through his own speech at the Hyderabad Congress session.

It is strange and significant that he was asked to speak not on Kashmir but on communalism. Here are some extracts from his speech :

Sheikh Abdullah, who was specially invited to speak on the resolution on communalism by the Congress President, said amidest loud applause : "There is no need to get upset over the agitation of the reactionary communal forces in Jammu. We faced and weathered many storms and were successful and we shall weather this storm as well."

He explained the situation in detail in Jammu and Kashmir and the "complicated problem" the Government had to face.

Sheikh Abdullah said that he was not so much afraid of his enemies as he was of the attitude which sometimes his friends and supporters in India had adopted towards him. He was greatly pained when a strange question was every now and then raised by them, namely, "How long can Sheikh Abdullah stay with us?" This was a challenge to him and he was put to test every time it was asked. This question of confidence in him should be decided once and for all. Either the people here had confidence in him or not.

"If you feel that I cannot come along with you for ever, then there is no use carrying me with you. You must decide here and now what you want to do with me."

He said that such questions created douht and suspicion about him in the minds of the people. It was not for him to do anything about it. It was for the people here to think over it. There was no compulsion about it. "My life is before you. My work is before you. Whatever I am, I stand before you. It is now for you to judge about me."

The people in India must understand him and his position. He knew that he had not been able to completely reach the inner recesses of their minds. But they should judge the Kashmir problem calmly, try to understand it and, "if you think that we are following a wrong path, you tell me so and try to get us out of the difficulty."

Sheikh Abdullah said that he had resolved to follow the path of truth, the path of secularism and the path of communal amity. "I shall continue to follow this path of truth even if I have to lay down my life for it. I am not willing to swerve from this path, nor am I going to bow before any threat. Even if I die in following the path of truth I will have achieved success.

"Gandhiji did not swerve from the path of truth even though he knew his life was in danger. It is the path of truth for which a man should live and die."

When the people of Kashmir had met successfully

the challenge of the Muslim League and Muslim National Guards they would not be afraid of the challenge of the Praja Parishad and other communalists, who were really the "Muslim national guards in Hindu garb."

Referring to the statements of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the Jan Sangh leader, Mr. N. C. Chatterji, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, and Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, relating to Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah said that their utterances were devoid of logic. They had become victims of narrow-mindedness. While he had all respect for these elders, he strongly disagreed with their political views.

Taking Dr. Mookerjee's statements first, Sheikh Abdullah said that the Jan Sangh leader said, at a Press Conference recently, that, the Kashmir Constituent Assembly was a "farce and an unrepresentative body," but he (Dr. Mookerjee) was willing to recognize the same Constituent Assembly if it passed a resolution affirming complete accession to India.

Mr. Chatterji said, at the last annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha, that they wanted to "revise" the Constitution of India to bring it in conformity with Hindu ideals. Mr. Chatterji had a right to say it, but he (Sheikh Abdullah) could not agree to it. "I have fought Muslim communalism and I would fight Hindu communalism also," he added.

Master Tara Singh had said in a speech in Lucknow, that "Pakistan will face permanent unrest if she surrender Kashmir to India." Master Tara Singh, it was apparent, did not want permanent unrest in Pakistan. When Indian leaders said such things, then the other interested parties in the world would certainly say the same things. Pakistan had thus found in Master Tara Singh a very great advocate of their stand.

Sheikh Abdullah reiterated that the citizens of Kashmir had the same respect for the Indian flag as the rest of the people of India.

Speaking at a Republic Day party at Jammu on 26th January, the Sheikh further clarified his stand as the following report indicates :

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, called upon the people of Jammu "not to be just silent spectators of what is happening in your midst but to play a positive role in weaning away our misguided Jammu brothers from the path of self-destruction."

Sheikh Abdullah said there was no question of his having any talks with the leaders of Jammu agitation. It was "impossible" for him to have any kind of relationship with those who differed from him fundamentally and who were trying to "wreck the very basis of the secular foundation on which the union of Kashmir and India has been forged."

The Kashmir Premier said that he and his colleagues did not wish to deceive India by using the Indian Flag or by any other means. His whole life was an open book. Kashmir had joined India of its own free will at a time when darkness enshrouded the whole subcontinent. *"Dangers and perils were not lacking* at that time. If still we joined India it was because we saw in India the fulfilment of our cherished hopes and aspirations.

"On the other hand we saw only doom in Pakistan. So, there is no need for me to deceive the Indian people. It is for the people of Jammu to search their hearts and find out who is deceiving India and who is true to the ideals of secular democracy and to the memory of Gandhiji."

Referring to the demand for separation of Jammu Province from Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah said, "Before putting forth this demand, please, find out how you will benefit. If the people of Jammu demand separation then they are only seeking their own self-destruction. But I want to prevent this tragedy."

Praja Parishad Questionnaire

The Praja Parishad has no publicity media at its command. They have sent leaflets and pamphlets to all newspapers. We would be failing in our duty if we consigned all that to the waste-paper basket without any consideration, as has been done by almost all newspapers. The questionnaire given below is taken from one such pamphlet. It is addressed to the "Nominees of Sheikh Abdullah in the Indian Parliament." We present those questions of which we would like to get the answers. Why is there no impartial enquiry ?

1. Do they represent the people of Jammu ?
2. Has National Conference any following worth the name in Jammu ?
3. Are they prepared to advise their Government to hold a referendum on the policies of separation from India against which Praja Parishad has launched its Satyagraha ?
6. What steps have the State Government so far taken towards extending the jurisdiction of the Indian Supreme Court to the State ?
7. Why are the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution, not given to the citizens of the State ?
8. Why are the custom barriers between the State and India which are hitting the people of the State hard economically not removed in spite of the persistent demand of the people ?

Can They Deny ?

1. The Praja Parishad is the most popular mass organisation of the people of Jammu.
2. That so far more than 600 people have courted arrest.
3. That they include prominent Muslims like Khwaja Abdur Rehman of Bhadarwah and Maulvi Miran Baksh of Jammu.
5. That the number of wounded and injured as a result of firing and lathi-charges at Bhadarwah, Udhampur, Jammu and Samba runs into hundreds.

6. That Satyagrahis are being beaten and caned in jails.
7. That Pt. Premnath Dogra who is now in his 70th year is being given hard labour in jail.
8. True news of the movement are being suppressed by the creation of an iron curtain and false and fictitious news are being circulated in India to malign the Parishad.

We are frankly suspicious of this cry of communalism. It has been used as a red-herring too often. We have suffered from it and have risked life and property time and again in suppressing it and relieving its victims, Hindu and Moslem alike. And that is more than Pandit Nehru or any of his previous satellites can say.

Riddles of Figures

While food deficits continue to be chronic in India, food statistics continue to be enigmatic. The Sphinx dies hard and the riddle of figures does not only confound the issue, but makes the remedy elusive. It is indeed surprising that the States Food Ministers' Conference, held at New Delhi on 8th and 9th January, could not reach a definite conclusion as to the real needs of the country for food. While the deficit States continued to pitch their demand for supplies at high levels, the surplus States were reluctant to disclose the true position of their surpluses. Pandit Nehru and Mr. Kidwai, however, observed that the food position now was not so bad as that of last year. The confusion regarding food position has been worse confounded with the publication of the conclusions of the National Sample Survey conducted by the Indian Statistical Institute. The N. S. S. has reached the startling conclusion that in the official estimates of internal production of food-grains, there is a discrepancy of anything between 12 and 16 million tons. The discrepancy figure is three or four times higher than the food which is generally imported by India. In 1951, India imported 4.7 million tons of food-grains and in 1952, up to September, she imported 3.7 million tons and 16,000 tons were due to be imported in the same year. The official figures estimated the domestic output for 1949-50 at 44 to 48 million tons, whereas the N.S.S. places it as high as 60 million tons. The work of verifying food statistics was entrusted to the I.S.I., at the head of which there is an acknowledged authority on statistics. It is reported that the Planning Commission as well as the Finance Minister did not support the conclusion. It is unpleasant enough that after expending on this work large sums, time and energy, we are told that its findings are not reliable and no better than official estimates. At the States Food Ministers' Conference, the absurdity of some of the States Ministers' estimates of surplus and deficit were exposed by Mr. Kidwai and Mr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Minister for Agriculture. Although Assam and Bihar have a good rice crop, they demand higher supply of rice from the Centre. In 1952, Assam imported only 18,000 tons, but in 1953, she wants 30,000 tons. Bihar imported last year 12,000 tons, but for 1953 she wants an allocation of 47,000 tons. In 1952, Bombay distributed 2.74 lakh tons of rice, of which 1.55 lakh tons were locally procured. In 1953, Bombay expects to procure 1.25 lakh tons and it has a stock of 1.1 lakh tons. Its requirements should not be more than 60,000 tons this year But it has demanded two lakh tons. It may be pointed out that last year, forward promises of grain by surplus States to the Centre amounted to 3.7 lakh tons, but the actual offers were 5.5 lakh tons. Deficit States demanded last year 7.1 million tons but got on well with an allocation of 3.9 million tons. This large difference between the actuals and the estimated requirements indicates that, while preparing their estimates, the States were completely ignoring the actuals of the previous years.

Presumably, the States exaggerate their requirements because of the apprehension that if they disclose to the Centre their real position, they may be in difficulties subsequently, if something were to happen to upset their earier estimates. But they should remember that such exaggerated estimates conceal the real nature of food deficits in the country and unnecessarily cause larger quantity of grain to be imported. The Centre is always ready to help the deficit States whenever they are in real difficulty and it is quite proper that the States should give up the practice of exaggerating their estimates.

Now coming to the National Sample Survey, we must state that it must be regarded as the first serious attempt at providing an accurate picture of the living standards in this country. The scheme refers to the period October 1950 to March 1951. It is perhaps the biggest and the most comprehensive enquiry undertaken in any country in the world and it was approved by the Government of India early in 1950. The results have been obtained by the adoption of the sampling method which is simple and accurate provided, of course, the workers are conscientious and diligent. The Survey makes a comprehensive investigation of six regions in India, namely, North India, East India, South India, West India, Central India, and North-west India.

The reported discountenance of the National Sample Survey's conclusion as to the surplus output of food-grains, by the Planning Commission and the Finance Minister, will make the people in this country ask—where lies the truth? Mere conjecture is not helpful and one may reasonably enquire about the data and the facts relying on which the Planning Commission rejects the conclusions of the N.S.S. In a matter of applied economics, such as this, the Commission must prove satisfactorily that its data are superior to those of the N. S. S. and its method of investigation is more realistic.

Relief Measures in East U.P.

The eastern districts of U.P. were ravaged by floods in 1948 and 1950 which were followed by a long spell of drought from September to December, 1950. In 1951 also rainfall was abnormally low resulting in widespread damage to *kharif* crop and paddy. The districts affected were Basti, Gonda, Bahraich, Mirzapur, Banaras, Deoria, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh.

The *Leader* of January 5 writes that the U. P. Government undertook varied and numerous relief measures to alleviate the sufferings of the people.

From May, 1951 to November 15, 1952, more than 45 lakh maunds of food-grains were distributed at subsidised rates under the Austerity Provisioning scheme. The total expenditure on this account was one crore of rupees and the number of people benefited 93,71,688. Government sanctioned remissions in rent to the extent of Rs. 90,49,000 and Rs. 26,16,000 in revenue. A sum of Rs. 81,59,300 was distributed as *takavi* for *kachcha* wells, purchase of bullocks and seed, etc., and, in addition, a sum of Rs. 19,30,000 was also sanctioned for advances to relieve distress and enable people to live up till the harvesting of the *kharif* crops. Rupees 66 lakhs were sanctioned for test and relief works. Government also sanctioned amounts totalling Rs. 11,00,000 for distribution of gratuitous relief in cash or in the form of food-grains to old and infirm people and destitutes, who were unable to work and who had no relations able to help or support them. Government also arranged for grazing and supply of hay from Government forests for the well-being of the cattle of the affected area. In some cases of extreme scarcity Government threw open their forests for free grazing of cattle and facilities were granted in respect of use of certain forest produce for bonafide domestic use.

Other relief measures included free distribution of about 92 bales of cloth and fee concessions in schools on an increased scale. Supplementary food aid in the form of skimmed milk powder and vitamin tablets was also given from the stocks provided by the State Government and Red Cross.

Famine in Maharashtra

The situation in Maharashtra is very grave. *The Bombay Chronicle* of January 1, quotes Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Chairman of the Maharashtra Central Famine Relief Committee, as saying that both the *kharif* and *rabi* crops in the affected areas have been almost lost. Owing to acute shortage of drinking water at many places, a large number of people have deserted their villages. The paper reported on December 31, 1952, that it was officially conceded that the *rabi* crop had been practically a total failure in seven out of eleven Talukas in Sholapur district. It has been estimated 70,000 cattle had either migrated from this area or are dead. The Maharashtra Central Famine Relief Committee demanded on January 11 that the Government should declare famine in the distressed areas of Maharashtra. "Prof. Gadgil stated that so far the Government had declared scarcity in about three thousand villages with a population of about 30 lakhs. Under the Famine Code, the Government would have to provide employment to 15 per cent of these people."

Sri S. V. Ramamurthi, Chairman of the Central Commission, investigating famine conditions in the Bombay-Deccan said on December 30, at Poona that during the last thirty years, Sholapur had been visited by famine on ten occasions, Bijapur and Panchmahals on eight occasions and Ahmednagar and Poona five times. He expressed the opinion that implementation of irrigation works including tanks and weirs and contour-bunding were the only remedies to prevent chronic famine conditions in Maharashtra.

According to the Poona correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle,* the relief measures started by the Government are inadequate to cope with the serious situation. He reported that the grave situation in Maharashtra dominated the proceedings of the first general meeting of the newly constituted Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee. The debate on the resolution moved by Sri N. V. Gadgil, regarding the famine conditions, writes the correspondent, "showed the deep feeling of dissatisfaction of a large majority in the Maharashtra Congress, against the inadequate relief measures so far undertaken by the State Government. Even Mr. Gadgil had to concede that there was an impression that more could have been done and that too earlier, by the State Government."

"Mr. L. M. Patil, a former Minister in the State Cabinet, complained that the famine situation in Maharashtra was not being handled with the promptness with which a similar situation in Gujarat was met last year."

The correspondent adds that "the tour of the Union Agriculture Minister, Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, in the famine-affected areas of Maharashtra, has had a sort of reassuring effect on the otherwise exasperated public feeling in the province. It seems that the visit of the Central Famine Inquiry Committee to inquire into the conditions of the famine areas in Maharashtra is also responsible for a feeling of thankfulness towards the Centre. Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh has given a public assurance that the Central aid would be on the lines and to the extent, that it was given in Rayalaseema." (*Bombay Chronicle,* January 1, 1953).

State Control on Tea

In recent years the Indian tea industry has been facing a crisis due to growing competition from outside, for deteriorating quality, and for higher prices. With a view to controlling the tea industry, the Government of India recently introduced in the House of the

People the Tea Bill. The Bill provides for the control by the Union Government of the tea industry, and for that purpose to establish a Tea Board and levy a customs duty on tea exported from India. The Bill seeks to broaden the basis of representation on the Tea Board and to widen its functions. The enlarged scope of the new Board's activities will, in terms of the Bill, include : (1) Regulation and Control of the sale of tea for internal consumption or export, whether by auctions or otherwise ; (2) Control over the quality of tea and the issue of licences to engage in blending and (3) Promotion of the adoption of measures for increasing the productivity of labour, including measures for securing safer and better working conditions and the provision and improvement of amenities and incentive to workers. The details relating to the basis on which export rights will accrue to the tea estates, are, however, left to be prescribed by rules under the proposed statute.

While introducing the Bill in the House of the People, the Union Commerce Minister discussed the need for effective propaganda for Indian tea. He said that the "Government are not satisfied with the propaganda that is carried on for tea, either internally or abroad." Since India has withdrawn from the International Tea Market Expansion Board, it is now necessary for the Indian tea organizations to organise and direct international propaganda. The new Tea Board will be expected to undertake this responsibility and build up an efficient publicity organisation. The essential defect in the present propaganda arrangements, according to the Commerce Minister, is that they have "no relation to the sale of tea in the internal market and the propaganda organisation." This defect should certainly be remedied. Though there is no specific mention in the new Bill that the Board will be taking over the control of internal sales, the Board may be invested with powers to control internal marketing of tea. As regards the possible powers of the Board to control the internal market, there might be some opposition from the trading concerns. Some such enactment is long over-due and will be a step in the right direction.

Another important function of the Board will be to control the quality of tea and to license blending. It will also fix grade standards and provide training in tea testing. Registration and licensing of manufacturers, brokers and tea-waste dealers and regulation of sales and auctions are part of the functions of the Board. Under the proposed Act, no one will be permitted to plant tea on any land not planted with tea on the date of commencement of this enactment, without the permission of the Tea Board in writing.

Rare Earth Processing Factory

"Sublime (power) is in a grain of dust," says the *Kathoponishad*. And science proves that the mightiest power lies hidden in the sand. On 24th December, 1952, the Rare Earth's Factory at Alwaye, was formally inaugurated by India's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Rare Earths, Ltd., Alwaye, was formed in September 1950, following the deliberations of a committee set up by the Government of India in July, 1949, "for administering a company to be formed for processing certain minerals." The subscribed capital of the Company, originally fixed at Rs. 50 lakhs, has now been raised to Rs. 80 lakhs. This capital has been subscribed by the Government of India and the Travancore-Cochin Government in the proportion of 55 :45. The factory started production in July 1952. Monazite is a valuable radio-active mineral found extensively in the coastal sands of Travancore-Cochin. It is the source of thorium. Thorium, a radio-active element and possible source of atomic energy, will be the main product of monazite processing. The mineral is separated from the sands in Chevara, near Quilon and then brought to Alwaye for extraction of many rare elements.

The monazite products and bye-products are used in manufacture of gas mantles, misch metal, cigarette lighter flints, special optical glasses, aerial camera lenses, cinema projector, carbon arcs, special alloys for jet engines and nodular cast iron, in the enamelling of steel and iron, in polishing of optical glasses, for Kier boiling in textile mills ; for internal cleaning of boilers ; and for general cleaning purposes in factories, workshops, hospitals and hotels. Its bye-product, caustic lye, is used in soap manufacture.

The factory's capacity is for processing 1,500 tons of monazite sand or 1,150 tons of carbonates. Normally, it will produce 1,000 tons of chlorides and 450 tons of carbonates. The bye-products of the factory will be between 1,500 tons and 1,800 tons of crystalline trisodium phosphate and 900,000 gallons of caustic soda lye in 10 to 12 per cent solution. The residue will be treated by a factory being set up by the Atomic Energy Commission for the production of uranium and thorium compounds. The residue, when suitably treated is expected to yield 205 to 228 tons of thorium nitrate, provided all the thorium is converted into nitrate.

The Indian Atomic Energy Commission had drawn up a plan for the development of atomic energy during the next four years and the Government of India had approved the plan. The Atomic Energy Act, recently passed by the Indian Parliament, is designed to control the development of rare earths and the minerals, etc., connected with it. It would be quite impossible for the Atomic Energy Commission to function if private or sectional interests were free to do what they liked with these valuable materials.

The Indian Rare Earths Limited Company is managed by a Board of Directors consisting of three nominees of the Government of India, two nominees of the Government of Travancore-Cochin, an industrialist and a leading scientist.

onazite is a valuable mineral sand formed by a of erosion and disintegration of the rocks in ardmon and Nilgiri Hills; fragments of these get broken, disintegrated and converted into s types of sand which are washed out into the r the rains. Due to the peculiar force of sea ts along this coast some of these sands are swept and deposited on the beaches at high monsoon. g this process of deposition the sea separates one f sand from the other.

ie occurrence of monazite in these coastal sands st discovered by a German chemist, Mr. C. W. berg, in 1909 and was later investigated by the gical Survey of India. About 50,000 tons of ites were separated and exported to various ies of Europe and also to the United States of ca between 1910 and 1948 when the Government lia banned its export in view of its importance ource of atomic energy.

ive the Spirit of Swadeshi"

ndit Sundarlal writes in the *Harijan* of y 10:

Our country is passing through no less a crisis t did in the latter days of the East India Com- In some ways the crisis today is even greater, w we are much weaker after a century of foreign . . . Industries which successfully stood the of foreign rule for over a century are now in of becoming extinct."

ie handloom industry supports very nearly es of our country's population. But the situation ing in that industry is very grave. About fifty of people connected with the industry were unemployment and starvation in Madras. In similarly, three hundred thousand weavers sup- a population of not less than four million of women and children were facing starvation.

'or two thousand years, *i.e.*, since the days of Banaras has been famous for its silk indus- . . Banaras gold work is a synonym for y. . . . Even during the 150 years of British his industry of Banaras remained a flourishing y all through. But now out of the 5,000 hand- employed in this work very nearly 4,000 are idle." Some of the skilled artisans have been to take to other occupations, such as rickshaw- ; while others have migrated to cities like y. Those still living in Banaras can have food nce in two or three days.

the writer's opinion, the Government of India's has been at least partly responsible for the on. While the Government permitted free entry is country of "silk *saris* or silk or silk-like cloth actured in U. S. A. which can be easily ted into *saris*, quite resembling Banaras *saris*," ave imposed heavy import duties on the import of silk yarn which the weavers of Banaras used in their trade, from China and Japan. The Government have actually banned the import during the latter half of 1952. Consequently, the cost of production of Banaras silk *saris* has greatly gone up enabling the American manufacturer easily to undersell the indigenous handloom weaver in the open market. "The result is," the writer says, "the utter collapse of our ancient Banaras silk industry."

"The Government," continues Pandit Sundarlal, "have neither accepted Rajaji's reasonable suggestion that 'the textile mills should be asked not to weave *dhotis* and *saris* of yarn up to a particular count and that this work should be reserved for handlooms', presumably because acceptance of Rajaji's suggestion may have meant some fall in the, already by no means low, profits of some of our textile mills."

As remedy he suggests that "the Government should give full protection to the country's handloom and other cottage industries as against mill industries both Indian and foreign, to remove all obstacles from the path of their development like duties or restrictions on the entry of silk yarn, and to ban the entry into this country of all competing consumer goods from foreign countries."

The Bombay Chronicle reported on December 31, 1952, that a permanent organisation called "The Swadeshi League" had been formed on December 29 at the office of the Indian Merchants' Chamber.

The Science Congress

The presidential address of Dr. D. M. Bose, Director of the Bose Institute, Calcutta, before the 40th Session of the Indian Science Congress at Lucknow, was not only remarkable for its erudition but also for the wide scope of its survey. Scientists these days, in their single-minded specialization, tend more and more to lose sight of the sources. The old term "Natural Philosophy" signified a good deal more than what the average scientist comprehends to be the scope of his labours and thoughts. It meant a catholicity of vision and a discipline that embraced all the basic concrete truths of life and civilization.

Dr. Bose did well to focus the light on the human problems of today in the first part of his speech. We have pleasure in presenting the following extracts from the same:

"We are passing through a critical period of transition in Asia. The two ancient civilizations of China and India have during the period of the last three thousand years or more of their chequered histories, maintained their own highly individualistic forms of civilization. These two countries which had in the past extensive cultural contacts, are now, under the impact of Western political ideas, science and technology rapidly passing through stages of transitions, whose outcome will be objects of deep interest

to the students of civilization. Each civilization develops its own cultural pattern or overall design which is peculiarly its own. Innumberable cultural traits and techniques are the outward expressions of the overall plan of this civilization. They are the bricks with which the latter is built up. For example, the civilization which is specifically characteristic of western Europe and North America has found expression in certain religious forms, ethical beliefs, liberal democracy and system of education. In addition, certain technical inventions like rail roads, automobiles, telegraphs, radio, etc., have been developed. These inventions, scientific method, parliamentary Government and other social institution, etc., have been adopted by other cultural groups. The question arises whether by such adaptations the specific cultural pattern of the borrowing civilization is altered. According to Spengler, this is not possible, as each civilization is like an individual organism, with a soul like a nomad impermeable to other cultural influences, and also like an individual, a civilization is subject to fixed laws of development and decay. An alternative and more reasonable interpretation would be that a civilization is like a species consisting of a constantly renewed population of individuals, each of which passes through its own phase of development and decay. Some of the species possess enough potentiality for variation that it can adjust itself to altered environmental conditions. The mechanism of social genetics by which continuity and changes are secured in social groups have considerable advantage over the mechanism of biological genetics. It can utilize foresight and planning, and will thus on the whole have adaptive bias. Thus a civilization can, if it possess latent powers, adapt itself more quickly to changes of environment than a biological species.

"The question which is of intense interest to us at present is, whether under the compulsion of increasing internal economic difficulties and threats of external competition and possibility of foreign interference, the *ad hoc* adaptation by us of western scientific methods and technology and political institutions, will enable us to break up the accumulated crust of inhibiting social customs and traditions, and to reshape our civilization to a form better suited to find its place in a world situation of increasing difficulty and complexity.

"In this connection it is interesting to study the various stages in the development of the Western civilization, particularly of its scientific thought and technology from its Graeco-Roman origins, and to discover at what analogous stage of development th Indian civilization finds itself at present. Such comparative study may be useful to us in consciously directing our cultural activities."

After giving a survey of the development of the *Western civilization,* he turned to the Indian scene, *drawing parallels as regards similarities* between the two. He ended up with the British period and in conclusion described the following three of the legacies of British rule :

"(*i*) The introduction of English as medium of instruction, its use in law courts, and in the legislatures. English has become a medium of communication amongst the rapidly growing section of educated people in this country, as well as a channel for the reception and communication of ideas with the external world. Use of a foreign language for such purposes is not a new innovation. I have mentioned the growth of a bilingual Graeco-Roman culture in the Mediterranean basin during the first three centuries of the Christian era. The use of Latin in medieval Europe as well as in post-Renaissance Europe became a common medium for interchange of ideas amongst the multilingual peoples of the West. In the 17th century, Descartes, Huyghen, Newton, Leibnitz all wrote their treatises in Latin. Scientists in this country view with some apprehension all premature attempts to replace English as a medium for teaching of advanced sciences and for communication of results of scientific investigations, by one of the Indian languages. There is enough scope for the popularisation of science and the writing of science text-books suited for schools. In Bengal, we have a record of good science writing by men like Akshoy Kumar Dutt, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Profulla Chandra Roy, Rabindranath Tagore. All of them were not scientists by profession, but they were all masters of Bengali prose. Flexibility in the expression of fine shades of meaning, and precision of expression are matters of slow growth in a language. Scientists in India should not be hampered in the communication of the results of their investigations by having to make additional efforts to express them in a language not fully equipped for such purposes.

"The second legacy we received through the British, was the Western belief in the possibility of the human intellect to unravel the secrets of nature and to utilize such knowledge for the amelioration of human beings. This is the Baconian attitude, that science is not only knowledge of nature, but also power over nature. This knowledge of nature is based upon a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts. The Government and people of this country are engaged since 1947 in a struggle to tackle such irreducible and stubborn facts of our existence, resulting from an increasing rate of population growth which threaten to outstrip our rate of food production, and of capital and consumer goods. Our Prime Minister is a firm believer in the utility of application of science and technology for solving the problems facing us. This attitude towards nature represents a decisive break away from that prevailing during our early Middle ages, that the golden age has passed and in the Kaliyuga all we can do is to admire the past and

bear resignedly the misfortunes, fate has decreed for us.

"We all realize the dilemma of science which was the topic of Prof. A. V. Hill's address before the last Belfast meeting of the British Association. But as has been remarked, we can do only one thing at a time, and our present problem is to narrow the gap between rate of increase of population and that of production of consumer goods. That the problem of population control is engaging the serious attention of the Union Government is shown by the speech delivered by the Vice-President of the Indian Union before a recent conference in Bombay.

"The third legacy of the British rule is our initiation into the principles of democratic government, of the variety known as liberal or empirical democracy. Our political leaders have been nurtured in the writings of Bentham, Burke, John Stuart Mill and of the pioneers of the idea of Welfare State, like the Webbs, Pigou, Keynes and Beveridge. These liberal democratic principles of a Welfare State have been incorporated in our constitution. But as has been pointed by President Connant of the Harvard University, that democracy can only be successful when it is based on a hard core of common agreements, superposed on which a large degree of individual differences of opinion may exist. We have to ask ourselves whether, in the midst of a welter of political parties, with their slogans, this hard core of common agreements has been found and given adherence to."

Conquest of the Desert

We have received the following reclame from *India and Israel.*

"One of the most crucial problems facing the world will be dramatized when the first international fair to be held in Israel opens next July in Jerusalem.

The problem : hunger. "To feed the world's population properly," Lord Boyd Orr, former Director of the United Nations World Food Organisation, has said, "we shall have to double our food production by 1965." The problem has been stated in even grimmer terms by Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, noted American soil conservation expert who said : "Civilization is running a race with famine and the outcome is still in doubt."

The area of cultivated land in the world is static or receding. Productivity is declining and in many countries there has been a drift of population from the farms to the cities. With no new continents to absorb the world's expanding population, the nations must revive soil long dead.

Therefore, the Government of Israel, one of the few countries in the world whose farm productivity is increasing rapidly, has scheduled an international fair and exhibition entitled "The Conquest of the Desert" for July 16th through August 17th.

The first international exhibition devoted to the problems of reclaiming neglected, semi-arid and arid regions for civilization, the fair will show the achievements of various countries in their struggles with the desert, enable the foremost scientists in the field of soil conservation to exchange views and give governments and private firms the opportunity to demonstrate new methods of irrigation, rationalized agricultural production and processing and farm colonization.

Thus far thirty nations and hundreds of private firms have responded affirmatively to Israel's invitation to participate in the unique undertaking, which will take place in the new 94 ft. high Binyaney Haooma convention centre, a few minutes ride from the centre of Jerusalem. Among the participating nations are Belgium, Britain, France, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, a number of Latin-American states and through various governmental departments, the United States.

Exhibits will include everything from huge irrigation trench digging machinery through prize cattle to prefabricated homes especially designed for farm pioneers. Reclamation efforts in vastly differing areas, ranging from irrigation projects to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan through afforestation work in Cyprus to the Dutch accomplishments in wresting land from the sea, will also be shown.

Israel, in the past, present and future will be depicted in one of the Israeli Exhibits. On the basis of archaeological excavations as well as Biblical references, the exhibit will reproduce the culture, economy and daily life of the Hebrew kingdom in the era of David and Solomon some three thousand years ago. It will also show what happened to the soil of Israel over long centuries of neglect, will illustrate the reclamation of the land during the past fifty years of pioneering and will disclose further plans for agricultural development of land which is now barren.

An equally unusual exhibit will be that of the Army of Israel whose conscripts must spend nine months out of their 2½ years of compulsory service in agricultural training. The accomplishments of Army-maintained settlements on rocky, neglected land along Israel's borders will be displayed.

Each of the participating nations has been asked to submit the best of its documentary films on reclamation for use in an international film festival to be held simultaneously with the fair. In addition, a conference of scientists or the engineering and sciological aspects of the land reclamation will be held.

In addition to UNESCO, the following United Nations agencies have also decided to participate in the Exhibition : The Food and Agricultural Organisation, the World Health Organisation and the International Labour Office."

We have a very serious desert problem of our own. Why then do we not find the name of India on the list of participants ?

We are sending abroad whole hosts of officially sponsored excursionists who get free holidays at the cost of the taxpayer. Could we not send just one or two officials to this exhibition ?

Conditions for Progress of Carnatic Music

Sri M. Patanjali Shastri, Chief Justice of India, made a few remarks upon what he conceived to be shortcomings in the musical performances given from time to time. He was presiding over a meeting of the Indian Fine Arts Society at Madras. Sri Shastri told the gathering that sometimes it was insisted that the ancient Gurukula traditions and standards set by the well-known trio (Tyagaraja, Dikshitsar and Shyama Shastri) of the musical world should be maintained in all their pristine purity. In his view, "While it was desirable to maintain standards it must also be recognised that music had to subserve the needs of public enjoyment. Music was no longer a privilege to be enjoyed by a few sitting in their drawing rooms or a king in his court ; music had to come down from its ivory tower and must attempt to cater to the wide public" (*Hindu,* Jan. 4). He urged, some modification of the old standards and traditions should also be attempted to make music enjoyable to the public at large. He added, "This is not to say musical standards should be debased; but I think it is by no means inexcusable to add a little alloy to pure metal so as to make it circulate among the more numerous devotees of our new public."

He deprecated the tendency of most of the Vidwans who "did not travel beyond a dozen of the known *ragas* and that the repertoire was the same consisting of Todi, Sankharabharanam, Kalyani, etc., so much so that there was a danger of these concerts becoming stale. Our Vidwans should also attempt to invent new patterns and new forms of musical expressions. Out of the 72 Mela Karta *ragas,* innumerable combinations were possible and it was not in the interest of music, both as an art and as a science, to regard what Tyagaraja or Dikshitsar or Shyama Sastri had said as the last word . . ." As a further measure of development Sri Patanjali Shastri suggested a synthesis between the Hindusthani and Carnatic systems of music. The musicians should also try to understand correctly the meaning of the songs they rendered. Unless the Sahitya was understood, it was not possible to get the best out of a musician. Lastly, he stressed upon the musicians the need for a proper voice-culture. The musicians of the South had much to learn from their counterpart in the North in this respect.

But the North and the West, in our opinion, is taking a course which in its turn is bound to debase and destroy the very foundations of Indian music. There is an widespread attempt to introduce not only *"jazz" rhythm and melodies in our music* but also the basic *motif* of animal passions which is a characteristic of cheap and vulgar varieties of Western "crazy" music. This has been rightly condemned by the Nawab of Rampur.

Mau Mau—Answer to No No

The *World Interpreter* summarises the Kenya situation as follows:

"Terrorism by the native Mau Mau secret society in Kenya Colony, directed not only against whites but non-co-operating Africans, has a twofold cause. First : ever since whites or "Europeans" began to settle at the turn of the century, the colony has experienced the worst kind of raw imperialism. Second : the honest, if blundering, efforts to remedy wrongs and give the natives a better life have been "too little and too late."

In 1900, Kenya had few white settlers. The white population has mushroomed until today it numbers nearly 38,000, as compared to 123,000 Indians, 24,000 Arabs—and 5,450,000 native Africans. Many white settlers came because they were poor, and by no means have all waxed rich. The 2,000 white farmers live well, even luxuriously according to native standards, but are hampered by bad roads and poor communications which make them nervous amid so many blacks—a fact which has led them to retain power by coercion rather than by winning the native population.

Crux of the Kenya crisis is land. Until the settlers came, the native tribes held much of their land in common. The whites, under the Protectorate established in 1895, declared the land government-owned. They paid the natives nothing for it, except in some cases for buildings and standing crops. In this way, the whites gradually got control of 16,700 square miles—an area as large as Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined. In this vast region, natives are not allowed to own any land, although they can barely sustain themselves on the poorer soil which has been left to them.

Politically, the Africans have no power. There is a Legislative Council, consisting of 42 Europeans, six Africans, six Indians, and two Arabs. Not even the educated and property-owning native Africans are allowed to vote ; their representatives on the Council are selected by the Europeans through the British governor. Offenses by blacks against whites are far more drastically punished than those by whites against blacks. Forced labor existed until 1946. Kenya Africans fought during World War II in Burma, but the returning soldiers' pleas for a better status were ignored.

However, a 10-year development plan was outlined in 1946, but so inadequate and halting was it that *The Economist* said of it on August 24th of that year : "If this plan is carried out as it stands there is little prospect for the Africans of a reasonable ration of that most essential of all commodities—hope." The British Colonial Office did start a long-term scheme for improved native education, with plans for three training centres for African women teachers. To be effective fast enough, all such efforts should have been made 25 years before.

A curious race for the spreading of two contradictory methods in Kenya took place during 1950 and 1951. Even previously, Russia had invited Kenya "witchcraft doctors" (not invariably as primitive as might be supposed) to Moscow for indoctrination, returning them on satellite ships. The U.S.S.R, also, issued a dictionary of the Swahili language, widely spoken by natives from the Red Sea southward in East Africa. In contrast, Shri Kaka Kalelkar, a Gandhi disciple, visited Kenya native tribes, urged them to non-violence as a means of struggle, and helped publish a life of Gandhi in the Luganda tongue, for neighboring Uganda, with a hope of a Swahili edition later. An Indo-African Society was established at Nairobi, Kenya, to publish books by Indian leaders in African languages.

There are fine people in Kenya, on both sides of the color barrier. Some of them have held inter-racial meetings to plan for closer friendship and equalization of social conditions. Missionaries in the native Reserve have built schools and set a model for the abandonment of white supremacy. The Kenya African Congress has been petitioning the British Government, with much help from white Englishmen, for an orderly redress of grievances. But when Congress leaders at London finally got through to Minister of State for Colonial Affairs Lennox-Boyd, they received a negative rebuff. The Mau Mau outbreaks followed.

Thousands of suspected Mau Mau members have been arrested, native informers have been sought (without much success) and the primitive, hungry natives, of the Kikuyu tribe in particular, know only that the white masters are powerful, but can be frightened. The segregated African in the cities, in his tin-walled, mud-roofed hut, fears violence, even on his own behalf, but progress comes at a snail's pace.

The man most feared by frightened whites appears to be the Kikuyu chief, Jomo Kenyatta, adored by his own people, less popular with other tribes. Kenyatta spent time in England, was befriended by the late C. F. Andrews, stayed for a while at a Quaker school. He is a mixture of idealism and ostentatiousness. And he is now in jail. A friend of Worldover Press who interviewed him in Kenya before his arrest, writes that he resembles both a swashbuckling pirate and a Tolstoi. That combination is not confined to Jomo Kenyatta of the Kikuyus; it uncomfortably symbolizes the ideas and policies of the Kenya whites."

It is against this back-ground that we have to judge the following bit of news that came through on Jan. 26:

Jomo Kenyatta told the court trying him for managing the Mau Mau society: "I have no room in my heart for violence."

British lawyer D. N. Pritt had suggested there was no case and the Magistrate said last week that the trial of Kenyatta and five others must continue and the defence submission "wholly fails."

Mr. Thacker ruled that the *prosecution had* made out a case against all the accused on each of the charges sufficient to require them to make a defence.

Kenyatta and the other accused, who listened intently to Mr. Thacker's ruling, were then ordered to stand in the dock—for the first time since they were originally charged before the Magistrate two and a half months ago.

To each in turn, Mr. Thacker read out the charges anew—Kenyatta with "managing" and being a member of the Mau Mau society, and the others with "assisting in the management" of the society and membership.

Kenyatta—who, it is said, is revered as a God by thousands of his Kikuyu tribesmen—tilted his bearded chin forward and stared intently at the Magistrate as he heard the charges.

Then speaking in his defence Kenyatta gave the story of his political life, and some of his beliefs and ideas of what is bad and evil in the British colony today.

On two separate occasions Mr. Thacker cut off the flow of Kenyatta's words and announced he considered the African leader was making a speech and not merely replying to questions.

Kenyatta waved his arm, bowed his massive head, apologised and said: "Please stop me. Sometimes I do not realise I am doing it."

Kenyatta told the court that many White settlers in Kenya believed him to be a "horrible man" who went round with a pistol in his pocket and an assegai (African spear) in his hand.

Sweeping the crowded public part of the court with his eyes and with a half smile on his lips, Kenyatta added; "I am just an ordinary man fighting for my people without necessarily hating anybody at all".

Kenyatta gave a detailed explanation of the constitution and aims of the Kenya African Union, of which he is President.

The Crown has alleged that Mau Mau is a military wing of the Union. But Kenyatta said the Union was a democratic body which did not believe in violence.

"We believe in negotiation by constitutional means through discussions and representation to convince other people and the Government if there is injustice," he declared.

With his voice rising slightly, Kenyatta explained: "We believe the racial barrier is one of the most diabolical things we have in this colony because we see no reason why all races in this country should not work harmoniously together without any discrimination.

"We believe that people of good-will should work together, and they can eliminate that evil.

"We think racial discrimination is evil because God did not discriminate when he put people in this world—he put us in this world to be happy and enjoy the gifts of Nature."

And, likewise, this outburst from a British paper should be viewed in the same perspective.

Time and Tide, January 10, writes of events in Kenya:

"No one can regard the Kenya situation with

complacency. The attack on two women in the sitting-room of their farm which was defeated by their coolness and valour was symptomatic of the violence and treachery which all the high-sounding claims for political emancipation and economic advancement cannot mask. So, too, was the murder of a loyal Kikuyu chief in hospital.

"It is as well to realize that half-measures are unlikely to defeat the Mau Mau and restore law and order and civilian security. It was salutary in this connection to note the firm and sensible remarks made by Mr. Attlee in Delhi."

Malaya

The *Spectator* (January 9), commenting on the war in Malaya, says that for General Templer in the campaign against Communist terrorism "the shooting war is only the first round, and while he fights with a growing measure of success, he and his colleagues press on with the battle for the hearts and the minds of the people.

"This, too, is going well; it is not only in the field that the Communists are being worsted. Problems of resettlement, health and education are getting the priority they deserve, and the task of bringing peace and unity back to Malaya, which once looked hopeless, is now no longer even in the thankless category."

But the basic problem is the discontentment and resentment of the Chinese and the Indians, who form 52 per cent of the population. They built the Malaya of today and they are denied all rights.

Britain and Burma

The following communique was issued on Saturday, January 10, by the British Government in London and by the Burmese Government in Rangoon:

"The defence agreement between the Governmets of the Union of Burma and the United Kingdom generally known as the Let Ya-Freeman Agreement which was signed in Rangoon on August 29, 1947, provides that after the initial period of three years from the date of the independence of Burma it will be subject to termination by 12 months' notice on either side.

"As a result of experience gained by both Governments concerned from the operation of the Agreement during the past five years, negotiations are being undertaken by the two Governments for the purpose of entering into a fresh agreement.

"The existing Agreement will, therefore, run for a further maximum period of 12 months from January 4, 1953, well before the end of which it is hoped that the negotiations will be completed."

The details of the fresh agreement, when that is ready, should prove of great interest to India and Pakistan.

Nalini Ranjan Sarker

On Sunday, January 25, the political and economic *arena of West Bengal lost one of its* foremost figures.

Nalini Ranjan Sarker was a self-made man in the fullest sense of the term. The history of his life, if ever written in full detail, would show how a grim determination to advance in life enabled him to overcome handicaps that would have been considered insuperable by most. Poverty, a very modest education, a total absence of favourable circumstances, these were a few of them. Indeed he met with vicissitudes at the very start of his life that would have broken the spirit of a less indomitable person. But nothing deterred him because he was not willing to let any consideration to stand in the way of his ambition.

He entered the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, of which he was President up to 1947, as a very minor employee, on the first step on his ascent to position of eminence in the sphere of economics and politics. Tireless perseverence and a capacity for hard work, coupled with a razor-keen acumen enabled him to rise above all barriers. Nothing deterred him and nothing was of any account with him excepting what was an asset in his battle for advancement.

His political career began as a lieutenant of the late Deshabandhu Das, in whose party he became the chief whip. After the untimely demise of his leader, he became one of the most powerful political figures in the Bengal Congress group.

He became the General Manager of the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society in 1932, which post he held till 1937, when he joined the Bengal Ministry as a Finance Minister. After coming out of the ministry he became its president. In 1934, he was elected President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

His connection with the Bengal Congress group was broken by his acceptance of office under Mr. Fazlul Huq in the Bengal Ministry of 1937. He resigned from that through the War Resolution in December, 1939. But later he became Member of Education, Health and Lands in the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1941. Later he became the Commerce and Food Member, resigning in connection with Mahatmaji's fast in February, 1943.

He became the Finance Minister under Dr. B. C. Roy in the West Bengal Cabinet in January 1948. He did not contest any seat in the 1951-52 elections and gave up his portfolio when Dr. Roy formed the new Ministry in June 1952.

As is usual in men of such exceptional calibre and endless ambition, his personal life was full of contrary traits. But essentially he was humble in spirit, with a readiness to learn and to correct himself at the instance of even his juniors. Ruthless in his ambition, he was yet very loyal to all from whom he had benefited and his consideration to his assistants and helpers was remarkable.

He was always willing to learn and was well aware of his failings and shortcomings. In that respect he was immensely superior to those who have climbed higher in the political firmament of the India of today.

DIRECTIVES OF STATE POLICY

By Prof. IQBAL NARAIN, M.A.

"Directive principles are not such settled and eternal principles which do not change from country to country or from age to age. It almost reads as if the Directive principles are embodied in the Constitution just to give cheap satisfaction to the gullible and the credulous. Can it be said that the list includes all the Directive principles for all time or that all the principles are unquestionably sound and sensible from the practical point of view?"—N. R. Raghavachariar.

The New Constitution of India provides for a Welfare State that is expected to look after, like an impartial mother, to the welfare of all its people without discrimination. To emphasize this role of our infant polity, the Constitution provides for an instrument of instructions in the form of the Directives of State Policy. It is intended to direct the energy of our infant democracy into progressive and national channels. The inclusion of the Directives has been a unique feature in our Constitution. The only parallel to it can be found in the Constitution of the Irish Free State.

Meaning and Nature of Directives

Directives of State Policy, as formulated in the Indian Constitution, set forth a code of ideals before the Indian State to pursue. These ideals deal with socio-economic as well as ethical welfare of the people of India, a welfare which they so badly need at the moment. Directives thus incorporate the real needs of India as ideals of State policy. These ideals, be it also noted, are such as everywhere form the sum and substance of a real democracy.

Directives and Fundamental Rights

Directives come as an emphatic re-assertion of our Fundamental Rights. They demand a realistic approach from our national State to materialize the sum and substance of Fundamental Rights in the actual life of citizens as early as possible. The preamble with which our charter of freedom opens as well as the chapter on the Fundamental Rights in our Constitution recognise people's rights to liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. Directives of State Policy make this the moral duty of the State to establish a social order in which equality, liberty and justice in all spheres of life, social, economic and political, may be possible. The chapter on Fundamental Rights is an exposition of ends, the chapter of Directives, a study of means. If one is the philosophy of good life, the other is its practice.

Scope of Directives

Directives are intended to govern the policies of the Union Government as well as State Governments, including even the activities of such local bodies as the Village Panchayats, Municipal and District Boards, etc.

The term "State", as the opening article of this part suggests, has a dual meaning. In a collective sense it represents the Union Government and the Union Parliament together with the Government and Legislature of each State. And in a more distributive sense it implies even the Village Panchayats, District and Municipal Boards and other local bodies.

Directives thus emphasize that the Government of India as a whole, Union, State and local bodies all combined, are to make a sustained effort to secure the welfare of the people. Institutions, if they want to survive in Free India, must serve. This is the ideal that the Directives set before us.

Enforcement of Directives

Article 37 of our Constitution makes it clear, at the very outset, that the Directive principles, though fundamental in the governance of the country, shall not be enforceable by any law-court in India. It is only a moral duty of the people's representatives forming the Government to abide by the rules of conduct as set forth in the Directives of State Policy.

A Survey of Directives

Article 38 sums up in a comprehensive way the essence of the Directives in the words:

> "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life."

Directives thus aim to secure the welfare of the people through State action. They intend to establish all sorts of democracy, political, social and economic in India, presumably on the principles of "one man, one value."

Directives of State Policy as incorporated in our Constitution may be grouped under the following heads:

(*a*) Directives for economic security
(*b*) Directives for social welfare
(*c*) Directives for justice, education and democracy
(*d*) Directives for preserving ancient relics
(*e*) Directives for international affairs

These can be analysed as follows:

(a) *Directives for Economic Security*: The authors of our Constitution envisage in particular a

democratic economic structure. This is in keeping with the socialistic trend of our times. Articles 39, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47 and 48 chiefly aim to secure economic welfare of the Indian people. They seek to secure in the interests of the common good :

"(1) Adequate means of livelihood, (2) Fair distributions of the ownership and control of the material resources of the community, (3) Prevention of the concentration of wealth and means of production that may be detrimental to the common interest, (4) Equal pay for equal work, both for men and women, (5) Protection of the health and strength of men, women, and children by preventing them from being forced into vocations unsuitable to their age, (6) Employment, (7) Public assistance in the event of unemployment, old age, sickness, disability and other cases of undeserved want, (8) Living wage to secure a decent standard of life, (9) Promotion of cottage industries, (10) Protection of the educational, social and economic interests of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and (11) Prohibition of cow slaughter, preserving and improving the breeds and organizing animal and agricultural husbandry on modern scientific lines."

(b) *Directives for Social Welfare* : Apart from the above economic welfare provisions, the State, as envisaged in the Directives, shall also endeavour to accomplish what is known as social welfare.

For this, the Directives contemplate :

(*i*) Raising the nutrition and the standard of living to improve public health,
(*ii*) Maternity relief, and
(*iii*) Prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs, except for medicinal purpose.

(c) *Directives for Justice, Education and Democracy* : Directives also make provision for securing justice, for spreading education and for breeding democratic sense in the people of India.

For a better securing of justice the Directives contemplate a uniform civil code for the citizens. Separation of judiciary from executive is also stressed.

For quick spreading of education the Directives emphasize in Article 45 of the Constitution that

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

For breeding democratic sense the Directives insist upon the organizing of Village Panchayats as units of self-government. Article 40 of the Act lays down :

"The State shall take steps to organize Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

(d) *Directives for Preserving Ancient Relics* : Directives also contemplate the protection, preservation and maintenance of monuments, places and objects of artistic and historical importance. In this connection *Article 49 of the Constitution* reads as

"It shall be the obligation of the State to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historic interest, declared by Parliament by Law to be of national importance from spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal, or export as the case may be."

(e) *Directives for International Affairs* : The closing Article of the chapter of Directives reads as follows :

Article 51, "The State shall endeavour to—
(*a*) promote international peace and security;
(*b*) maintain just and honourable relations between nations ;
(*c*) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another ; and
(*d*) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

This Article is of fundamental importance. It is in tune with the high moral traditions of the country, its desire for peace, and desistance from power conflict. It is very significant that the principles of international goodwill and world peace have found incorporation in the very text of our Constitution. India thus shall ever disdain imperialism. She shall thus be free to lead the world on the path of peace.

Criticism of Directives

The Directives of State Policy as provided in our Constitution, have been bitterly criticised on the following grounds :

1. It looks so unnatural that a sovereign nation should address to itself these principles. One can understand Directive principles being issued by a Superior Government to an inferior one in the form of ideals to be pursued but it is difficult to see the advisability for a sovereign nation giving directions to itself as this is likely to hinder the free exercise of its Sovereign Rights.

The critics, however, here ignore that Directive Principles shall in no way damage the concept of national sovereignty, as they are not in the nature of commands. The State is not bound by law to adhere to them. If the State does not follow them, no court can compel it to do so. The Indian State thus remains free for the exercise of its sovereign rights in spite of these Directives.

2. The chapter on Directives implies that it embodies in itself some settled and eternal principles which are not likely to change from age to age. But no principles and directions can be regarded as ever useful in the ever-moving wheel of time. In the chapter of Directives there is no room for adjustment to the progressive march of human nature and to the ever-developing needs, aspirations and ideals. Moreover the principles adumbrated as Directives are not unquestionably sound and sensible from the practical point of view. For instance, the Directives regarding prohibition is only a mixed evil. The income lost by the uncertain experiment of prohibition might well be

utilised with greater advantage for the more imperative and urgent works of public utility. Prohibition policy, advocated in our Directives, can at best be a costly failure, which will deprive the Government of a source of bumper income on the one hand and will increase the crimes of illicit distillation and out of the shore smuggling on the other. Thus the critics conclude in the words of Sri N. R. Raghavachari :

> "One is, therefore, disposed to characterise these principles as more political philosophy than practical politics and except as a parade of high sounding sentiments, couched in vain-glorious verbiage, they have little or no appeal to a constitutional critic or a critical constitutionalist."

There is much truth and weight in this criticism. But the Directives are not as useless as the critics of the above school suggest. This will be borne out by the succeeding evaluation of the Directives made under the heading "In Defence of Directives."

3. Critics also contend that the Directive Principles only embody a number of pious wishes or unrealisable dreams. Sampson, for example, writes :

> "Some of the goals enumerated bear little relation to the realities of possible achievement. The most abandoned optimist would have to admit that India has a long and hard road to travel before she can, for example, hope to ensure for her people a decent standard of life with full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities."

The critic here ignores that an ideal alone can inspire the realisation of an ideal. One can ask the critic, "Is progress ever attained by those who fear the challenge of an ideal?" The bare truth is that every political society requires for its progress the objective of a high ideal to attain which it must work and endeavour with youthful vigour. The more alluring and attractive the horizon of human ambitions and ideals and the more difficult it is to achieve, the greater the incentive to work for it. The enunciation of ideals in the chapter of Directives has thus been a salutary means for preparing the Indian State for an onward march.

4. Besides, there are thinkers who say, that the provisions enumerated in the chapter on Directives should have been enforceable by the Courts ; otherwise, their incorporation is useless as they would be honoured more in breach than in adherance. Here again the critics forget that the makers of our Constitution did not ignore the fact that the dynamic forces of time and environment do have a share in the making of State policies. They also recognised that a Government is run more by good faith than by legal maxims. What they intended was to set a pattern of those ideals which were the cry of the hour in India, being warranted both by time and necessity. The Directives were to serve as a standing reminder to the people's representatives of the needs, aspirations and hopes of their own country and countrymen. The Government, being *a custodian and trustee* of the interest of the people and the first servant of the nation, is expected to approximate to these ideals through their sincere efforts. The aim is not to chain the hands and the feet of the future rulers of India but to guide and inspire them for a forward march.

5. Lastly, there are thinkers who regard the insertion of Directives as a superfluous incorporation because the principles enumerated in the Directive are implicit in the policy of a modern democratic State which exists to secure what Aristotle termed as 'good life' to its citizens.

This criticism is in fact more in favour than against the Directives. If Directives embody, and certainly they do so, a programme of action implicit in the very life of a modern democratic State, they do not impose something foreign but only make explicit the implicit essence of democracy and they thus certainly emphasise the democratic role which our infant polity is expected to play. One thing more follows from this criticism that if these principles are natural to democracy, there is nothing unnatural in the hope of their realisation in our democratic State. Sooner or later India can hope to achieve what Directives today suggest.

In Defence of Directives

Directives are in fact meant to safeguard the interest of the Nation which the people's representatives may forget in the swing and heat of party politics. The real reason and justification for the incorporation of Directives is the fear that in the changing fortunes of party Government, which we can envisage in the parliamentary set-up of our country, the party in power may ignore, swayed by some selfish influences, the real needs and aspirations of the Mother Country. But since the Directives are there, the party in power both in the Legislature and forming the Executive shall have to respect the Directive principles. It cannot ignore them for the simple reason that it may not have to answer in a court of law for their breach but certainly before the electorate, people's great tribunal of punishment and reward. A deliberate violation of and contempt for the Directive principles by a party shall have a heavy toll. The representatives of the party who show such an attitude cannot hope to be returned by the electorate to power. Thus Directives are designed as a fetter on the rough-shod riding of a party over the real needs and aspirations of the people.

Besides, Directives are also intended to secure the flow of our national energy in progressive channels even against the whims and caprices of the conservative elements in our society. Even Sampson, a hostile critic of the Directives, has had to admit :

"While the wisdom of including what is tantamount to a political manifesto in a constitutional instrument may be open to question, it should at any rate diminish the possibility of appeal to a rigid constitution as a means of blocking social progress."

CONCENTRATION IN THE LAND-STRUCTURE

Another Indication of West Bengal's Economic Decay

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA

Signs of decay in the structure of land and agriculture are varied and manifold. The most apparent and direct evidence of such decay is, of course, an over-all decline in agricultural yield and non-utilisation of cultivable lands. But there are other deeper signs too. For instance, the relative importance of agriculture in the country's occupation structure is another sign. In all progressive countries of the world, where the secondary and tertiary sectors of the country's economy are vastly developed, agriculture supports an ever-decreasing proportion of the population. If, however, it is found in a country that the secondary and tertiary sectors, while supporting more persons in absolute numbers, are *proportionately* supporting an increasingly smaller percentage and consequently the primary sector has to support an ever-increasing proportion, that is surely a sign of economic regression. Thirdly, the degree of dependence in the occupational structure is another test. But there is also another test. In an expansive and healthy economy, we find that there is a constant tendency for each economic group to improve their position. But if, on the contrary, it is found that the majority of the economic groups is facing continuous economic deterioration while only a small portion is improving their position, that is surely a sign of economic decay and disintegration. The inevitable result of such a process is gradnal pauperisation at one end and gradual concentration of capital at the other. This concentration of capital may either be in the shape of liquid capital and|or in land ownership. This process is not always apparent to a casual observer, but this is none the less a sure test. Judged by *all* these tests, West Bengal is showing signs of economic decay. It is however not possible, without writing anything short of a full-fledged book, to discuss elaborately all these aspects. We shall therefore confine ourselves in the present essay only to the last aspect and here too lack of space will permit us to discuss very briefly the bare points only.

Certain General Indication of Concentration

Before we proceed to analyse the direct evidence of land-ownership, it is necessary to examine certain general indications :

(1) Before examining the trends in agricultural income, let us first examine the trend in over-all income. In the Calcutta Statistical Association Bulletin Vol. 3 No. 10, pp 77-82, Shri S. Sengupta, formerly Deputy Director, Provincial Statistical Bureau, Government of West Bengal, has studied the distribution of Income in India and Bengal from 1922-23 to 1946-47 *with* the help of Pareto Curves. The figures he *arrives at indicate that the disparity of* income has *increased after 1938-39 both in the case* of India and Bengal, but to a greater extent in Bengal than in the rest of India. The usual value of the Pareto constant α is 1.5, which is the slope of the straight line fitted in the logarithms of the incomes (x) and the number of incomes above x (y). The steeper the slope of the line, the more equally is the income distributed and *vice-versa*. Thus a high or a low value of α indicates more equal or less equal distribution of incomes respectively. In the case of India, the values have become gradually lower and lower ; in the case of Bengal they are still lower, thus indicating greater and greater inequality in incomes. The values are given below :

TABLE I

Year	India	Bengal
1923-24	1.47	1.39
1937-38	1.65	1.58
1945-46	1.21	1.06

(2) Aricultural Income Tax figures also confirm the same trend. General income and agricultural income, it is true, depend on various extraneous factors and variations in them are possible through sudden and temporary causes. Unless, therefore, a fairly long period is considered, variations during a short period should not be ordinarily taken as indications of a basic long-term trend. For instance, during the three years following partition, agricultural conditions in West Bengal were disturbed because of natural calamities and other extraneous factors, these resulting in substantial variations in the income accruing to different groups. But if these figures do not indicate the growing trend, *i.e.*, dynamic process, they reveal at least the basic picture. The following figures are therefore given as indications of a static picture, though there are reasons to believe that the changing process also is essentially towards gradually greater concentration :

Table II

Agricultural Income-tax in West Bengal

1949-50

(Compiled from the Administration Report of the Directorate of Agricultural Income-tax 1949-50)

Grades of income	Total income	P.c. to total	No. of assesses	P.c. to total
Up to Rs. 5000	75,72,231	11.6	1908	44.7
Rs. 5000 to Rs. 10000	1,02,63,347	15.7	1496	35.0
Rs. 10001 to Rs. 15000	47,13,622	7.2	363	8.5
Rs. 15001 to Rs. 20000	28,81,798	4.3	135	3.1
Rs. 20001 to Rs. 30000	27,87,173	4.2	106	2.5
Rs. 30001 to Rs. 40000	13,91,153	2.1	51	1.0
Rs. 40001 to Rs. 50000	19,04,604	2.9	58	1.1
Rs. 50001 to Rs. 75000	20,33,881	3.1	36	0.8
Rs. 75001 to Rs. 100000	21,69,801	3.3	23	0.5
Rs. 100001 to Rs. 150000	33,24,449	5.1	27	0.6
Rs. 150001 to Rs. 250000	55,54,358	8.5	28	0.7
Rs. 250001 to Rs. 500000	97,96,237	14.9	27	0.6
Rs. 500001 to Rs. 1000000	50,00,834	7.6	7	0.1
Rs. 1000001 to Rs. 1500000	21,13,754	3.2	2	0.05
Rs. 1500001 and over	41,87,83A	6.3	2	0.05

picture is clear enough. The two lowest
onstitute together 79.7 or nearly 80 per cent
tal number of assesses, whereas they do not
htr 27.3 per cent of the total income. If we
four lowest groups we find that while they
91.3 per cent of the total number of asses-
share of the total income comes to only
cent. At the other end, the four highest
oups constitute only 8 per cent of the total
f assesses, but they own together 29.0 per cent
tal income. This indicates a high degree of
tion.

HE BASIC PATTERN OF LAND-OWNERSHIP

Agricultural Income-tax however does not
huge majority of all our agricultural popu-
ll incomes up to Rs. 3,500 per year being
from taxation, the tax touches the upper
ly. In order to get a clearer picture, we must
examine the direct evidence of land-owner-
Land Revenue Commission gave the follow-
s about the pattern of land-ownership in
Bengal :

TABLE III

ern of Land-ownership according to the Land Revenue Commission, 1940

age of s with	Undivided Bengal	Calculated for West Bengal only
2 acres	46.0 p.c.	41.1 p.c.
res	11.2 „	10.7 „
res	9.4 „	9.6 „
cres	8.0 „	8.8 „
cres	17.0 „	19.7 „
acres	8.4 „	10.1 „
Total	100.0 p.c.	100.0 p.c.

above figures may be conveniently compared
figures for undivided Bengal given in 1946 in
to Plot Agricultural Enumeration Survey,
known as the *Ishaque Report*. These figures
ct the impact of the War, Famine, Desti-
d Inflation and indicate a higher degree of
tion. For facility of comparison, the two sets
, as given in the Land Revenue Commission
nd the Ishaque Report, are given together :

TABLE IV

d ownership according to the L. R. C. Report and Ishaque Report

	L.R.C. Report (Undivided Bengal)	Ishaque Report (Undivided Bengal)
e of families up to 3 acres to total num- families	57.2	76.1
e of families more than 2 f land to total of families	42.8	23.9
Total	*100.0*	100.0

The more detailed figures given in the Ishaque Report reveal a high degree of concentration. According to those figures, the group of landless families and families having only homesteads constitutes 36.4 per cent of the total number of families, but it owns only 1.8 per cent of the total acreage of lands. The next group, in families holding land below one acre comes up to 17.7 per cent of the total number of families and it owns 4.2 per cent of the total acreage. The third group, *i.e.*, families holding land above one and not more than three acres is 22.0 per cent of the total number of families and it owns 10.9 per cent of the total acreage. The next class, *i.e.*, families holding land above 3 acres but not more than 5 acres, constitutes 9.6 per cent of the total number of families and it owns 14.7 per cent of the total acreage. The corresponding figures for the highest group having more than 5 acres per family are 14.3 per cent and 62.4 per cent. The difference between the highest and the lowest group is indeed very high and there is a very high degree of concentration at the total level.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS : EVIDENCE OF FURTHER CONCENTRATION

It will be observed that the Ishaque Report reveals a greater degree of concentration in comparison with the Land Reveneue Commission Report. Though the magnitude of the survey made by the former is not so big as that of the latter, still it reflects sufficiently the progress of differentiation. In fact, this process is not a new thing. Decay has set in long ago in our economic system and has been most strongly reflected in the primary sector. In the *Survey of the After-effects of the Bengal Famine of* 1943, made by Professor Mahalanobis and others, it was remarked : "There is clear evidence to show that economic deterioration on the whole had set in; even in the pre-famine period a comparatively small number of families were improving their economic position while a far larger number were suffering from economic deterioration or destitution. During the Famine period the whole process was greatly accelerated, but the general nature of changes remained much the same. A smaller number of families improved their position while a much larger number were impoverished or rendered destitute. The famine of 1943 was thus not an accident like an earthquake but the culmination of economic changes which were going on even in normal times."

We may now proceed to examine some recent developments in the matter :

(1) *Findings of the Survey of the After-Effects of the Bengal Famine of* 1943 : The Survey found that before the famine, *i.e.*, in April 1934, 36 per cent of all rural families did not possess any paddy land, 41 per cent had only up to 2 acres, 15 per cent had between 2 and 5 acres, and only 8 per cent had above 5 acres of paddy land. There was considerable deterio-

THE EAST BENGAL TRAGEDY

Hindus Ground Down Between Two Millstones

By C. L. R. Sastri

"I never wonder to see men wicked, but I often wonder not to see them ashamed."—*Swift*

A word to fellow-Hindus as well as to their anointed leader, Pandit Nehru, may not, I feel, be quite out of place at the present juncture. My study of politics has taught me that idolatry has seldom payed handsome dividends anywhere—and much less so in our own hapless country. Here, far from being helpful, it has been resposible for incalculable mischief. To put it succinctly, if we had no idols there would have been no partition : there would, in the first place, have been no cry, no clamour, for that drastic surgical operation. It was our idols—and none other than our idols—who, by their incessanty kow-towing to the ever-increasing demands of that most intransigent minority in our midst (to wit, the Muslim), paved the way for that *ultimate* demand of theirs. It was, without question, that primrose path of dalliance of theirs that has brought us to this unhappy predicament.

Warnings go Unheeded

Some clear-eyed ones amongst us had foreseen the shape of things to come long ago and warned them accordingly. But, needless to say, our well-meant prognostications went unheeded. It was not only the idols that spurned them with ill-concealed contumely : the vast rabble of idolaters that constituted the population were no whit behind them in laughing them to scorn. It is true that without idolaters there can be no idols and the responsibility of treating those timely warnings with such lofty contempt must be shared equally by both. The idols were fortified in their folly by the sure knowledge that they would meet with full support from their followers in whatever they did or failed to do. It was this indiscriminate support of the masses that encouraged those idols to play to the top of their bent with the destinies of their thrice-hallowed land.

A Difference

There was, it must be pointed out, a noticeable difference between our High Command and that of the Muslims. The latter fought for the greater glory of their religion and their people and got a tremendous kick out of what they considered to be a truly national crusade. The former, on the other hand, seemed to be buoyed up wonderfully by the conviction that they were fighting a rearguard action throughout and that, too, on no more nourishing a diet than that of the weak tea and thin bread and butter of vague, inchoate slogans that came in two in your hands when you tried to examine them for yourself in a calm and dispassionate manner and without undue reverence for their illustrious authors. The more they "caved in" to Muslims the more (*mirabile dictu* !) they rose in moral stature in the eyes of their unthinking adherents ; and thus it transpired that what mattered most on *our* side was the moral stature—real or spurious—of the authors of these milk-and-water slogans, not the precious ground that they steadily yielded to the enemy, resulting eventually in an entirely "separate homeland" for them wherefrom to queer the pitch for us all the more.

This Sorry State of Affairs

I have never ceased to groan in spirit over this sorry state of affairs. Our so-called leaders should not have been so woefully lacking in the historical sense, even if they were incapable temperamentally of bearing a modicum of love, of affection, for their own people. Just for once they could have screwed their courage to the sticking place and stood up manfully to the rampant Muslim hordes : there had been enough, in all conscience, of planned withdrawals to prepared positions, of "stooping to conquer," and so forth. Down the ages we have been doing nothing else—except on some glorious occasions when the hour, so to speak, produced the man and we contrived to give a Roland for their Oliver. But they chose the easier way and the era of ignominious retreats before the onslaughts of the enemy began : only, this time their inherent cowardice was covered up with an incredibly garish cloak of moral splendour. The more concessions that were wrung from them by the "true believers" the more they seemed to put on wings and soar to what the poet has called "the illimitable inane." They became saintly in proportion to the valuable ground they lost to the Muslims. Thus the snowball of our reverses on the communal front gathered mass : the Muslim leaders, on the contrary, were quite content to be of the earth earthy. Both they and their followers were clear-eyed from the beginning ; and I have ever had more respect and regard for these than for their Hindu counterparts.

Congress Leaders' Ingenuousness

This defeatist mentality of ours ultimately led to the merciless vivisection of our beloved Motherland ; and it was generally conjectured that the rot would end there. The Congress leaders themselves repeated expression to the view that it was a case of "thus far and no further"; and in their innocence imagined that the Muslims, having, in sundry devious ways, realised their cherished dream of a "Stan" of their own, would call it a day and cease henceforth to be a thorn in our flesh. Even that man of sterling commonsense, our one and only "Sardar" (may his soul rest in peace !), had

been firmly convinced that, having, in a manner of speaking, got their pound of flesh, they would let us live in peace thenceforward, pursuing each his lawful avocation, and forgetting recent history. But, as usual, he and his colleagues miscalculated grievously: our neighbours are on the war-path again!

That, however, is not the wonder: the wonder is that our "high-ups" have not deemed it necessary to adopt a bolder policy than heretofore, a policy more in consonance with the changed conditions that obtain to-day. The mere instinct of self-preservation, if nothing else, should have impelled them to revise their strategy in the light of past experience. Even a worm is said to turn and one had not reckoned with the possibility that our valiant Congressmen would, when put to the crucial test, display a cravenness considered unworthy of that base creature itself.

Partition Has Not Solved Our Problems

The partition, then, as events have abundantly proved, has not solved any of our problems: it has, on the contrary, created new ones that are, in some respects, decidedly worse than the old. Yet, the Congress leaders' policy, *vis-a-vis* Pakistan, remains the same as before—a spineless policy which age does not seem to wither nor custom to stale. It does not appear to have occurred to them, in their insane scramble for auras and haloes, that one cannot stop the onrush of a mad bull by simply sitting on a stile and continuing to smile: the bull may have other plans and may presently wipe the smile from off one's mouth and bash the mouth itself from its parent face. Pandit Nehru, from his stratospheric eminence, loves, like the Fat Boy in *Pickwick*, to make our flesh creep by telling us, at not infrequent intervals, that even the successful conclusion of Armageddons has never been known to bring any tangible peace in train. It will, I think, be only civil for someone to step on the platform and remind him that that pregnant apopthegm of his is not less true of partitions, successful or otherwise. Peace does not follow partitions as night the day: like Macbeth murdering sleep partitions but rend and deracinate the unity and married calm of States.

A "Mature Government's" Policy

Blind are those who *will* not see, and the gravamen of my charge against Panditji is that he has been wilfully blind to the none too inconsiderable tergiversations of our "sister dominion," though, ordinarily, he can be relied upon to distinguish "a hawk from a handsaw." The head of a "mature" Government, as he conceives himself to be, ought (one must be excused for thinking) to have a more robust political sense than to fancy that he is being "secular" when he is only playing into the hands of his enemies and estranging his friends. The word, "secular," we know, has come to have a peculiar (not to say, a preposterous) connotation in the post-partition era that our Premier-*cum*-Rashtrapati was primarily responsible for ushering in five years ago as a sort of quasi-millennium, the far-off divine event to which the whole creation is so evidently moving. Still, it passes my comprehension how he can square even *his* conception of "secularism" with this perpetual submission of his to the steadily-mounting Pakistani intransigence.

Sparing the Rod and Spoiling the Child

Besides, as someone has noted profoundly, the world is full of a number of things, and there are other concepts side by side with this hag-ridden concept of "secularism." There are such concepts as honour and self-respect, courage and fortitude, and these, I feel convinced, take precedence any day over the one that he has so vociferously and belligerently made his own. A "mature" politician does not tie himself down to just one policy, to just one programme, irrespective of the hour and the season. Like a seasoned tennis-player he varies his strokes, now sending over an express to the base-line and, anon, a drop-shot that hits his opponent between wind and water. If he retains it at all in his repertoire it will be only *one* of his policies and will not be permitted to function like a multi-purpose project or maid-of-all-work. If the politician in question has really any pretensions to "maturity" he will not even dream of taking it out of his bag in his relations with a truculent neighbour that sustains itself almost wholly on a diet of inexpressible hatred towards his own country. *No "mature" head of a "mature" Government will ever want to waste his "secularism" on Pakistan, for instance: so to waste it partakes perilously of the nature of sparing the rod and spoiling the child.*

Old Person of Bazing

In his major foreign policy speech on April 18, 1951, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, was pleased to deliver himself of this historic dictum:

> "Aggression cannot be allowed to succeed. It cannot be appeased, rewarded or ignored. To meet it squarely is the price of peace."

A week earlier—on April 11, in fact—the United States President, Mr. Harry Truman, had said much the same thing in his Radio Address on U. S. policy in the Far East:

> "If history has taught us anything, it is that aggression anywhere in the world is a threat to peace anywhere in the world."

It is evident, then, that some great minds do believe that the way to meet aggression is not precisely that of Old Person of Bazing in Edward Lear's rhyme who

> "purchased a steed
> Which he rode at full speed
> To escape from the people of Bazing."

A Contradiction

In other words, you do not meet aggression by trying to run away from it. It is not true that what you do not want to see is not there. It is a remarkable state of affairs that is prevailing in the country today. It looks as though *nothing* that our truculent neighbour sees fit to do by way of queering the pitch for us will ever prompt the "mature" head of our "mature" Government to take retaliatory measures against it. Probably he has forgotten that, notwithstanding India's oft-repeated "neutrality" (static, dynamic, or anæmic as the case may be) as between the two "blocs", he expressed his full-throated agreement with the U. N. resolution on Korea naming North Korea (and, impliedly, Russia) as the aggressor and, to show his unity with the West in the matter, sent a medical unit to South Korea which is still functioning there. It follows that he subscribes to the view expressed by Messrs. Truman and Acheson above that agression must be met squarely. Nor has he had the hardihood to deny that Pakistan has recently been guilty of no little aggression against the minority community in her eastern province. How, then, does he propose to justify his "do-nothing" policy in face of that agression?

This Picture and That

Not merely does he not move his little finger to protect the Hindus of East Bengal: even his protests to Pakistan are, like angels' visits, few and far between and, when they do occur, are couched in terms the reverse of admonitory. They remind us of Uriah Heep's immortal "'umble we are, 'umble we have been, 'umble we shall ever be". They can be regarded as protests "only north-north-west". They are just a sort of face-saving device, conscience-money, as it were. Bismarck said of Lord Salisbury that he was "a lath painted to look like iron". In his relations with Pakistan our beloved Panditji is not even that: he is a lath painted to look like a lath—no more, often much less. But look at the storms that the Pakistan Government, the Pakistan papers, and the Pakistan people are in the habit of raising in mere tea-cups! Dacca's *Morning News*, for instance, which, incidentally, calls itself "The Voice of the Nation," carries in its issue of October 31 two stories under the screaming headlines: "Mass attacks on Muslims in Malda villages" and "Terror and loot let loose on unarmed Muslim passengers". The *Times of India* (a not too pro-Hindu paper, let me remark in passing) comments on this in its issue of November 5 as follows:

> "Has the Pakistan press not yet learned that such reports can no more deceive either the Pakistanis or the world? Perhaps it has and the real purpose in publishing such untruths is to encourage hooligans to persist in their persecution of the minority community. If Pakistani authorities want *to be taken* seriously in their protestations regarding *the protection of the minorities*, the least they *should do is to discourage such* false propaganda".

The Opposite Extreme

Our newspapers, far from indulging in such screaming headlines and in putting across such blatant propaganda, do not, on occasion, feature the news of Pakistani atrocities at all, presumably to safeguard their "secularism" and to be awarded good-conduct prizes by our "mature Government." Sometimes they go to the opposite extreme of high-lighting *our* misdeeds (real or imaginary) while keeping a discreet silence over Pakistani affairs— in this modelling themselves, doubtless, on the precept and example of that (in a purely political sense) "glass of fashion and mould of form", our Premier-*cum*-Rashtrapati.

This is the kind of talk that "this glass of fashion and mould of form" habitually indulges in when compelled by the Opposition to "stand and deliver". In the debate in the House of the People on November 15 on the East Bengal tragedy he cleverly sidetracked the issue by carrying the war, so to speak, into the enemy's camp. He said:

> "Let us not think that we have created perfect conditions in our country. There can be no perfect conditions in this country so long as communal cries are raised. The problem cannot be solved by becoming cheap imitators of Pakistan and their methods, ideologies, and approaches. It can only be solved by the touch of healing being applied to both the countries".

Debate was on East Bengal, not on West

We can only ejaculate: "In form and moving how express and admirable!" As I wrote in my last article in these columns Pandit Nehru is a very Rupert of debate and can turn the tables upon his opponents in a most astute manner when his faculties are at concert-pitch, as they invariably are. But there is such a thing as being too clever by half, which partly comes of being too certain of the way the votes will be cast. The debate, in the first place, was on East Bengal, not on West Bengal. Nor should the Pandit always be allowed to point the finger of scorn at his own country and at his own community. Hindu-baiting has grown on him. *It is ever a case of Hindus being in the wrong.* Hindus cannot be branded as "communal" merely because they wish to uphold the rights of fellow-Hindus and to protest against the wrongs done to them either by an out-and-out Muslim *raj* in Pakistan or by their own "secular" *raj* which, in practice, can hardly be differentiated from a pro-Muslim and an anti-Hindu *raj*. In saying what he did in the House of the People on November 15, the Pandit has but repeated what he has been saying all along whenever the same issue has confronted him.

Absurd Argument

Apart from the fact that at no time, from the memorable August 16, 1946 (known to history as the Muslim "D-day"), when the Muslims inaugurated their "Operation Blood-baths" in united Bengal's chief city, have the poor Hindus ever launched a reprehen-

mmunal affray on their own account ; and but ave they even retaliated. Both the late d Mahatma and (God be praised !) the still 'andit, however, have started this new theory tics that retaliation is as reprehensible as inal act of aggression to which it is but a reply. the Pandit realised to what an absurd con- this argument will lead him ? I have already iotations from Mr. Truman and from Mr. . to the effect that aggression must be met '. It was, one must suppose, on this basis that N. resolution on Korea was passed some years , the North Koreans having been duly branded riginal aggressors, the world organisation gave clear for a full-scale military action in Korea m the pledges of the "free" peoples to rush to ue of the weak and the oppressed. Pandit hrew the weight of his none too inconsiderable on the side of the U. N.—as I have related and, suiting his action to his word, despatched al unit to South Korea. Are we, then, to under- at the U. N. retaliation in Korea against the nists should be branded as an act fully as le as the original North Korean aggression ? s "mature" head of a "mature" government well to practise "mature" political thinking.

All Panaceas Barred

upshot of all this is that the Hindus have o their utter dismay, that whatever else he may s certainly not their friend and that to go to redress of their grievances against Muslims— Pakistani, or Kashmiri—is tantamount to on a broken reed. He rules out all the panaceas suggested by the Opposition : war, economic sanctions, cession of one-third of East Bengal territory to re- habilitate the Hindus driven out from there (it was the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who first mooted this proposal in a vehement speech in Calcutta), *et hoc genus omne*. He now assures us that the exodus of Hindus from the east has stopped and that all is well in this best of all worlds. The fact is that they are trapped and cannot get out.

Between Two Millstones

Speaking at Nagpur on October 31, Panditji said : "We will not tolerate any humiliation to our country." At the same time he characterised the Opposition's suggestions in regard to meeting the Pakistani aggres- sion against the Hindus as "childish and irresponsible." Either that aggression—which he has not denied—is a humiliation to our country or it is not. If it is not, it ceases to be aggression. If it is, we have his word for it that "we will not tolerate humiliation to our coun- try." But is he not, *in practice*, tolerating it ? The truth is that the partition chickens are gradually coming home to roost. At the time of partition, the Congress Government guaranteed to protect the Hindu minority in Pakistan. The Hindus accepted partition *only* on that condition. Can the Pandit honestly say that he has implemented that promise ? If he cannot, why does he fall foul of the Opposition so often ?

Is it not true that he is more irate at those who accuse him of endless appeasement of Pakistan than at Pakistan itself for its endless acts of aggression ? Are not the poor Hindus being ground down between the upper and the nether millstones of Pakistani aggression and Nehruian appeasement ?

———:O:———

TRIBUTION OF TH. STCHERBA TSKY TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By Prof. DHARMENDRA NATH SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.

IE in the fifth century A.D. there appeared irmament of Indian philosophy a brilliant star erson of Dinnaga, the founder of the Buddhist d epistemology. Regarded by the Tibetans as ament of Jambudvipa", he was one of the thinkers India has ever produced. The subse- hilosophical thought in India, for six long s, was dominated by him directly or indirectly. olutionized Indian epistemology by introducing ry of radical distinction between two mutually e sources of knowledge, *grahana* and *adhya-* which may be compared to *sensibility* and *nding of* the Kantian epistemology. His new was a challenge to the orthodox schools which maintained a number of 'means of knowledge' (*pramanas*) running into one another's sphere.[2] On the ontological side he took his stand against the static conception of the realist schools which held the universe as made of stationary and isolated objects, and posited against them his kinetic conception of the universe as a con- stant forward movement of interlinked and inter- related point-instants of reality (*kshanas*). Thus, while on the epistemological side he anticipated, at least in broad outlines, the great German philosopher Immanuel Kant who came thirteen hundred years later, on the ontological side he nearly fore- shadowed, in one of its aspects, the modern Marxian theory which holds that everything is interlinked and inter-related and is "in a constant state of coming into

e trio Nagarjuna, Aryadeva and Asanga, together with the bandhu, Dinnaga and Dharmakirti are regarded by the as 'the six ornaments of Jambudvipa' (India).—Winternitz : erature, Vol. II, p. 363, f.n.3.

2. This is called *pramanasamplava* as against the Buddhist view which is called pramanavyavastha.

being and going out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change."[3]

In his foundation work, the *Pramanasamuchchaya*, in which Dinnaga propounded his new doctrine, he severely criticised the Nyaya-Vaisesika realism as expounded in the Nyayasutra and its commentary of Vatsyayana. For a time the orthodox realism reeled before the onslaught of Dinnaga and his school. Udyotakara Bharadvaja, about the close of the sixth century, took up the gauntlet on behalf of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school, and wrote his famous *Nyayavartika* with the "object of dispelling the darkness caused by the pseudo-philosophers"[4] of the Dinnaga school. A right royal battle raged between the Buddhists of the Dinnaga school on the one side, and the Nyaya-Vaisesika and the Purvamimansa schools of the orthodox realism on the other, and it lasted up to the eleventh century about which time the Buddhists were driven out of this country. Dharmakirti, the great successor of Dinnaga, also one of the 'six ornaments of Jambudvipa', who came in the first half of the seventh century, continued the work of Dinnaga, and incidentally answered Udyotakara also. In the Buddhist camp Dharmakirti was followed by his commentator Dharmottara, and later on by Santarakshita, Kamalasila, and a host of others. The Nyaya school, however, produced its greatest exponent, Vachaspatimisra roughly 250 years after Udyotakara. In the intermezzo the crusade against the heterodox Buddhist school was carried on by the Purvamimansa school, an ally of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school in the battle against the Buddhist. The Purvamimansa school produced two of the greatest luminaries of Indian philosophy, namely, Kumarila and Prabhakara. This school, concerned with sacrificial matters, had not much to do with metaphysics or epistemology, and its realistic philosophy was more or less the same as that of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school from which it was adopted. Kumarila and Prabhakara, however, while defending realism against the Buddhist school, evolved certain epistemological theories which are strikingly bold and original in their conception. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Nyaya-Vaisesika school produced four or five eminent scholiasts. The greatest and the foremost of them is Vachaspatimisra who laid the Nyaya-Vaisesika realism on a firm foundation. Jayanta whose priority or posteriority to Vachaspatimisra is uncertain, is marked, more than any other ancient Indian writer of philosophy, for his rare wit, sharp repartee and delightful lucidity. Next to them come two great masters, Udayana and Sridhara, both commentators of *Prasastapada*—the former also the author of several independent treatises—who belong to the close of the tenth century. These thinkers are among the luminaries of the brightest period of Indian Philosophy which covers some six hundred years, *i.e.*, from the fifth to the tenth century. During this period, as a result of the protracted conflict between the two camps of philosophy, the Buddhists and the orthodox realists, Indian genius reaches its highest water-mark in the sphere of metaphysics and epistemology. As far as the problem of *realism* versus *idealism* is concerned, these masters left no possible avenue of thought unexplored.

It is, however, seldom realized that this great philosophical heritage of India is in the process of being forgotten and if something is not done in time, it may irretrievably be lost. It appears that these great masterpieces began to be neglected from the twelfth century onward. There were two reasons for it, the one was the exodus of the Buddhists from this country, and the other was the advent of Gangesa, the founder of the *Navyanyaya*. People turned from real metaphysics to logical subtleties which provided them with a sort of intellectual gymnastics. It seems however that some interest was kept up in the old works up to the seventeenth century. Samkaramisra wrote a commentary on the Vaisesikasutras in the fifteenth century, and Visvanatha, on the Nyayasutras in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, however, all the works of the pre-Gangesa period seem to have been forgotten as evidenced by the despatches sent during that period by the Portuguese Jesuits who were collecting manuscripts for the King's library at Paris.[5] Excepting the works of the Navyanyaya school, most of the ancient works of Indian philosophy and specially of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school were not easily available, so much so that even the Nyayasutra of Gotama could not be traced in that period. In the second part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century, however, as a result of the interest taken by the Western Sanskrit scholars, these works were brought to light. But even after their publication their study has not come into vogue. They have not been properly edited, and their interpretation, already difficult on account of break in tradition, is rendered all the more difficult on account of the mistakes which abound in every page of the printed text. They continue to be outside the scope of Sanskrit studies at the orthodox centres of learning like Banaras and others. As for the Purvamimansa school, there are some scholars of that system, specially in South India, but the philosophical portions of the works of Kumarila and Prabhakara have suffered the same fate as the masterpieces of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school.

These works of the Nyaya-Vaisesika and the Purvamimansa are replete with philosophical technicalities, and their understanding requires acquaintance with the Buddhist Philosophy, specially that of the

3. *F. Engels : Dialects of Nature* as quoted in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism by Stalin, p. 5.*

4. *"Kutarkikajnananivrittihetuh"—Nyayavartika*, opening stanza.

5. See Vidyabhushana, S. C.: *History of Indian Logic*, p. 488 ff.

;a school. Besides, for the proper and critical ation of these works, a real philosophical in- i needed which can be acquired by an orthodox f student only through the study of modern phical thought. It is so because in the later on of the *Navyanyaya* school emphasis has been on the dialectical aspect than on the metaphysi- The minimum requirements, therefore, for un- ng a critical study of these works are : (*i*) a gh knowledge of the Nyaya-Vaisesika technique, quaintance with the Dinnaga school, and (*iii*) into the problems of metaphysics. These condi- re seldom fulfilled by a student of the orthodox l type or of the modern Western type. Year ear theses purported to be original pieces of h on Indian philosophy are submitted to the ities for the doctorate degrees, but little has it ealized that no research in the real sense is pos- ithout exploiting the vast material contained in atises in question. And yet they continue to unexplored and neglected.

this situation of gloom and despair for Indian phy a welcome ray of hope comes from an cted quarter. *Buddhist Logic* by the late Th. Stcherbatsky of Leningrad[6] is a monu- work which not only reveals the hidden es of the Dinnaga school but also gives an e of a critical study of the original works of sters referred to above, *viz.*, Udyotakara, patimisra, Jayanta, Sridhara, Udayana ers. The number of works in English and other languages purporting to give an exposition of yaya-Vaisesika system is by no means small, at they usually do is to render in a mechanical digested way what is given in Sanskrit manuals. from the traditional and hackneyed comparisons contained in the original works, they usually ny critical appreciation of the Nyaya-Vaisesika in comparison with allied doctrines of other . There is no effort to present the old theories light of the problems of modern metaphysics, s very essential for the real understanding of an system by a modern student of philosophy. n works aiming at special study of the Nyaya- ka system, the presentation is mostly superficial es not touch the core of the real problems of ool.[7] In fact a proper appreciation of the -Vaisesika school, as developed by the great referred to above, is impossible without an anding of its counterpart, *viz.*, the school of a. When however, one reads the works of Stcherbatsky, one is at once struck by his philosophical insight, critical acumen and deep understanding of Indian philosophical systems. It may be claimed that his *Buddhist Logic* is, perhaps, the greatest work of Indian philosophy of the last 250 years or so, not only as giving a lucid exposition of logic and epistemology of the Dinnaga school, but also as throwing illuminating and critical side-light on the Nyaya-Vaisesika system.

This view may appear somewhat far-fetched and exaggerated. The fact is that the Buddhist Logic of Stcherbatsky has not as yet received the attention it deserves from the students of Indian philosophy. As a matter of fact only a few libraries in India possess a copy of it,[8] although fortunately it is in English. I have seldom come across a reference to this work in books, theses or articles on Indian philosophy. Here is an instance in point. In 1942 on the occasion of celebrating its Silver Jubilee, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute published an account of the progress of Indic studies during the preceding quarter of a century.[9] In the section dealing with Indian philosophy many books good and bad—some of them not even worth the ink with which they are printed ——have been noticed. Some of the books of Stcherbatsky are also mentioned. But his principal work, *Buddhist Logic*, which will have to be regarded even at the most conservative estimate, as at least, one of the greatest works on Indian philosophy, is not mentioned even by name, although it appeared during the period under reference. Can there be a more flagrant instance of our colossal ignorance ?

Stcherbatsky had an orthodox type of command over Sanskrit language and over logical and metaphysical technicalities of the Nyaya-Vaisesika system. This command together with his deep knowledge of the system of Dinnaga school enabled him to acquire mastery over the works of Udyotakara, Vachaspatimisra and others of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school. It is also true that his mastery of the Nyaya-Vaisesika works helped him in unravelling the knotty problems of the Dinnaga school.[10] The works of Udyotakara,

uddhist Logic in two volumes by Th. Stcherbatsky, pub- the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series of Leningrad (No. XXVI). 'or instance, Faddegon in his work, *the Vaisesika System*, apted a detailed study of the development of the Vaisesika and has translated some important portions of Sridhara's into English. But there is nothing there which is above the ace and which goes to the crux *of the problems.*

8. In all probability the book is not out of stock, still it is not available. The one reason may be the difficulties of exchange obtaining between India and Russia. When Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was Indian ambassador at Moscow, I wrote to him about Stcherbatsky and his books. He did send me a reply on some points, but unfortunately no definite information could be supplied regarding the availability of *Buddhist Logic.*

9. *Progress of Indic Studies* (1917-1942), Government Oriental Series, Class B. No. 8, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

10. Mm. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraja, himself an encyclopaedic scholar of Indian philosophy, told me that Stcherbatsky once had come to Banaras. He spoke fluent Sanskrit, and carried on discussions in Sanskrit for many days on the Nyaya-Vaisesika topics with the late Pt. Ramacharana Bhattacharya who was charmed by his mastery of the ancient Nyaya-Vaisesika texts. It is, however, not known where and with whom Stcherbatsky studied the works of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school. It is said that he had with him a Sanyasin Pandit of Nyaya (a disciple of Bachcha Jha, the well-known Nyaya scholar of Mithila) when he stayed for a pretty long time in India.

Vachaspatimisra, Jayanta, Sridhara and Udayana are an important source of information regarding the school of Dinnaga. Although the work done by the Western scholars on the religious aspect of Buddhism and its Pali literature is stupendous, and on the Buddhist metaphysics also scholars like de la Vallee Poussin, Sylvain Levi, Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids have made valuable contributions, yet the position of Stcherbatsky is unique not only as the foremost exponent of the Dinnaga school but also as as expounder of other branches of the Buddhist metaphysics. The obvious reason is that no other scholar in the West, and, for the matter of that also in India, acquired the knowledge of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school as Stcherbatsky did.

Nobody can do full justice to any branch of Sanskrit learning without having a fair knowledge of the grammatical structure of Sanskrit words. Stcherbatsky's treatment of many technical terms shows that he was fully conversant with Sanskrit grammar of Panini. Discussing the meaning of the term *Yoga* in the typical style of ancient Indian commentators, he points out how the *'kridanta'* affix of the term can express three different meanings.[11] In the same way by analysing the two meanings of the affix in the term *'Samskara'*, he brings out two different senses in which it has been used in the Buddhist philosophy.[12] Sometimes he expresses a Western idea in Sanskrit, so that it may be fully equated and compared with an Indian idea. Comparing the Buddhist theory of point-instants (*kshanas*) with the views of Bergson, he says :

> M. H. Bergson asserts that the whole world of mathematicians is indeed an instantaneous world, it is also *kshanika* as the world of the Buddhist. He says (*Cr. Ev.* pp. 23-24) : "The world the mathematician deals with is a world that dies and is reborn at every instant, the world which Descartes was thinking of when he spoke of continuous creation." This idea is indeed quite Buddhistic, it sounds as if it were put in Sanskrit : "Ye bhava nirantaram arabhyanta iti mahapandita—Sri-Dhekaratena (Dhekarata=Descartes) vikalpitas te sarve jyotirvidya-prasiddhah pratiksanamutpadyante vinasyanti cha." This being the precise rendering of Bergson's words sounds like a quotation from an Indian text.[13]

Stcherbatsky's contribution to Indian philosophy covers all the three principal phases of Buddhist thought. He divides the history of Buddhist thought into three broad periods which is in accord with the Buddhist tradition of "the three swingings of the wheel of Law" (*trichakra*). The Buddhist history in India covers some 1500 years, *i.e.*, from 500 B.C. to the close of the tenth century when the Buddhists were driven out of this country, and this duration is almost equally distributed in three periods of about 500 years each. Of course, the assignment of 500 years to each period is far from being exact, and should be understood only in a general way.

The first period which extends from 500 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, covers the Hinayana Buddhism of which there are two principal aspects : (*i*) Theravada which has the Pali Tripitaka as its scripture, and has other vast Pali literature in the form of commentaries and manuals, and (*ii*) Sarvastivada which adopted Sanskrit as its language and which, according to tradition, had the full Tripitaka in Sanskrit. It would appear that the popular idea that Hinayana had its literature in Pali, and Mahayana in Sanskrit, is erroneous, for Sarvastivadins, having their literature mostly in Sanskrit, definitely belong to the Hinayana fold. Our principal source of information for the doctrines of the Sarvastivada is Vasubandhu's famous work *Abhidharmakosa* which was recovered from Tibetan and Chinese sources. It was translated into French, and partly reconstructed in Sanskrit by the Belgian scholar de la Vallee Poussin. The contents of *Abhidharmakosa* are so diffused on account of technical details that it is not possible for an uninitiated layman to grasp them. Stcherbatsky has compressed the quintessence of the same in a small book, *The Central Conception of Buddhism.*[14] The book which covers only 107 pages is a model of brevity and precision, every sentence being pregnant with meaning. It is an introduction and a perfect guide to the complicated doctrine of the Sarvastivada. What *Nyayasiddhanta-muktavali* or *Tarka-samgraha* is for the understanding of the Nyaya-Vaisesika, or *Vedanta-paribhasa* is for the Vedanta, this book is for the Sarvastivada. But it is not a mere statement of the theories, it is also a critical and comparative study.

The second period of the Buddhist thought commences somewhere in the first century A.D. with the advent of the Mahayana Buddhism. On the philosophical side, the Madhyamika school of Nagarjuna, variously designated as nihilism or relativism (Sunyavada) is the dominant note of the Mahayana sect. In his work, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana,*[15] Stcherbatsky deals with this school. The book was written as a review and critisism of another book on the same subject by Professor de la Vallee Poussin who represented the Buddhist *nirvana* in its earliest phase as a simple faith in the soul's immortality, its blissful condition being attainable through the prac-

11. "Yujyate etad iti yogah, yujyate anena iti yogah, yujyate asmin iti yogah."—Stcherbatsky : *Conception of Nirvana*, p. 7.

12. The word Samskara "either means a force, *samskriyate anena*—Sahakari, Sambhuyakari, or it means an element, *Samskriyate etad—Samskrita-dharma*...*Ibid, f.n. No.* 1.

13. *Buddhist Logic, Vol. 1, p. 107.*

14. Th. Stcherbatsky : *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the word 'Dharma'*, published by Royal Asiatic Society, London in 1923.

15. Th. Stcherbatsky : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Leningrad in 1927.

yoga which was described as nothing but magic and thaumaturgy. Stcherbatsky, while cally criticising these views, traces the mean- *irvana* from the earliest period to its develop- the system of Nagarjuna. *Nirvana* or *moksha*, se, as conceived in Indian monistic systems, of Nagarjuna or of the Vedanta, does not merely a state of *summum bonum* attainable uman soul, but is tantamount to and synony- ith the Absolute Reality. The work in ques- ierefore, deals with the absolute monism of na's system ; it is a brief exposition of his hy. Stcherbatsky himself says that another the work may be *The Central Conception of na*. The author has also added as an appen- letrical translation of two of the most import- pters, the first and the twenty-fifth, of the *mikashastra* of Nagarjuna, and also an English ion of Chandrakirti's *Prasannapada* commen- . the same. This is Stcherbatsky's contribu- the second period of the Buddhist thought; book is perhaps the best and most authorita- roduction to the system of Nagarjuna.[16] One numerous indices appended to the book ex- he technical terms of the Buddhist philosophy vill be found most useful to all the students subject.

third and the last period of the Buddhist which commences from the fifth or rather ie fourth century, covers (*i*) the idealism of *achara* school of Asanga and Vasubandhu, and stemology and logic of Dinnaga and his s Dharmakirti and others. I have alredy to Stcherbatsky's monumental work, *t Logic*, dealing with the latter of the two of the third period. The word 'logic' in the cludes logic, epistemology, in fact, the com- stem of Dinnaga school. As the latter was as a school of logicians (*Nyayavadinah*), the gic' has advisedly been used to distinguish the hy of Dinnaga school from that of the other t schools. *Buddhist Logic* comprises two . The second volume, which appeared earlier e first, was published in 1930. It contains an translation of Dharmakirti's *Nyayabindu* and ttara's commentary thereon with copious tory and critical notes. Besides, there are us appendices two of which give English ion with explanatory and critical notes of f the most difficult and important discourses *Nyayavartikatatparyatika* of Vachaspatimisra. in the appendix IV (*iii*), he has translated rse discourse of a remarkable but little known work of the Purvamimansa school, *Nyayakanika*, by the same author. There is no evidence of any other modern scholar having ever touched this work.[17] The second volume covers some 450 pages. The first volume of *Buddhist Logic* which appeared later, covering some 550 pages, is a comprehensive exposition of all the aspects of Dinnaga's school, its metaphysics, epistemology, and logic together with an introductory portion which gives in brief, as the background of the system of Dinnaga, a breif critical and comparative survey of all the important schools of Indian philosophy. In the chapter on the 'Reality of the External World' he has given five imaginary Indo-European Symposia : The one on 'Monism' in which Vedantin, Parmenides, Democritus, Nagarjuna, Spinoza, Dinnaga and others participate ; the second on 'Dualism and Pluralism' in which Samkhya, Descartes, Hinayana Buddhist, Heraclitus, Mach, and J. St. Mill are made to take part ; and the third one on the 'Logic of Native Realism and Critical Logic' in which besides Indian philosophers, Kant and Berkeley also come in ; and two more Symposia on the 'Thing-in-itself' and 'Dialecteic' between Indian and European philosophers. Moreover, stray references by way of comparison and contrast with other philosophical schools specially with the Nyaya-Vaisesika, made in course of the exposition of Dinnaga school, are most illuminating, and evince Stcherbatsky's deep understanding of all the systems of Indian philosophy. *Buddhist Logic* is the masterpiece of Stcherbatsky and may claim to be the most important contribution to Indian philosophy in recent times.

Stcherbatsky's work is not confined to the three books noticed above. As early as 1909, he wrote a book in Russian entitled *Epistemology and Logic as Taught by Later Buddhists*. It was translated by Otto Strauss into German. Obviously his *Buddhist Logic* is a revised and enlarged version of that early work. He has also edited the text of the *Nyayabindu* of Dharmakirti with the commentary of Dharmottara, which was published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series of Leningrad. This edition definitely supersedes that of Peterson published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is a pity that even Stcherbatsky's edition of *Nyayabindu* is not available in India. He also translated *Pudgala-vinischaya*, an appendix to the eighth chapter of *Abhidharmakosa* under the title "The Soul Theory of Buddhists." There are many other works to his credit which have not been noticed here. Besides, he contributed many learned articles to Oriental and Indological magazines and bulletins.

This article is not intended to make a full assessment of Stcherbatsky's contribution to Indian philo-

ince Dr. T. R. V, Murti of Colombo University has book entitled. *Madhyamika Dialect* (not published as yet in the manuscript by the present writer) which is perhaps exhaustive work on the Philosophy of Nagarjuna. Dr. mits his indebtedness to Stcherbatsky.

17. An instance of utter ignorance about this work is furnished by Dr. Vidyabhushana's remark that "Vachaspati's *Nyayakanika*, a work on logic, is not now available" (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 134). As a matter of fact the work was published long before he wrote this, and it has got nothing to do with logic (Nyaya).

sophy. My present object is only to draw pointed attention of students of Indian philosophy to the work of Stcherbatsky. He does not approach Indian philosophical systems, like many a Western writer, to discover in them some old links in the development of philosophical thought. He explores them in order to bring out their philosophical contents which may claim a place in the world-literature of philosophy. While he brings to bear upon problems of Indian philosophy a highly critical method of a Western thinker, he at the same time approaches them with the faith and devotion of an orthodox Indian scholar. No other modern scholar of the Orient or of the Occident has entered deeper into the spirit of Dinnaga, Dharmakirti or Vachaspatimisra. When sometimes we come across flashes of his originality, we are reminded of the genius of Dinnaga, and when we look to his stupendous learning and critical profundity, we feel as if he were an incarnation of Vachaspatimisra himself. He has provided us with a master-key not only to the philosophy of Dinnaga school, but also to the abstruse writings of Udyotakara, Kumarila, Prabhakara, Vachaspatimisra, Jayanta and others. We must acknowledge our deep debt of gratitude to this great savant and to the Soviet land from which he hailed, for his inestimable contribution to Indian philosophical thought.

——:o:——

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

By Prof. V. N. HUKKU, M.Com.

"You cannot have dictatorship in economics and democracy in politics....Democracy in economics must be based on production in villages on individual basis." This is the way in which the famous follower of Gandhian Economy and a great thinker of to-day, J. C. Kumarappa thinks about economic planning for a democratic country. It is very essential for the government to give due emphasis to the production in villages not merely on the agricultural side but necessarily on the industrial side also. The importace of the development of cottage industries has also been emphasised by the Industrial Policy Statement of 1948: "Cottage and small-scale industries have a very important role in the national economy offering as they do scope for individual village or co-operative enterprise." The draft plan of the Planning Commission has also not failed to lend a chapter on Rural Cottage Industries and the significance of such industries has been laid down as: "If agriculture is to be rationalised, means for absorbing surplus workers amounting, over the whole country, perhaps to a third of the population, have to be found. Problem of cottage industries has, therefore, an urgency and importance in the immediate future which cannot be over-emphasised." A formidable percentage of the entire population of the country is dwelling in the villages numbering about six lakhs, still the development of the rural industries has been neglected in the recent past by the outgoing foreign government.

Industrial Background

The British Government as has just been referred to above used to neglect the industrial progress in *India on the ground of the country being predominantly an agricultural one. This* ground does not appeal to be a good excuse. Is it not true that India has been not only an agricultural country but that its industries existed and excelled long before the industrial activities emerged in other parts of the world? It was not only the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who dissented from the findings of the Industrial Commission in India on this very point but even an Englishman Montogomery Martin expressed his views that "I do not agree that India is an agricultural country, India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilisation."

Industries in India had been famous in the past when the age of modern machinery was never conceived of, rather never dreamt about. The early writers like Herodotus and Megasthenes have given account of the cotton fabrics of India even before the birth of Christian era. Industrial products of India had flooded the foreign markets. The old historical records and the archaeological findings are apparent testimony to the existence of enormous export of goods from India to the Roman Empire in exchange for the gold coins of the said empire. The Vedic period in India was profusely enriched with the familiarity of the people with the arts of weaving, tanning, metallurgy, carpentry, blacksmithy and many other artistic crafts. In the light of the present conception of the guild life the Vedic period had the pride of being under an organised system of industrial production, under the *'Sreni'* with subordination to *'Sraishthya.'* The people during the Hindu and Mahomedan periods of the Indian history bore high excellence in their craftsmanship. The interest of the Maurya rulers in the industrial production and preservation of indigenous craftsman-

The Sanchi Stupa No. 3, Sanchi, Bhopal. This has a single gate. It was in the Stupa that the relics of the famous disciples of Buddha—Sariputta and Mahamoggallana—were discovered

The Lac Research Institute, Namkum, near Ranchi

Sister Elizabeth Kenny, the renowned Australian nurse, who was the best-known fighter against poliomyalitis or infantile paralysis, died on November 30, 1952, at the age of 66, at her home in Toowoomba, Queensland

Dr. Selman A. Wakeman, Director of the Rutgers University Institute of Microbiology, New Jersey, U.S.A., and discoverer of streptomycin, won the 1952 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine

ıs been described in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* ı we find a reference to the appointment of e ministers for the maintenance of the inte- the artisans. Alauddin Khiliji and the Tughlak ılso used to maintain factories wherein they o give employment to the efficient craftsmen. Ioghul kings also established industrial work- n the important towns of their time and the ›ment of industries like the shawl industry of ir and the muslin industry of Dacca was to a xtent due to royal patronage.

Decay of the Industries

e long history of our past industrial supremacy /e-opener but to boast about the past cannot be use to the present economic development. The of craftsmanship and of the indigenous indus- India can be traced from the last stages of the l Empire in India and the advent of the East ompany. Since then up to the termination of Bri- e in India the government was never anxious to e standard of the industries which had glorified ory of India in the past. The East India Com- an be accused not only for the negligence to- he promotion of the industries but also for ıg abominable hardships on the efficient crafts- r levying even corporal penalties of which st detested one was the cutting of the of the efficient muslin weavers of Dacca who rohibited from weaving the muslin except for mpany and in the factories of the East ompany. Despite the long idleness of the vast ion of the agriculturists for a major period of r, the government was never interested in for- g plans for making them more useful for the by putting them to work and by providing s and propaganda for the development of industries. Whatever development of cottage es was made during the British Rule in India ıinly due to the untiring efforts of Mahatma . It was mainly due to the initiative of the National Congress under his spiritual guidance, e All-India Village Industries Association was hed with the object of securing maximum for the rural masses. It was the 48th session of ngress held in the month of October, 1934.

Main Problems

r the purpose of the study of these problems uite essential to distinguish between a cottage y and a small-scale industry. The cottage ies have been defined by the Industrial Com- as "industries carried on in the homes of the ı, where the scale of operation is small and there little organisation, so that they are, as a rule ; of satisfying only local needs." The distinc- ətween the two *is based on fundamental* princi- ples. In case of cottage industries the organisation consists mainly of the members of the family (it can now easily adopt the co-operative basis) who carry on the production on small scale with the help of local tools and without the use of power. On the other hand, small-scale industries whether belonging to the rural or urban area generally employ hired labourers and are bigger units of production as compared with the cottage industries. On account of the bigger establish- ments and large capital the use of power can easily be availed of also because the small-scale industries are mostly located in the towns. The cottage indusries mainly represent the rural industrial unit meant for providing full-time or part-time employment to the villagers. The small-scale industries which mostly be- long to the urban areas provide wholetime employ- ment to the hired labourers, but there is no certainty of the permanency of the employment in most of the cases.

An important problem regarding the cottage industries comes up in the form of a choice between Centralisation and Decentralisation. It has always been emphasised by the patrons of the rural welfare schemes including Mahatma Gandhi that it is in the interest of the masses that the cottage industries should be organised on the basis of the policy of decentrali- sation. The cottage industries will be on this basis more useful for providing employment to the village folk who are in most of the cases either unemployed or under-employed, as the main vocation of life, namely, agriculture provides employment for a period not more than one-third of the whole year. The existence of small units of villages is quite useful for this purpose. The cottage industries in the various units should be so organised, that the needs of the local people are given the top priority in the production of goods. This will lead to the self-sufficiency of the villages. A cen- tralised system of such industries is for all practical purposes anti-social in its nature. The economic deve- lopment of the country lies in the development of the village folk and in raising the standard of living. This objective can only be achieved if we keep in view the basic needs of the individual village units and develop the cottage industries in the respective units for the production of such things as would satisfy the requirements of the people of that unit.

The development of the cottage industry is also confronted with the problem of the availability of raw material. An apparent case is the miserable condition of the cotton handloom industry in many parts of the country. One of the reasons which still holds true for the slow development of the cotton handloom industry has been the inadequacy of the cotton yarn. Although the various states in India manage the distribution work of cotton yarn through the Supplies Department or through the agency of the Industries Department, it has not been possible for them to provide necessary

STATUES OF FOREIGNERS

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S., (Eng.)

Why should we remove from our public places the statues of foreigners who had helped to conduct the administration of our country during the last two hundred years? Some of them have spent all their active life in the service of India, and helped, each in his own way, each in his own degree, to make us what we are today. They are an inseparable part of our national life in its long and still continued biological growth. We can shut our eyes to them, but can we deny the facts of our past history? One can understand the Indian people's anger when gazing at statues with provocating inscriptions, like John Lawrence's standing with a sword in one hand and a pen in the other and asking the Panjabis "Will you be governed by this or by that?" All men would feel repugnance when looking at the statue of a fiend of cruelty like Col. James Neill of the 1st Madras European Fusiliers, who during the march from Allahabad to Cawnpur ordered that every native found on the way should be hanged, as a reprisal for the acts of the Sepoy mutineers, and the result of his brutality was that all the *dooli*-bearers of the wounded Europeans and all the punkha-pullers of the military patients ran away in terror and the Britons suffered.

But it is a curious type of patriotism to assert that the statues of all foreigners, merely because they are foreigners, are hateful to the patriotic Indian eye. One mark of a civilised nation is to preserve the memorials of its historic continuity, because every generation is the cumulative product of the lives of the generations that had gone before it. We cannot obliterate the past life-story of our people by merely drawing the wet sponge over one page of our history. Therefore, if the statue of a foreigner (or of a traitor to our country, like Mir Jafar) is to be dismantled, a case has to be established of that man's unworthiness and not for preserving the rest of the statues. The burden of proof lies on the plaintiff Government asking for the removal.

If a State Government feels that it is powerless to protect its statues in public places from vandalism by the "lunatic fringe" of our new nationalist party, that is a matter of administrative inefficiency, for I am sure that the majority of our people,—sober men, thinking only how to earn their bread by honest toil and not seeking political election—have no wish to show such cheap and futile "patriotism."

Xenophobia

Let us pause and see a glaring example of the *point to which such unreasoning* hatred of foreigners actually leads us. Britons who had worked on the Indian soil in the past are to have their memory obliterated in Free India because they were foreigners, and not for any proved depravity. In the Dacca Bar Library, the portraits of the past Presidents of the Bar Association have been removed and sent to a lumber-room (?) because they were all Hindus and therefore foreigners in Pakistan. Most of these Vakils were hereditary dwellers in the districts included in East Bengal and had worked hard to raise the condition of the people and to enhance the influence and prestige of the legal profession there. Again, at the Barisal burning ghat, the small marble tablets recording the names and dates of the eminent Hindus (including that of Nibaran Babu, the philanthropist and patriotic leader) cremated there, were recently found to have been removed and destroyed. The East Bengal Government have decency enough not to order such vandalism; it was only the patriotic *jihad* of some individual Muslims against these dead "foreigners." We thus see that Hindustan and Pakistan are the Siamese Twins, with two separate heads but joined back to back; when one sneezes the other brother must have a nasal catarrh.

New wine is heady, and so too is new freedom. The French revolutionists, after overthrowing a feudal despotism many centuries old, sent their conquering army to Italy and the Parisian mob clamoured for seizing the Pope (because there was no King of Italy at that time and the Pope was the ruler of Rome) and hanging him as a reprisal for the defeat and slaying of Vercingetorix, the Gaulic national leader by Julius Caesar of Rome, eighteen hundred years earlier. Such "red fool-fury of the Seine" and "hysterics of the Celt" have not covered the French Jacobins with any reputation for common sense.

Who was Outram?

Let me take a concrete example. In April last one of my relatives told me that when his bus was making a long stop at the Park Street corner, he saw a Bengali Babu encouraging some Muslim street boys to fling their shoes at the statue of Outram, and when there was a hit he clapped his hands and rewarded them with some price. This kind of patriotic valour must have been gratifying to him, it was so cheap and so safe at this distance of time.

This incident reminded me of another such attack, during my school days, seventy years ago. We heard that one morning an old Shia from Lucknow was found

to have climbed up to Outram's horse, and was hitting the bronze image with his tattered slippers and shouting, "You took away our Oudh from Wajid Ali Shah!" He had succeeded in twisting the sword in the General's hand and thus undone the annexation of Oudh in 1856. We can only pity this old ignorant opium-eater, but can a modern Government follow his example and show its face among civilised men?

I consider Outram as a test case. Let us think of his deeds in India, to which country he gave all his life. His noble character earned for him the title of the *Bayard of India,* the supreme example of chivalry. He had objected to Sir Charles Napier's conquest and annexation of Sindh as morally unjustifiable, and therefore refused to accept his share of the Sindh prize-money, amounting to 30 thousand rupees. "Fame is the last infirmity of noble minds" and it is a soldier's highest ambition. And yet Outram voluntarily delegated to his subordinate Havelock the glory of relieving the Lucknow garrison and served *under him* as a junior.

I shall turn to what he did for us Indians. When a young officer, racked by jungle fever he spent five years among the Bhils of Khandesh, away from civilised comforts and European companionship, living with them, reclaiming these fierce savages from their habits of robbery and murder, disciplined them in a Bhil corps, opened a good life before them by teaching them agriculture and settled residence, and above all hunted large numbers of tigers (above 250 himself) which used to devour them. No wonder that the grateful Bhils came to believe that he was a god sent for their salvation. The Bhils have a belief that if a tiger kills a man, unless that tiger is killed immediately afterwards, the spirit of the dead man will ride the beast, which will thereafter roam about as a demon devastating that district with irresistible ferocity. After such a kill Outram would at once ride out, track and kill the tiger, and bring its body back so that the Bhil's relatives would be able to cremate him with peace of mind and the district around would be freed from the unearthly terror of the ghost-tiger. Here is his achievement:

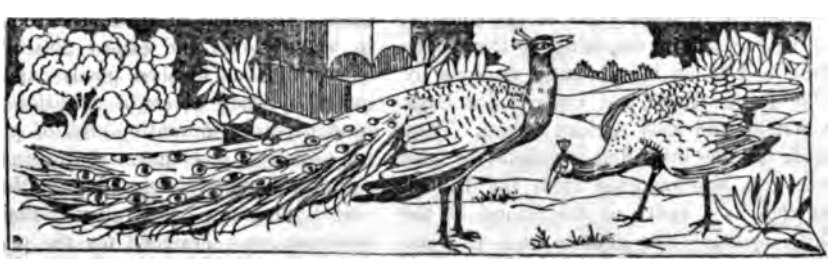
> "Within twenty months from the date of his opening move against the Bhils, James Outram had wrought something like a miracle of moral and social regeneration among the long-outlawed highlanders of the Khandesh border."—Trotter.
>
> "He spared no pains to establish over his outlawed friends the power which springs from tested sympathy—not that inspired by awe alone. They found, not only that he surpassed them in all they most admired, but that he thoroughly understood them and their ways; that he loved them; he could and did enter thoroughly into their fears and their difficulties, their joys and their sorrows. No wonder that we hear of his memory still lingering in Khandesh, shrouded by a semi-divine halo."—Goldsmid.

The Bhils are now minors under the guardianship of the Government of Delhi. What will our present rulers do to them? Will they find another Outram to win the hearts of the Bhils—or of the Nagas of the Assam frontier? Will it not rather be that they will shower on the heads of these backward jungle folk leaflets written in classical Hindi—in a style dictated by Seth Govind Das (so often heard correcting the Hindi of our M.P.s.)? And the result will surpass Outram's achievement.

And Outram was not merely a noble soldier, his friendly services to the Indian people on the civil side are equally memorable. He braved social unpopularity as a "pro-Native" by publicly denouncing in England Sir C. Napier's megalomania in driving the innocent branch of the Mirs of Sindh into war; and here in India he protested against the practice of thoughtless British judges and magistrates who used to summon witnesses from places a hundred miles or more away, to their headquarters or camp and keep them there at great discomfort and cost to themselves by not taking up their cases for months together. He publicly opposed Lord Canning's Oudh proclamation which confiscated the estates of all the Oudh taluqdars, though very few of them had then joined the mutineers,—and in the end Outram succeeded in getting this proclamation withdrawn and justice done to Indians.

The statue of a man like James Outram would be publicly honoured by any civilised race as a noble example held constantly before their children, to contemplate and imitate. Mrs. Annie Besant once wrote a book in which she posed the question—Is India a civilised country? Bengal will supply the answer.

Courtesy : *Hindusthan Standard*



THE SLUMP IN TEXTILES

By Dr. D. M. SINGH, M.A., Ph.D.,
University College, Trivandrum

The Present Slump Condition

The recent price recession in India has hit hard the textile industry. While some of the businesses appear to have revived to some extent at least after the initial shock, the textiles are still in difficulties. The slump in this major industry of our country has manifested itself in a lesser relative demand, fall in prices, and fall in share values. There were signs of lagging demand, excessive supplies and consequent fall in prices even in February. In all the textile centres, the stocks with the mills were accumulating fast. In the first week of March, it was reported from Ahmedabad that about 20,000 bales of cloth worth about Rs. 4 crores had accumulated with the local wholesale cloth merchants and that this had caused a reduction in prices ranging from 5 to 50% in all varieties below controlled price. The Delhi State government was not able to lift more than 35% of the 2500 bales of the quota allotted to them. The average monthly off-take of the Bombay government had fallen from about 16,000 bales to less than 500 bales, and the State government also decided not to buy any fine or superfine variety of cloth. Many other State governments followed the lead of Bombay and Delhi. In all, during the last two months, February and March, the State nominees have taken up only 10% of superfine and 35% of fine cloth allotted to them under the scheme of controlled distribution.

Exports have also declined fast. For the six months January to June 1952, the amount of fine and superfine cloth alloted for export is 100 million yards, excluding the carryover from the previous period. But the actual exports during the first three months have amounted to only about 40 million yards. „

With the slackening of the demand for finished goods, the off-take of cotton by the mills has also fallen. The supply of the raw material has been quite satisfactory, but the consumption rate has gone down. Since the beginning of the season last August to the end of January, India took only 28,628 bales of Egyptian cotton as against 41,243 bales during the corresponding period last season. Early in March, the Indian Central Cotton Committee pointed out that the quotas of Indian cotton allowed to the textile mills were not lifted promptly in some parts of the country. Hence difficulty had arisen in disposing of this year's crop and the price had fallen in upcountry markets by 10 to 15%. The Indian mills had ordered for large quantities of American and East African cotton. They are coming in bulk but the mills find it difficult to take delivery of them. It was reported from the Broach and Surat areas that as a result of the failure of the *mills to lift their quotas, the ginners* and 'C' class *license-holders who already had* large stocks on their hands ceased to make fresh purchases from the farmers. Conditions had so far deteriorated that many of the important cotton markets of the country remained closed for several days.

Along with the fall in demand, declining prices, and slackening of business, textile share values have also come tumbling down. During the last two months, the textile share market has generally been seller-ridden. The recent landslide in the values of important textile shares owing to persistent bearish activity can be seen from the following table :

	Feb. 19		March 6		April 1	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
Ahmedabad Advance	158	12	156	4	156	4
Bombay Dyeing	422	8	395	0	377	8
Kohinoor	322	0	294	0	289	0
Simplex	175	8	158	0	156	0
Swadeshi	285	9	273	0	249	8
Central India	222	0	199	8	184	0

On the average, in the short period of five weeks, the share values have fallen by 11%.

The cotton handloom industry, which supplies about one-third of the total demand for cloth in India, has also been gripped by the slump. The export of handloom cloth which found a ready market in the Middle and Far Eastern countries and Pakistan, has declined to about one-third of what it had been a few years ago. The internal markets have also become quite dull. In Cannanore, one of the biggest handloom industry centres on the West Coast, with about 20,000 looms spread over 1300 factories, stocks have mounted up worth about Rs. 50 lakhs. The jari industry of Surat has nearly been paralysed because of the loss of markets. Mr. K. C. Kappadia, a former President of the Surat Chamber of Commerce, has stated that two big weavers' co-operative societies of Surat, supplying cotton yarn to about 10,000 looms in the district have not indented for any quotas for April and May, while one of them has not lifted its February and March quotas.

The Remedial Measures Adopted

It is but natural that the textile interests got quite panicky at these alarming symptoms. They attributed the evil to government's slowness to act and indifference. According to them, the root of the trouble lay in heavy excise and export duties, restrictions, on the export of the finished goods and their distribution internally, lack of credit facilities for the purchase of foreign cotton, mounting cost of production and general consumer resistance. Surprisingly enough, government immediately responded to their appeal and took early measures to relieve their distress. These measures were designed for the purpose of facilitating easy internal distribution, encouraging exports and

redit facilities for the importers of foreign

first place, in order to ensure easier
internally, government have relaxed their
er the distribution by mills of certain
f cloth. According to the present arrange-
tas are assigned to the different States and
takes place through State nominees. But
off-take of these State nominees has
fallen in recent times, government have
hat mills will now be free to sell superfine
buyers of their own choice. As regards the
d medium variety, only half of the
of the mills of these will be allotted to
inees and the balance will be allowed to
y mills to licensed dealers of their own
ven of these, if the total allotment is not
the State nominees within the prescribed
lls will be free to dispose of the cloth to
ers. It has also been decided that no fine
whatever variety will be allocated to State
as such. Secondly, in order to facilitate
he export duty on raw cotton has been
om Rs. 400 per bale to Rs. 200 per bale
ft cotton waste from 50 per cent *ad valorem*
cent. The control on the export of fine
fine cloth has also been relaxed. Govern-
e decided to grant licenses freely for the
these varieties which are manufactured
ut of foreign cotton to all permissible
ns up to September 30, 1952. Lastly, with
provide better credit facilities for the
of foreign cotton, Government has decided
an assurance to scheduled banks that
cotton pledged with them against loans
o the mills would be bought by Government
equivalent in rupees to the American floor
uld the banks find it necessary to sell the
realise the loan. A similar assurance has
n in the matter of the purchase of East
otton also.

ugh immediately after the announcement of
asures of relief, there was an improvement
otton market, yet the downward trend has
satisfactorily arrested. Share values have
to fall. Severe cuts in the prices of finished
ve not broken consumer resistance. The lack
ad has led to heavy accumulation and
n of stocks in the mills. Early in April, it
rted from Bombay that one wholesale
a mill which was selling over 50,000 yards of
lay was selling now less than 300 yards. The
ers, finding that Government measures have
d the situation, have decided to cut short
n by closing down factories and reducing the
f shifts. Such drastic steps have already been
some mills *which has evoked a storm* of pro-
test from labour-leaders all over the country. Government's assurance to purchase foreign cotton at floor prices has had little effect in encouraging the off-take of American cotton by mills. As a result, supplies continue to pile up and conditions bordering on general panic still prevail in the cotton market of the country.

The External Factors

The fundamental reason why these remedial measures have failed to ease the situation is that the situation is caused primarily by two external factors over which Government has practically no control. Firstly, the slump in textile has affected all manufacturing countries and is just one aspect of the general depression conditions prevailing all over the world. It is a fact that since the cessation of active hostilities in Korea and the slacking of the armaments programme in the West, there has been a general downward trend in prices. And one of the industries that have been quite seriously affected by this trend is the textile industry. Britain, the largest market for Egyptian cotton, took only 33,809 bales during the August-January period this season as against 153,750 bales in the corresponding period last season. Lancashire, one of the important textile centres of the world, has been hit very hard. The Lancashire Textile Interests urged upon the attention of their Government the need for restricting or banning the import of foreign cloth. On the top of these difficulties came the decision of Australia to cut British imports by over £ A 200,000,000 in order to balance her own trade position. The adoption of short time working by the Lancashire mills has resulted in serious unemployment and the British Government, in response to the appeal of business classes as well as the labourers, have restricted the import of certain varieties of foreign cloth—white sheetings from India and grey cloth from Japan. These restrictive measures have reacted upon other countries. Even already waves of selling had sent textile prices crashing down in Japan ; and leading Okasa cotton spinners decided to curtail output by 26% of the previous years' output. Short time working has been adopted by several other countries as well. In Belgium, spining mills close two days each week. France has stopped importing Japanese cloth and many of the French textile firms are working below thirty hours per week. It is thus clear that the problem presented by the textile slump is not in any way special to India.

In the second place, the resurgence of Japanese industry after the war is an important factor to reckon with. India takes the second rank among the textile producing countries of the world. In 1951, of the total textile output of the world (40,500 million sq. yards) U.S.A. produced 11,480 million sq. yards or 28% and India produced 4,100 million sq. yards or 10%. In 1950 India was the largest exporter of textiles (1,120 million

yards) but in the next year exports fell so much that India ranked fourth among the textile exporting countries of the world. On the other hand, during the last two years, Japan has developed her industry so remarkably that not only has she increased very much her total production but has also succeeded in recovering her lost position as the world's leading exporter of cotton fabrics. Export of cotton piece goods from Japan in 1951 were 1082 million sq. yards while India shipped only 744 milion sq. yards in the first eleven months of 1951. The export of Japan in 1951 constituted 46.1% of her total output as against 15.5% in 1949. This remarkable development in the short period of a couple of years has been due as much to the enterprise of the people as to the assistance of U.S.A. in the form of liberal supply of cotton and finance. As a result of this development, Japan has been able to capture many of the external markets of India, and it is doubtful whether in the normal course of events India would recover her lost position.

The Way Out

It may be seen from the foregoing analysis that the present plight of the textile business in our country is due mostly to adverse external circumstances. Increasing consumer resistance, higher costs of production and distributional difficulties would have aggravated the condition in this country, but these are at best secondary factors and hence the removal of these difficulties has not improved matters. In reality the way out of this difficulty lies in a readjustment in the attitude of the textile interests in India. It is idle to expect that the external trade would reach its former dimensions. But at the same time, it is necessary to realise that a very extensive and expanding market awaits exploitation in the country.

It is a painful fact that millions in our country are underfed and ill-clothed. Even today in many of the up-country markets, consumers pay more than the stamped prices for the cloth which they buy. It is possible to increase sales to a considerable extent inside the country. But then it is necessary to concentrate more on the production of what consumers need and what they can afford to buy. There is, thereofre, a strong case for the production of more and more of coarse and medium cloth and also for bringing down cost by adopting improved techniques of production, by scientific management and rationalisation. This, however, would mean lower profits and may be unpalatable to business classes who have been accustomed to huge profits during the last few years. But it is necessary that they should reconcile themselves to the changed state of affairs. Freedom in business enterprise means not only freedom to appropriate profits, but also willingness and preparedness to bear the losses. Above all, textile business should become more self-reliant and less dependent on government support and encouragement.

———:O:———

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

By Miss BANI BOSE, B.A., Dip Lib.,
Assistant, National Library

I

The Calcutta Public Library owes its origin to J. H. Stocqueler, Editor of *Englishman*, who in August, 1835 circulated an address among the principal inhabitants of Calcutta. 136 gentlemen supported his scheme. On 31st August, 1835, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, with Sir John Peter Grant in the Chair. A provisional Committee of 24 was formed which included only two Indians, Rasik Krishna Mallik and Russamoy Dutt. The Committee applied for a temporary use of apartments in the Town Hall for the Library, which apparently was not granted. J. H. Stocqueler was elected the first Hony. Secretary of the Library. On March 8, 1836, the Library was opened.

The nucleus of the Library was formed by donations from private individuals and by transfer from the Library of the College of Fort William, of a valuable collection of books consisting of 4675 volumes by *the Governor-General Lord (then* Charles) Metcalfe.

The attempt to secure a portion of the Town Hall for the Library did not apparently meet with success. The Library was located in the house of Dr. F. B. Strong at Esplanade Row from its foundation when in July 1841, it was removed to a portion of the College of Fort William.

The Library was allowed by the Government, along with the Agri-Horticultural Society, a piece of land in 1840 on which the Metcalfe Hall has been built.* The cost of the building, which was designed by C. K. Robinson, Magistrate of Calcutta, and built by Burn & Co., amounted to Rs. 68,000, to which the sum contributed by the Library was Rs. 16,398-0-8, the balance being the contribution of the Agri-Horticultural Society and of other bodies who had originally intended to do honour individually to Lord Metcalfe for the emancipation of the Press and for his private and public service. In June, 1844, the Library was removed to the upper floor of the Metcalfe Hall.

* Report on Calcutta Public Library, 1889, page 10.

Membership

ginally subscribers were divided into three and their subscriptions were as follows :

	Entrance fee	*Monthly*
st Class	Rs. 20	Rs. 6
cond Class	Rs. 16	Rs. 4
ird Class	Nil	Rs. 2

rd class subscribers were not permitted to take v books or periodicals, only old books were . In 1857, the following new scale of subscrip- s introduced, payable in advance :

	Annual	*Half yearly*	*Quarterly*	*Monthly*
	Rs.	Rs.a.p.	Rs.a.p.	Rs.
ss	60	30	17	6
ss	40	21	11	4
ss	20	10 8 0	5 8 0	2
ss	10	5 8 0	2 12 0	1

scriptions falling in arrears were to be charged monthly rate. In 1864, the following rule was nd Life Memberships introduced :

"Subscribers were exempted from all charge of paying their subscription for 10 years or making heir subscription 10 years payment. Those who thus paid up were entitled, during the remain- of their lives, to all the privileges belonging to cribers of their several classes."

e fourth class subscribers were allowed to take y one old book. This grade was abolished in it revived again in 1884. The number of books to the first three classes in 1866, were :

rst class	..	..	.. 7 books
cond class	..	..	.. 5 books
ird class	..	..	.. 2 books

1848, the monthly average of subscription was and the cost of establishment Rs. 239, giving ncome of Rs. 663 exclusive of miscellaneous . In 1872, the monthly average of subscription . 685 and monthly cost of establishment Rs. 386 ving a net income of Rs. 299 as against Rs. 663 taining a circulation of books which amounted 30 sets in 1872 as against 20,653 sets in 1848.

The Patrons

find eminent sons of Bengal taking active in the Library. Among the first proprietors Dwarka Nath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, ranath Tagore, Ram Gopal Ghose, Raja Radha Dev, Matilal Sil, Raja Satya Charan Ghosal, Pratap Chandra Singh, Ramanath Tagore, Nath Sikdar and Rajendra Nath Datta.

caulay was in India in 1847 and he became a tor of the Library. In 1852, Sashi Chandra Rama Prasad Roy and Kishori Chand Mitra the Library as proprietors. In 1859, Sambhunath in 1861, Shibchandra Deb and Mohesh Chandra hury, in 1865 Dr. Mohendralal Sarkar, in 1869 h Chandra Mitra, in 1870 Jaygovinda Law also joined the Library as proprietors. Amongst the Europeans who took active interest in the Library were James Princep, Sir John Peter Grant, J. C. Marshman, H. Beveridge, J. E. Drinkwater Bethune and J. B. Knight.

The shares of proprietors who left India or died, which were not claimed and the claimant's title was not recognised by the Curators within five years from the time of such death or departure, reverted to the Library at the end of such five years.

The News Room

The News Room was kept open from sunrise to sunset and the Library from 9 A.M. till sunset daily except on Sundays and the following holidays :

(1)	New Year's Day	..	.. 1 day
(2)	Saraswati Puja	..	.. 1 day
(4)	Queen's Birthday	..	.. 1 day
(4)	Good Friday	..	.. 1 day
(5)	Durga Puja	..	.. 5 days
(6)	Christmas Day	..	.. 1 day

Catalogue

The first catalogue of the Library was published in 1836. The first supplementary classified catalogue of books since added was ready for the press in 1858 and was published in 1860. The second supplementary catalogue was published in 1867. Since then the catalogue was revised but not printed because sales did not justify incurring of further expenditure. MSS catalogue was kept ready for reference.

In the Annual General Meeting of 1856 a resolution was passed for fire insurance of the Library. Agri-Horticultural Society was approached to join the Library in effecting insurance of the building against fire. No reply was received and the proposal does not seem to have materialised.

Proposal for Branch Library

In 1857, it was decided to establish a branch Library in the "Native part of the Town" experimentally for one year. Duplicates of periodicals and books were allotted to it. No part of the expense however was to be forced by the Library. A special committee for the Library was formed with Raja Pratap Chandra Singh, Ramanath Tagore and P. S. D. Rozario. Twenty-four gentlemen, of whom 19 were Bengalis and included men like Prasanna Coomar Tagore, Ramgopal Ghose, Harachandra Ghosh, Peary Chand Mitra, Kisorichand Mitra, Rasik Krishna Mallick, Durgacharan Banerjee and Dr. Sarjecoomar Goodeve Chakravarti, agreed to pay one rupee monthly towards the aid of the proposed branch Library. Raja Partap Chandra Singh offered free of rent two rooms of his *Chuck* in *Nootun Bazar* which were however not found well suitable for the purpose. Whether the branch was actually started cannot be ascertained.

Establishment

The salaries of the Library staff in 1849 and 1864 were as follows :

	1849	1864
	Rs.	Rs.
Librarian	120	200
First Assistant	36	55—4—75
Second Assistant)		40—2—50
Third Assistant)	55	35—1—55
Fourth Assistant)		30—1—35
Fifth Assistant)		35
Cash Keeper	14	30—36

13 Servants.....Total Rs. 83-8-0.

In 1866, a Sub-committee was formed to enquire into the number and pay of assistants, whose number was reduced to 3. The above pay scale was retained. The Sub-committee also recommended application of a portion of the fixed assets of the Library to the purchase of standard works, the sum to be spent being limited to Rs. 5000 during 1867 and 1868.

Peary Chand Mitra resigned in 1866 as stipendiary Librarian and remained as Hony. Librarian. A Deputy Librarian on Rs. 100 was appointed to relieve him from a portion of his detailed duties. The designation of Peary Chand Mitra was changed to Hony. Curator of the Library. Gopi Kissen Mitter was appointed Deputy Librarian. The Deputy Librarian got an increment of Rs. 20 in 1868.

As the post of Hony. Curator carried no privilege with it, Peary Chand Mitra was finally elected Hony. Proprietor in 1878. The only other Hony. Proprietor was Dr. F. P. Strong. In 1873, the following pay revision was made :

Librarian	..	..	80—10—100
1st Asstt.	..	..	55—10—75
2nd Asstt.	..	..	30—10—50
3rd Asstt.	..	..	16

The designation of Deputy Librarian was dropped.

Ideological Conflict

The year 1848 was one of worldwide advance in democratic ideals. In that year a conflict of two ideals in the Library, namely, authoritarianism and democratisation was perceptible. On September 9, 1848, T. Smith wrote from Dum Dum a letter in which he suggested methods for keeping in check the growing democratic influence in the management of the Library. He suggested that a subscriber of the third class be entitled to one vote, a subscriber of the second class to two, and a subscriber of the first class and a proprietor to three votes. On October 17 that year Debendra Nath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Ramgopal Ghose, Satya Charan Ghosal, Protapchandra Singh and Peary Chand Mitra wrote :

> "The number of volumes now forming the collection of this Library is about 20,000 to which unrestricted access is given to poor students, strangers and, in fact, the public at large without any charge. One of the great objects of the *formation* of this institution is the dissemination of *European literature and science* in this country."

In his letter the signatories supported not only the broad basis of the Library but also expressed their desire to extend it further. They suggested that the curators should write to the foreign learned society for free supply of their publications. Accordingly, applications were made to fifty learned societies of Great Britain. T. Smith's letter was considered in a meeting of the Curators and was rejected.

It was at this time that gradual additions to the Library of works of different oriental languages started. Arrangements were made for securing through provincial agents books in Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati, Marathi and Punjabi from India and, Pali and Singhalese books from Colombo.

In 1849, the abolition of entrance fees, reduction in subscription rates and establishment of a one-rupee class of subscribers extended the usefulness of the institution without causing any decrease in its monthly income. The increase in the number of readers after this concession may be seen from the following figures :

August 1849	..	..	..	137
September 1849	..	..	..	393
October 1849	..	..	..	387
November 1849	..	..	..	360
December 1849	..	..	..	323

In 1850, the number of visitors to the Library was 6603. For misuse of the Library admission of strangers was restricted. In 1851, the number of visitors showed a slight decline and was 5823.

Registration of the Library

The Library was registered under Act 43 of 1850 on June, 1851. The management of the Library was reorganised in conformity of the Registration Act. A Committee of three Curators to be chosen annually by the Proprietors and subscribers was formed. The Curators were deemed to be trustees of the Library. The circulation of the following books without special permission of the Curators was stopped : (1) Encyclopedias, (2) Dictionaries, (3) Regulations and Acts of Governments, (4) Valuable and illustrated books and rare books, difficult of replacement. Radhanath Sikdar and A. H. Blechynden were appointed Auditors. Radhanath Sikdar donated out of the first audit fees that he received, Rs. 39 to the Library and the balance to his clerk who assisted him in his work. The full amount of the fees and the reason for arriving at such an odd figure of donation to the Library could not be ascertained.

The Library was also registered under Act 21 of 1860 in 1871.

Reorganisation

A Sub-committee consisting of A. Rogers, Jaygopal Sen, Colly Prasanna Dutt and R. H. Hollingbery was appointed on February 10, 1873 to enquire into the financial conditions of the Calcutta Public Library. They said that "nothing short of a curtailment of

ges can remove the existing dissatisfaction at ›w circulation and insufficient supply of books ; travagant privileges have both increased the d for books and reduced the Library's means for g that demand, nay, they must also have pre- many persons from becoming subscribers who he use, through subscribing friends, of the books the latter can afford to lend, out of excessive which they now get from the Library." Reduc- f privileges was considered imperatively neces- nd was effected. Jay Gopal Sen and Colly na Dutt suggested the formation of two com- ı of management, *viz.*, a Finance Committee of members to be elected annually from the pro- s and a Committee of Selection to include the e Committee and additional members. Rogers ollingbery suggested a Council of 15 members ng 8 proprietors. It was also proposed that issue : books and new periodicals should be stopped. ommittee reported on May 6, 1873.

pursuance of the Report of the Sub-committee anisation of the Library was made. The manage- vas entrusted to a Council of 15 of whom 8 tors and 7 subscribers of Class 1 and Class 2 were lected. Two committees were to be formed from it members of the Council—(i) Finance, Cor- lence and House Committee and (ii) Commit- selection of books, periodicals and other publi- and preparation of catalogues.

e first President of the Council was J. A. Craw- id Vice-Presidents J. B. Knight and Ramanath . The Council included Jagadananda Mookerjee, al Sen and Jadunath Ghose. David Waldie : one of the Joint-Auditors and Gopikrishna the Librarian. In 1874, in addition to the three, Peary Chand Mitra and Romesh Chandra came in the Council.

iharaja Narendra Krishna was the first Indian the President of the Council in 1877. Dr. iralal Sarkar was elected Vice-President in id continued till 1882.

The Difficult Period

1885, the year of the birth of the Indian al Congress, the Library was in acute financial icy. The book purchase grant was reduced. id put forward a proposal that a Sub-committee ointed to arrange some basis on which the local ment might join the Council in developing the '. This proposal was unanimously carried and a nmittee of six proprietors was formed. A. izie proposed that the Library should be con- into a free Public Library. The Council ap- of the Mackenzie scheme. Mackenzie was in of converting the institution into a Municipal '. His scheme was as follows :

1. The Library and all its appurtenances to be e over to *the Municipality of Calcutta*, to be by it maintained in perpetuity as a free Library for the Town and Suburbs, to which all respectable citizens shall be admitted for purposes of reading and study on the premises ; all invested funds so transferred to be subject to any trusts or charges now existing.

2. The free Library to be supplemented by a "Lending Department" open only to subscribers and to the holders of "shares" in the old (present) Public Library.

3. The management of the Library, in all departments to be vested in a Council composed as follows :

(1) Six nominees of the Municipality.

(2) Four elected representatives of the Proprietors of the old (present) Library.

(3) Two nominees of the Bengal Government (these last to look specially after the large interests which Government has in the Library collection, and to see to the due appropriation of any grants).

(4) Transferable shares of proprietors of the old (present) Library to continue transferable, but, without registration fee or fine on transfer, the holders to have in the Lending Department all the privileges of first class subscribers.

(5) The free Library to be open from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M. daily; the cost of books, papers and periodicals, establishment, and lighting to be borne by the Municipality.

(6) The Lending Department to be open between the hours of 10 A.M. and 5 P.M. on all week-days; the cost of books, etc., and establishment to be met from subscriptions, and the proceeds of any invested funds made over to the Municipality by the old (present) Library which are not subject to any specific trust.

(7) The Municipality to be empowered to levy a Library rate, not exceeding one pie in the rupee of the town assessment for the maintenance of the free Library and the repair of the building, etc.

(8) The Bengal Government to be invited to contribute towards the establishment of the free Library by providing suitable accommodation for the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, either in connection with the Economic Museum or elsewhere as may best meet the wishes of that Society. Failing this the Municipality to be empowered to appropriate by purchase the Society's share in the Metcalfe Hall.

(9) The Bengal Government to be asked to undertake any legislation necessary to give validity to these arrangements.

Mackenzie pointed out that the maintenance of the Free Library was a Municipal duty, but Government might very probably see its way to helping if matters were properly laid before it. The burden on the town would be infinitesimal. A one-pie cess will realise on the present assessment about Rs. 69,000.

A resolution passed at a special meeting of the Library on 30.1.1886 :

"That it be referred to the Council of the Library to enter into negotiations with the Government of Bengal and the Corporation of Calcutta with the view of converting the Library into a Free Public Library, preserving the rights of the Proprietors so far as can consistently be done subject to the approval of the members at a special meeting."

On March 21, 1887, Government turned down the request on financial ground. The Corporation stated that as the conditions for uses of free Public Libraries in European towns was scarcely existent in Calcutta, the Corporation was hardly justified in supporting a Free Library which would be used almost entirely by the wealthier members of the community who then subscribed to it and would probably cease to do so.

In 1888, Sir Stuart Bailey, Lt.-Governor of Bengal, revived the Mackenzie Scheme of 1885. A Committee of five of whom three were Government nominees and two elected by the Library was formed. Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar was taking active interest in the formation of the Municipal Library and represented the Library on this Committee. This time the effort met with success. At the meeting of the Commissioners of Calcutta Corporation on January 15, 1890, the Corporation accepted the recommendation of the Government committee and agreed to bear the entire expenses of the Library.

The management of the Library then passed on to a joint committee of which six were to be appointed by the Corporation and six by the proprietors and the subscribers of the Library. The President of the Library must be elected from the Municipal nominees, and the Vice-President from others. Sir H. Harrison was at this time the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation.

Municipal Library

On April 20, 1890, the management of the Library passed into the hands of the Calcutta Corporation. On May 20, 1890, the new Council was elected. H. Lee, Chairman of Calcutta Corporaiton, was elected President of the Library Council and Maharaja Narendra Krishna, Vice-President. The Council included H. Beveridge and Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar. Bepin Chandra Pal was selected as Secretary and Librarian out of 219 applicants for the post.

New rules were prepared and passed by the Council on November 24, 1890. The preparation of a general list of books arranged according to author's names, with copious and detailed cross references under subject-headings, making what is known as a Dictionary Catalogue, was undertaken under the direction of the new Librarian. The new system was adopted at the suggestion of H. Beveridge, member of the Council and the late President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Free Public Reading Room was opened in July 1890. Under the new arrangement a Free Reference Library was formed side by side with the existing circulating Library. Popularity and usefulness of the Reference Department increased as soon as the Public Reading Room was opened. The number of subscribers for the circulating section did not show any increase.

In 1892, Bepin Chandra Pal resigned and Radha Raman Mitra was appointed Secretary and Librarian.

The growth in the popularity of the Library since it was taken over by the Municipality can be seen from the table :

A comparative statement of attendance at the Free Reading Rooms

Years	European & Eurasians, etc.	Indians	Total	Daily-average during the year
1890-91	8469	4830	13299	50.7
1891-92	14858	12984	27842	78
1892-93	15475	17295	32770	92.4

On the Council of 1892-93 Corporation representatives, besides the Chairman himself, included Narendra Nath Sen, Editor, *Indian Mirror*, Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, Radha Charan Pal and Nawab Abdul Latif Khan.

Tre Government of Bengal paid a donation of Rs. 5000 towards the expenses of the reorganisation of the Library. A further sum of Rs. 5000 was paid after the Council raised an equivalent amount by subscription. In 1891, Messrs Lovelock & Lewis, Chartered Accountants, were appointed as Auditors of the Library.

In 1890, the Government of Bengal proposed to make over to the Library a large collection of English and Vernacular books of the Bengal Library to be kept for reference in the Calcutta Public Library on condition that Hara Prasad Sastri, the Librarian of the Bengal Library, should be a Government nominee on the Council. The Proprietors and subscribers of the Library objected and said that either the number of members of the Council be increased to 14 giving 7 to Proprietors, 6 to the Municipality and one to the Government, or the new member should have no vote except on matters relating to the Government collection. A Sub-committee was formed which recommended that Hara Prasad Sastri's nomination on the Council could be accepted only if the number of Proprietors and Subscribers' representatives was increased to 7. The Government withdrew its offer of placing the Bengal Library books at the Calcutta Public Library for reference since the Council could not see their way to appointing Hara Prasad Sastri as the Government representative.

(To be continued)

A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

I

One of the indices to the interest of a people in its national art is the number of books and periodicals published to afford facilities for discussion or dissemination of the art-products of a nation. Periodicals and journals on Art help to sustain interest in the subject, whet curiosity, and assist a critical understanding and judgment of the merits and qualities of art produced, and, otherwise stimulate and inspire its development on healthy lines. The number and the merits of journals of art published from time to time, offer interesting evidence of the interest of a people in the culture of the visual arts, and are a sure index of the vitality of its spiritual life, which finds expression more in the expressive channels of art than of literature. Literature is confined to a fractional section of the people, particularly in India, where illiteracy has been a handicap in all periods of its history, while the visual arts have been practised and understood by both the literate and the illiterate sections. The cultivation of the visual arts and a critical appreciation of its finest products, ancient and modern, have been a staple part of the culture of all the civilized peoples of Europe and America as evidenced by various National Galleries of Art, set up in every city of the West and the brisk trade in and a live patronage of art-products, for which there is a passionate thirst incessantly demanding a fulfilment.

It was expected that in Free India, Indian nationals would exhibit a renewed and re-awakened interest in Indian visual arts which have illuminated the pages of history in the past. The masterpieces of art produced in historical periods in all branches of the nation's culture, her architecture, sculpture, painting and an infinite variety of crafts and objects of applied art, provide a brilliant record of intellectual and spiritual life, the merits and extent of which are very little realized by our so-called educated brethren today.

The comparative decadence and the ebb-tide in the cultivation of the visual arts have been due not to any inherent debility or loss of energy in Indian art, but due to a general apathy, and, to the disturbance of the social and spiritual equilibrium and to antagonistic political and economic forces introduced by the British dominion in India for the last century and a half.

But even this dark period of art culture has from time to time evinced sporadic interest in the subject which one can gauge by taking a stock of the periodical publicatoins on Art, produced during the last century.

It is proposed to give a running commentary on various journals of Indian art, which have appeared and disappeared in India since the last decade of the nineteenth century. We cannot trace the appearance of any art periodical previous to 1884. The earliest journal on the subject was due to the initiative of *not* Indian nationals, but of the British Government, helped by a group of English connoisseurs of art, who developed a curiosity to know and appraise the art-products of a conquered continent.

1884 : Pursuant to an official resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, dated at Calcutta on the 14th March, 1884, recommending the improvement of Indain art-manufactures and the promotion of trade in Indian art-wares, a *Journal of Indian Art* was begun to be published with the help of those who desire the promotion of Oriental Art with the practical object of establishing in all parts of the world in which an interest is taken in the art-manufacturers of India, a better knowledge of the various types now existing, "with the view both of increasing the demand for them, and of facilitating their supply through the agency of traders in Oriental wares to whom, it is anticipated, that the information will be useful." In the preface to the first number issued in January 1884 (price Re. 1 or 1s. 6d) it was stated that "this *Journal* will afford a means of receiving information regarding specimens of Eastern art-wares or illustrations and sketches of their designs and patterns which cannot fail to be useful in the restoration of Indian art."

Published as a Quarterly Journal in folio size (15 in. × 10 in.) under the patronage of the Government of India, edited by an anonymous Editor and printed by Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons Ltd. (Pekham, London) it was continuously issued in four numbers in each year, right up to the year 1916 and sold latterly at 2 shillings per issue. The seven volumes contain very valuable articles by experts and Government officials bearing on various phases of Indian applied art, such as wood-carving, brass, copper and silver wares, carpets and textiles, ivories and jewelleries with excellent illustrations reproduced in photo-lithographs and collotypes in which Messrs Griggs & Sons were expert engravers. Originally confined, principally, to art-wares and crafts, during the closing years of its career the journal extended its scope and published articles on Indian sculpture and painting, *e.g.*, Coomaraswamy's articles on "Painted Ceiling at Kelaniya Vihara," Jaina illustrated MSS., "Notes on Jaina Art," "Rajput Miniatures" (*The Eight Nayikas*) (No. 124, 1914) and O. C. Gangoly's article on the "New Indian School of Painting." It is desirable that the officers of the National Library should issue a classified catalogue of the contents of this journal,

specifying the titles of articles and their authors for the use of our research-scholars, and, until such an Index is issued scholars may find references to the important articles given by Coomaraswamy in his *Bibliographics of Indian Art* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1945). Being a journal, printed and published from London but financed by the Government of India, strictly speaking, this publication does not come within the scope of our survey confined to publications in India.

1902 : Archæology is a science rather than a direct study of art though it collects valuable raw materials and data for the study of the history of art. From this point of view the profusely and excellently illustrated *Annual Reports* of the Director-General of Archæology in India, initiated by Sir John Marshall from 1902 (printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta) do not come strictly under the list of Art Journals. But they contain authoritative and excellent articles and discussions and first-hand reports on valuable data for art-history based on the discovery of new materials of the study of Indian art unearthed and revealed by scientific excavations and explorations. The articles, surveys and details of excavations, published in these profusely illustrated Reports, are indispensable for all students of Indian art and have richly performed the function of a journal of Indian art. After the retirement of Sir John Marshall this annual publication has been continued to be edited and published by his Indian successors Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani, Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and others.

These Reports contain, besides details of administrative, conservation and exploration works, important articles discussing various phases of the history of Indian art with citations of profusely illustrated specimens of ancient and mediæval art, contributed by trained archæological experts, namely, the Assistant Superintendents of Archæological Survey of the various circles covering the archæological sites and monuments in the different provinces. The prices of these Reports (published in Folio size, 13 in. × 11 in.) have varied according to the number of pages and illustrations from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per volume. This annual publication covering the work of the Survey under various sections of conservation, exploration and research, epigraphy, museums, treasure-trove, etc., was published up to the period 1936-37 after which its scope was cut down to conservation Report only (1937-38). Fortunately the contents of this periodical publication are covered by two Index Volumes, the first covering the period 1902-1916 by G. R. Kaye (1924) and the second volume covering the subsequent period. In addition to these Annual Reports, the Department has published a long series of *memoirs* or monographs devoted to various important monuments and archæological data and materials which cover seventy separate memoirs, the last number 70, being devoted to an excellent survey of the Gupta Temple at Deogarh by Pandit M. S. Vats. These memoirs should be covered by an Index specifying the subject treated and their authors.

The *Annual Reports* of the Archæological Survey appear to have been discontinued after 1937 and replaced by a periodical bulletin under the title *Ancient India* issued from 1947. This bulletin continued in several issues has published various important articles of great scientific values, elucidating the history of Indian art in many of its phases. We can cite here only a few of the many contributions that have appeared in *Ancient India* : (1) Pottery of Ahichhatra by Ghosh and Panigrahi (January, 1946), (2) Image of Mahadeva in the Cave-temple on Elephant Island, by S. Kramrisch (July 1946), (3) The Terracottas of Ahichhatra by V. S. Agarwala (July 1947-January 1948), (4) Sisupalgarh (1948), An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India by B. B. Lal (January 1949). Unfortunately no issues for 1951 and 1952 have yet been published.

1920 : An epoch-making event in the history of the study of Indian art was the publication (as the organ of the Indian Society of Oriental Art) of *Rupam*, a Quarterly Journal of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian, of which the first issue appeared in January, 1920, edited by O. C. Gangoly, the Vice-President of the Art Society which was founded a few years ago by Abanindranath Tagore in association with a group of Englishmen deeply interested in the study and appreciation of Indian art, of whom the leading figures were Sir John Woodroffe, W. Thornton (Architect), Norman Blount (Connoisseur of Art). The first number made a sensation throughout the world of art presenting the surprising features of Indian Art with three significant contributions throwing new light on three important phases of Indian art-history : (1) A Panel from the Pallava Temples at Mahavalipuram, (2) The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India, illustrating the link between the Buddhist Art of Ajanta (Western India) with the Pala school of painting, continuing the tradition in Bengal, as demonstrated by a series of colour reproductions from the 11th century MS. illustrations of *Prajnaparamita*, written during the reign of Ramapala, (3) Kirtimukha, The Life-history of an Indian Architectural Ornament, with 34 illustrations. The study of Indian art, particularly its masterpieces of painting, had suffered grievously in the past owing to clumsy and inadequate processes of reproductions which had failed to convey the refined beauty and delicate flavour of Indian masterpieces. The Editor, therefore, chalked out a programme to reproduce choice masterpieces of painting by the most perfect process of four-colour production, perfected by the English engravers and to present masterpieces of sculpture by the photogravure process (never before used in any Indian publication), which reproduced the characteristic beauties of Indian plastic

art with meticulous details, impossible to obtain in the half-tone process. Even for the black and white plates, published in *Rupam*, the blocks were made in London in 250-grain screen, never used in any illustrated books or periodicals in India. This new Journal of Art, printed on Indian hand-made paper, at once set a very high standard of excellence to reveal all the intrinsic beauty and delicacy of Indian art and its evasive flavour, through the finest processes of reproduction, so that the unique quality of Indian art could be conveyed to the best connoisseurs of art without any loss of values and merits. This high standard set for reproducing Indian masterpieces at once appealed to students of art and helped to build up a group of connoisseurs in India and made them sensitive to the peculiar merits of Indian art as unique expression of the Indian mind, revealed through perfect processes of reproduction.

Very valuable research-work has been contributed by Indian scholars, research-workers, and talented professors in our Indian Universities to elucidate the history and the development of various branches of Indian culture, particularly, through the edition and reading of important inscriptions, coins, MSS, travel-records and other sources revealing the march of Indian civilization in the dynastic histories of kings and through the discovery of many unknown masterpieces of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrita and other literatures. The valuable new discoveries of new data of Indian history have been incessantly published in the various research journals in India, numbering more than a dozen monthly and periodical publications. But the researches of our Indian scholars have scarcely touched the rich and colourful records of Indian art in its numerous phases. *Rupam* for the first time opened a new forum for publishing open discussions and intensive studies of Indian art-history, in all its diverse branches and schools, incessantly presenting new documents for study hitherto unknown or neglected. By presenting masterpieces of Indian art through the most perfect processes of reproduction, it opened the eyes of Indians to the profound beauties of their national art and won lovers and admirers of the unique phases of Indian culture throughout the world. It easily won the co-operation of Oriental scholars in foreign countries who considered it an honour to contribute to its pages. In this way the best authorities and experts of Oriental Art were drawn to assemble under the glorious yellow banner of Indian art. It will be sufficient to mention only a few names of the European orientalists who have contributed to its pages: E. Vredenberg (Geologist), James H. Cousins (Irish poet), C. R. Ashbee (Architect), T. W. Arnold, J. Hackin (Tibetan expert), Laurence Binyon (English authority on Far Eastern Art), F. D. K. Bosch (Dutch archaeologist), W. S. Hadaway (Principal, Madras School of Art), E. B. Havell, Hermann Goetz (German authority on Moghul painting), Alfred Salmony (expert on Asiatic Art), Horace F. Jayne (American authority on Chinese Art), H. Parmentier (French archaeologist), E. Blochet (French expert on Persian painting) and Stella Kramrisch.

In the absence of a complete Index to *Rupam*, published in 44 quarterly issues covering eleven years' brilliant presentation of Indian and Eastern art in many phases (1920-1930), it is impossible to refer to the numerous valuable contributions which adorned its pages. We must be content by referring to a few of its original and brilliant contributions. Of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's many illuminating contributions to its pages the most outstanding items were "Nagara Painting" (Nos. 37, 38), "Buddhist Reliefs from Nagarjunikonda (Nos. 38, 39), "Drawings of Rabindranath Tagore" (No. 44) and "Relations of Moghul and Rajput Paintings" (No. 31). Many Indian authorities contributed some very valuable papers revealing many new documents of Indian painting. Of these contributors, eulogistic references must be made to the two epoch-making articles by Ajit Ghose, the well-known collector and connoisseur of Indian art. (1) "Old Bengal Paintings" (Nos. 27, 28), (2) "The Basohli School of Rajput Painting" (No. 37). Equally epoch-making was the discovery of the dated Roll of Vasanta Vilasa (Indian Painting in the 15th century, *Rupam*, Nos. 22, 23). The Editor's own original contributions are represented by four illuminating articles "Kirtimukha" (No. 1), "The Mithuna in Indian Art" (Nos. 22, 23), "The Cult of Agastya" (No. 25, January 1926), "On the Authenticity of the Feminine Portraits of the Moghul School" (Nos. 33, 34). Of other Indian contributors reference must be made to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's brilliant article on "Some Ramayana Reliefs from Prambanam" (Nos. 33, 34) and his critical review of Gangoly's "Masterpieces of Rajput Painting" (No. 36). The *Rupam* specialized in publishing long and elaborate reviews of all important books and monographs on Oriental art, and its reviews have stimulated and inspired the study and appreciation of the merits of Asiatic art for more than a decade. Of many outstanding reviews we can only mention a few examples: E. B. Havell's review of Kramrisch's *Fundamentals of Indian Art* (Nos. 27, 28), Dr. Coomaraswamy's review of Bacchofer's *Early Indian Sculpture* (Nos. 42, 43, 44, April-October, 1930), Prof. Dhurjjati Prosad Mukherjee's review of Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting* (Nos. 35, 36), the reviews of the volumes of *Arts Asiatica* by Plotinus and others (Nos. 27, 28), and the Editor's review of Percy Brown's *Moghul Painting* (No. 21). Very brilliant and illuminating controversies throwing light on the exact relationship between continental Indian art and the colonial art of Indonesia are recorded in the pages of *Rupam*, of which the most important are Bosch's article on "An Hypothesis on the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art" (No. 17), followed by a seven-column criticism of the paper by the Editor (same No., pages 84-87).

Altogether the services that *Rupam* has rendered in stimulating the study and criticism of Indian art cannot be too highly praised. We shall conclude our review by quoting two tributes from an American critic :

"There is no journal equal to *Rupam* in any part of the world."—PRESCOTT.

"I am a faithful reader of *Rupam* and I am writing to tell you how much I enjoy it and what an important work you are doing."—THEODORE SIZER, Curator of Oriental Art : The Cleveland Museum of Art. (*To be continued*)

—:O:—

MORE ABOUT THE HINDU REINCARNATION THEORY

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

SINCE publication of "The Scientific Aspect of Hindu Reincarnation Theory" in the May (1950) number of *The Modern Review*, some friends have asked the present writer to make the treatment a bit more intelligible to the man in the street. Hence these lines.

The core of the Hindu reincarnation theory lies in the identity of some one having his life and being here and now with another having his existence at an earlier period in the sequence of time. Can it be done ?

The analogy of a very large lump of clay constantly being kneaded in a mixer, and, two men working at it, one making toys of all shapes and forms all the time and the other picking them up one after another at random and throwing them back into the mother lump in the mixer may be of some help in understanding the situation. This analogy gives the picture of continuous births and deaths without ceasing and without exhausting the material out of which these toys were made. Let it be supposed that for purposes of identification these clay objects are numbered serially from A to Z, each series again bearing a number, 1,2,3, . . . *n*. The reincarnation theory would hold good if only it is possible to prove that the toy numbered K-72 is identical with say, J-17. Obviously, this is absurd. Let it now be supposed that the same lump of clay of which the toy K-72 was fashioned is subsequently used to make first, a horse, and later a cat, a dog, a man, a tortoise or a woman. Undoubtedly, the existing situation resembles the first instance rather than the second, where identity is established beyond the shadow of a doubt.

The implications of the proposition set forth here require close scrutiny. The ideas and ideals determining thought, conduct, and institutions of the vast majority of the population inhabiting India, excluding the Mussalmans and the Christians, are moulded by a firm beilef in reincarnation. This belief, a hypothesis at best, may be traced to an extension of the Law of Causation, to wit, every effect must have its cause. How else are the differences and vicissitudes of life to be explained ? This attitude is negative, and does not establish the proposition. It amounts to this, since no other explanation is available, therefore the proposition is established ! It may be asked, why should a ready explanation be available in all instances ? Obviously, man advances in his quest in stages,—*hypothesis, theory,* and Law, and, by the method of *trial and error. Conclusive proof* alone can establish a proposition. Brihaspati is reputed with the saying,

"Kevalam shastramashritya na kartavya vinirnaya
yuktihina vicharetu dharmahani prajayate."

In fact, logic—good or bad—decides which of the many chance thoughts occurring to one shall have more than a moment's consideration. It is with the aid of logic that man has progressed from Animism to Theology, from Theology to Metaphysics, and from Metaphysics to Science in his quest of the mysterious Infinite. Only, in Science mathematics has supplemented logic. But then mathematics and logic are fundamentally one and the same thing ; the former is an extension of the latter.

It behoves us all, therefore, to critically reexamine our current beliefs and keep pace with advances in thought. This is not of theoretical interest only. Men's thoughts give shape to their actions and mode of life. Vitality consists in adaptability to changing situations. We seem today to be incapable of adapting ourselves to the situation. Any change must follow a change in the attitude of mind to all questions. It is necessary that an open mind, shed of all bias, should be brought to bear on all questions requiring solution. The Hindus have a grand heritage to inspire them. The galaxy of the schools of philosophy is there to inspire the present generation. Studied in their chronological order these prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that they tried one school of philosophy after another as soon as a flaw was discovered in the currently held theory.

This process in the chain of evolution of thought seems to have come to a dead end. Impact of Science and the needs of the present day have forced us to make compromises, and unsatisfactory compromises at that, without inspiring us to re-think our fundamental problems, problems which are deeper than life. The shape of the future will be determined by our inclination and ability to do so. A lack of discrimination between subjective and objective concepts seems to be at the bottom of all confusion in our traditional way of thinking. More especially this holds true in cases of those who subscribe to the theistic belief as a key to the enigma which is the cosmos. The same confusion of thought and lack of discrimination is also discernible in the universally held belief that in *nirvikalpa samadhi* the Infinite is realisable. It is something like seeing or hearing with the eyes and ears closed to expect the mind to function at a time when, in fact, it has stopped acting for the time being.

MY EXPERIENCE ON THE INDO-BURMA BORDER

By Prof. SANKAR GANGOOLI, M.A.,
D. M. College, Imphal, Manipur

ne Eastern frontier of India is and will always main a factor of utmost importance in Indian olity. Manipur, the land of dreams, the Kashmir of astern India, thus demands our closest attention ithout which India cannot feel assured of her astern border, *i.e.*, the Indo-Burma border. The aga Hills, an abode of peace but not of plenty peared to me to be a heaven, where all the good ialities of mankind, honesty, sincerity, simplicity and raight-forwardness, which can seldom be found in e world outside, prevail.

A Naga school-boy who acted as the guide

Though the area covered by me on foot does not ll within the administrative district "Naga Hills," I id no other suitable name of the place as it is a ntinuation of the Naga Range. To some the name ay appear to be misleading but as the entire area inhabited by the Nagas, the name "Naga Hills" is finitely applicable at least from the racial point of ew. In this article I will present a picture of a people ho are mostly Tangkhul by race, and whenever I fer to the Naga Hills, I mean the hilly tracts of the khrul Sub-division lying just on the Indo-Burma rder and not the area covered by the administrative strict of the Naga Hills with its headquarters at ohima.

I spent only two weeks in the Naga Hills id these two weeks will ever remain vivid in y memory. Before going to the Naga Hills I had been formed by many of my friends about many things hich I was afraid of, but on my actual presence there, found that all those stories were not only incorrect it also harmful, being the outcome of ignorance. In is short article, I will try to give some information out the life and doings of the people living there id this, I hope, will encourage others to go and see the facts for themselves. This will bring these people to light and will make the Nagas feel that they are one with us.

The purpose of my visit to the Naga Hills was to hold the election at Grihang, about 75 miles north-east of Imphal. As I was not acquainted with the hills, the authorities arranged for porters and a guide so that I could reach there without difficulty. The porters and the guide were to wait for me at a place named Lytton, 22 miles from Imphal, and on the appointed day I started for Lytton with the definite expectation

The house where I took shelter at Grihang

of meeting the guide at Lytton, but unfortunately, none was present there to receive me and I was in utter despair as to what to do in this situation at a place where nobody understood my language and I understood none of theirs.

Lytton is a place where the Nagas and the Kukis and other hill-tribes from distant places bring their agricultural products, such as, oil-seeds and rice, etc., for sale. From this place the merchants carry those products to Imphal and other places. Hence Lytton is something like a *gunje* or a distributing centre. I was very anxious to return to Imphal, but my sense of duty and my desire for adventure turned my mind towards Grihang, and with the help of a local driver I hired some porters. To hire these porters required time and I had to stay at Lytton for 32 hours. In this short time I had the opportunity of having some idea of the life of men and women there. Their hospitality pleased me to such an extent that it appeared to me to be almost a new type which I had never known before. I saw many passers-by entering a house and cooking their food, and after having taken their meals they started for their distant homes in the hills. The house-holder and his wife somehow expressed by signs and

gestures that their custom was to provide food and shelter for the guests, and if they failed to do so, that would lower them in the estimation of the Tangkhul people. I had with me an armed man and a small boy who could with difficulty speak incorrect English and it was through them that I tried to enquire many things about the life and activities of the people.

The village church at Grihang

On the next day, I started for Grihang and after five days' walk on foot we reached there. I was extremely tired and thoroughly exhausted, but the porters and the guide were as fresh as ever. On the way

The village dramatic hall

we had to stop at Shangshak, Khuduk, Allang, Shakok, Chunkai and Tasom and everywhere I was received in the best way known to them. Whenever I stopped for shelter, the villagers contributed their mite to provide me and my party with food and lodging as if I was the guest not only of one individual but of the whole village, and the whole village would feel ashamed if there had been any negligence on the part of any villager.

On reaching Grihang I was struck dumb with wonder to see the standard of civilisation there, a standard which I had never dreamt of existing in so remote a corner of the world. I had read many articles in newspapers and periodicals which conveyed to me a sense of terror, as the Nagas on the Burma border were represented as head-hunters and many a story about these head-hunters was haunting me at every step till I reached Grihang which is the nearest Indian village on the Burma border.

Here I place before the reading public a new information about the Nagas whom they might have believed to be head-hunters and ferocious people. The house in which I was given shelter was as good as any house made of wood and tin. The men and women of that family could not express themselves in speech because their language was not known to me, but by

The village cemetery

gestures and movements of their limbs they told many things which really astonished me. There were some men in the village who read up to Class VIII and they were the intellectual leaders of the village. The villagers never saw what a newspaper was, but they were keenly interested about the outside world and the thing that astonished me most was the query made by one of my porters about Pakistan. This fact shows that had they been given opportunities they might have proved worthy citizens to the world outside. There is a theatre hall in the village and the villagers stage dramas in that hall during every Christmas Day. The village Church at Grihang, I was told, is one of the most magnificent churches in the entire Naga Hills. Every Sunday the villagers, men and women, young and old, go to the Church and pray. As staunch believers in Christianity they observe this day as the day of rest. I had the opportunity to accompany them in one such prayer and many zealous Christians believed that it would be possible to convert me and this idea was expressed. Men and women in European

costumes appeared to possess a distinct culture that could hardly be called Indian. This was due to the preachings of the Christian missionaries. Thanks to the religious zeal of the missionaries they have been able to evolve a Christian culture in that remote corner of the world. It presents a sharp contrast to our lethargy, negligence and indifference. Each village has a religious chief and this chief is obeyed and respected by the villagers. The religious priest wields an enormous influence over the people and in the hills I found that Christianity had become a great unifying factor in the religious life of the Nagas. The people, I felt, were ignorant of Hinduism and many tried to convince me in their own way that Christianity was the only religion that every one should accept.

The village chief or Kulakpa

Before I actually came to the hills I had a theoretical idea of the Naga folk-dance and I expressed my desire to witness such a dance if possible. The answer was that the Naga folk-dance was almost a lost art, and the young men and women were accustomed to dance in the European style. This shocked me to the highest degree and at the same time I bowed my head in respect to the Christian missionaries who took so much pains to bring about a complete transformation in the life and habits of the Nagas. The Tangkhul language is written in Roman script and this also shows the enormous influence of the missionaries.

The Tangkhul language is known to all the educated men but *only* to the educated men in the hills. Each hill has got a particular dialect of its own which is quite different from that of another hill. Thus I met persons of at least fifteen villages speaking fifteen different tongues. The advanced villages in the hills have got one L. P. or U. P. school where the villagers only learn to read and write. The medium of instruction in these schools is the particular tongue used and understood by the inhabitants of that village only. The Tangkhul language which is written in Roman script and which is the only medium through which a man of Grihang can express himself to a man of Tasom or of any other village is a compulsory subject of

The village chief with his family

study. Without this common Tangkhul language inhabitants of one village will appear to be quite foreign to the inhabitants of another village. This fact was clear when my porters who were all Grihang men

The family of my host

and women appeared like me to be quite helpless in the long way from Grihang to Lytton. They understood none of the dialects used at Tasom, Chunkai, Chinta, Shangshak, Lytton, etc. So this Tangkhul language acted as a great unifying force. That the missionaries contributed most towards the development of a national language of the Nagas, speaks highly of their religious zeal.

What I write about the Christian influence is not the outcome of my disrespect to that religion. When we slept, the missionaries worked hard; when we were

absorbed in superiority complex, the missionaries came to them as their friends, as partners in their sorrow and happiness and thus built there a culture quite distinct from that of India. Nagas also felt attracted to this new faith as this new faith gave them a language, a culture and an education. Still there are

Up-to-date young girls

some non-Christians in the hills, but they are in a hopeless minority and the relation between the non-Christians and the Christians is anything but cordial. The Christians look upon the non-Christian Nagas as pitiable creatures and social inferiors. Thus the American missionaries have built up the character of

Up-to-date young boys

a people whom they can lead any way they like. This is the real picture of the state of affairs on the Eastern frontier of India. Now it is up to the Indian leaders and statesmen to ponder over the matter from its politico-religious aspect. This American influence through religion may have a political effect, contrary *to the interests of India. I appeal* to the thinking public to find out a solution. I think that the Ramakrishna Mission can do a very useful job in this respect.

Up till now there has been no attempt on the part of the Indians to let the Nagas feel that they belong to India and Indian culture and the effect is obvious. The Ramakrishna Mission should step in to bring these people within the fold of Indian culture, lest they may feel to be non-Indians. In this respect the general election did much, because the Nagas felt that their opinion was valued much in shaping the policy of India. Moreover, the Sannyasins of the Bhārat Sevasram Sangha who had been to the West Indies, America, England and elsewhere to preach Hindu culture and ideals should pause for a moment and think about their own home. Let us first of all set our

Burma currency notes of Rs. 2, 5, 10

own house in order and then we may have a continental trial of our religion and ideals. We are going to America to preach our ideals, but we are wilfully letting our brothers find solace in the fold of a foreign culture. Hindi, our national language, is known only to a few men there but they know English whatever may be the standard. Hindi schools and institutions preaching Indian culture should immediately be set up in the hills on the Eastern border of India. I think that Christian friends of mine will not misunderstand me as I honour them and their faith, but at the same time I like to see that there is an honest attempt to Indianise these people.

So far as village administration is concerned, the village chief or Kulakpa exercises an enormous influence over the people. The Kulakpa is the head in all matters concerning the village other than religious. The Kulakpa has his assistant in the Mantrin or the second man in the village. These chiefs form a link between the Subdivisional Officer at Ukhrul and the people in general. Without the help of these chiefs it is hardly possible to carry on administration there.

The Indian General Election, the greatest democratic experiment in the world, did much to bring these people into the fold of active ploitics. Men and women from distant hills came to Grihang to cast their votes and about 60 per cent of the voters actually cast their votes. This shows the keen interest taken by these hill people to make the election a really democratic one. But their ignorance was evidenced

A Kuki boy shooting fish with his bow and arrow

when many voters asked me whom to vote for. They did not know the different ideals of different candidates and they did not know why they had come to vote, what voting really meant. So the experience I

Voters standing in a queue

could gather there on the polling day was that these people might prove active partners in the socio-politico-economic sphere of India if they were properly looked after. Holding an election was only a means to an end and I hope that the educated men of India will turn their eyes from the big cities to these distant hills where they will find a vast field to translate their humanitarian principles into practice.

After the election I started for Imphal with four porters. The return journey was easier than the journey I took to arrive at the place, as a short-cut was found in the hills. But this route was infested with wild animals and I had to fire two shots at a tiger on the Shakok hills (6,000 ft.), but both the shots unfortu-

Some men and women I met on the top of the Cinta hills (4050 ft.)

nately missed their target. I reached Lytton after five days' journey on foot and when I was about to get on the truck, I felt that I left behind me a peaceful world. Though I had to undergo hardship in the hills

Porters who helped me in my journey

I lived there happily and the entire credit goes to the simple-minded hill people.

Before I conclude, I like to point out that the motorable road made by the British Government during the Second World War has deteriorated for want of repair, and in spite of having this road from

Ukhrul to Phaisat people have to walk on foot as the road is not motorable now. This is an urgent need that this road be repaired. If a regular motor link can be established there are immense possibilities in the hills. Unless the existing system of communication is changed there is little possibility of these people on the Burma border to get proper education and encouragement. As they are nearer to Burma than to Imphal they carry on trade with Burma. This trade traffic is nothing but smuggling, hence this illegal traffic should be stopped. At the same time we should not be blind to the real needs of the people. As it is not always possible to walk ten days (both ways) to reach Imphal to purchase salt and other necessaries they are naturally tempted to bring their necessaries from Burma which is nearer their home. Kerosene is rarely found in the hills. Hence, from all considerations the Ukhrul-Phaisat road may be said to be the life-link of the people of this area with India, and I hope that if this road is repaired and made motorable again these people on the extreme east of India will play their legitimate part in the Indian Republic.

——:O:——

ORNAMENTAL POTTERY AND CLAY MODELLING IN UTTAR PRADESH

By Dr. H. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., B.Com., LL.B., Ph.D.

Among the important and so far unousted cottage industries of Uttar Pradesh, earthen pottery has paved its way with honour and dignity and has acquired fame and popularity far and wide. It is specially adapted to the needs of the people of our country from socio-economic and climatic-*cum*-religious points of view. Hardly there exists a home or hamlet where earthen pots are not used for storing grains, cold supplies of water, beverages and food. The products of this industry are a source of great relief to the teeming millions who cannot afford to pay high prices of metal or of porcelain utensils. A steady demand even for the most ordinary types of earthen pottery has always existed, providing, on the one hand, employment to the artisans and deflating the pressure of population on land on the other.

Ornamental and high class pottery, which serves primarily to satisfy the artistic and æsthetic sense of higher classes of society, has, undoubtedly, a limited demand and has so far thrived mainly upon the patronage of the notables and elite. This patronage was abundantly forthcoming in 'the good old days' when money was worth its name and the rich were generous and full of zeal to foster art, even to the extent of being reckless in spending. The main centres of high class pottery in U.P., are Khurja, Chunar, Nizamabad and Kithore. A look at the ornamental articles, beautiful and attractive, sometimes shakes the resistance against the desire to possess some of them.

The clay modelling industry of Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad and Banaras is as old as the history of civilisation. It is bifurcated into two distinct branches, *viz.*, the modelling of Hindu deities and the manufacturing of toys in the shape of animal figures, *fruits*, etc. Clay figures for worship have always been manufactured in India side by side with stone models and are in heavy demand during festivals and *pujas*. Much skill and art are evinced in the manufacture of these figures and in their decoration. The toys, on the other hand, are produced in crude designs and colours but skilled toy-makers turn out exquisitely beautiful products.

Types and Varieties

High class pottery of U. P. may be divided into four different types from the point of view of quality produced at the main centres where the industry is localised, *viz.*, Khurja, Chunar, Nizamabad and Kithore.

1. *The Khurja type* consists chiefly of the modern *chini* works and the ancient fine pottery with its characteristic Persian paintings. It is manufactured mostly at Khurja, district Bulandshahr and Bahadurgarh, district Meerut.

2. *The Chunar type,* which is famous for its Rockingham brown or black glaze, is the special feature of the pottery industry at Chunar, district Mirzapur and has not yet spread to other places.

3. *The Nizamabad type* of black earthen pottery with silvery artistic designs is popular all over India and is the sole monopoly of Nizamabad, district Azamgarh. An inferior quality of the same with crude floral designs but without silvery application is manufactured at Binsaindi, district Sitapur and Chilhia, district Basti.

4. *The Kithore type* which is suitable for rough cooking vessels, such as *handis* and *safalies* is largely manufactured at Kithore, district Meerut and to some extent at Khurja and Bahadurgarh. For the purpose intended, the earthen-wares are good in quality, made strong by *kanch* (glass) glaze.

Besides earthen vessels, various types of clay models and toys are manufactured in U. P. and the places like Lucknow, Banaras, Amroha and Chunar are noted for their distinct types of clay models and toys.

1. *The Lucknow type* : High class clay models and imitation fruits finished with artistic enamel paintings are the speciality of Lucknow. They surpass all other types of clay models of this State in refineness and delicacy.

2. *The Banaras type* : It consists of the common and inferior quality of toys and the important exporting centres of this type are Agra city, Fyzabad city and some villages, Ghazipur city and Kakoran, district Rai Bareli.

3. *The Amroha type* : Amroha is an important centre for the manufacture of high class engraved clay models and white painted clay-*cum*-flowerpot figures. Places like Paikoli, district Fyzabad and Ghazipur are also reputed for products more or less of Amroha type.

4. *The Chunar type* : The glazed lustre of toys and figures produced at Chunar is a unique attribute of this type. These articles are manufactured to some extent at Kakoran also.

A large variety of pottery and toys of the abovementioned types is produced at different centres of this State. Broadly speaking, the various articles may be grouped under four heads, *viz.*, decoration articles, daily use pottery, sanitary goods and electric goods.

Raw Materials

Clay is the basic and primary raw material used in the earthen pottery and clay-modelling industries. It is easily available free of cost or for nominal price. At Khurja and Bahadurgarh a superior quality of clay—china caly—is used. It is either imported in finished form from Rajmahal or is prepared locally by purchasing Kaolin and stones separately. This State sadly lacks in the adequate supply of Kaolin which has to be imported from Gwalior or Delhi.

Clay models displayed at the potter's house

Varieties of Pottery and Clay models manufactured at important centres in U. P.

Centre	*Quality*	*Varieties*	*Remarks*
Khurja (Dist. Bulandshahr) "A"	China clay	Tea sets, Plates, Trays, Flower vases, Palm stands, Electric lamps, Wash basins, Jugs, Soap cases, Ash-trays, etc.	In different sizes.
"B"	Earthen glazed with flower designs	Safalies, Handies, Rakabies, Flower vases, Flower pots.	Difference of superior & inferior glazes.
Kithore (Dist. Meerut)	—do—	Cups, Saucers, Tea sets, Handies, Safalies and Rakabies.	In different sizes.
Chunar (Dist. Mirzapur)	Brown glazed on earthen pottery	Flower vases, Tea sets, Huqqa, Chilams, Jars, Inkpots and stands, Bed pans, Plates, Toys, Spittoons.	—do—
Nizamabad (Dist. Azamgarh)	Black earthen with silvery foils	Cups, Saucers, Gamlas, Powder cases, Ash-tray, Cigarette boxes, Paper weights, Oil pots, etc.	In various sizes and designs.
Binsaindi (Dist. Sitapur)	Black earthen with imprinted designs	Tea cups, Saucers, Plates, Handies, Spittoons, etc.	
Lucknow	Toys	Figures of men, Animal figures, Fruits.	
Amroha (Dist. Moradabad)	Toys	Fruits, Animal figures, Human figures-*cum*-flower vases, Kanrakhi, Pottery. Clay busts.	
Banaras	Toys	Figures of men, Figures of deities, Animal figures, Clay busts.	
Fyzabad	Toys	Clay models. Clay busts, Clay pictures, Clay birds.	

Amongst the finishing materials used, glazes, varnishes, paints and ornamenting materials, such as the Khurja and Chunar glazes and the Nizamabad amalgam, are commonly employed by the potters. The superior quality glaze required for finishing the Khurja and Bahadurgarh china clay wares is imported from England. *Rogan*, a cheap and inferior quality glaze, is prepared locally at home by the workers themselves. Paints are used for making designs on red earthen pottery and toys while varnish is applied over the painted surface for finishing. The tinned paints and varnishes like Japan enamel are used for the manufacture of high class artistic pottery.

One of the main characteristics of the U. P. pottery industry is the absence of the use of steam power or electricity as fuel. The only articles used as such are firewood and cow-dung cakes. Besides these, sometimes dry tree leaves and straw are also used in the beds of the *bhattis* or *kilns*. Fuel constitutes a major item in the cost of production of the earthen wares. The industry suffers from a great handicap because of lack of sufficient and accurate knowledge of the potters and Chinigars regarding the quality and physical and chemical properties of the raw materials available from different sources. The quality and uniformity of products cannot be maintained unless the raw materials used are properly tested and standardised.

Labour

The pottery and clay modelling industries are virtually organised on family lines. In all, there are about 800 families of potters consisting of about 1,70,000 members scattered all over the State. Every member of the family contributes his labour at one stage or the other in the different processes of manufacture, *e.g.*, preparation of clay, shaping of articles and finishing, *i.e.*, colouring, glazing, imprinting, etc. The finishing process is a very difficult one and involves a considerable amount of labour, time and skill specially in case of engraved and floral designs which are very attractive, artistic and charming.

The potters are subject to the tyranny of hard work at one time and idleness at another. Though no well-defined seasons of work in this industry are ascertainable, yet there are some brisk and slack periods of manufacture and marketing :

(*i*) Brisk work from November to April, daily average being 8 to 10 hours per day ;

(*ii*) Good work from September to October, daily average being 6 to 8 hours per day; and

(*iii*) Slack work from May to August, daily average being 4 to 6 hours per day.

Of all the seasons for clay modelling the best one is between September and October when the clay is soft and there are intervening periods of sunshine which help in hardening the articles made from fresh pond clay. In actual practice, however, the out-turn depends more upon the seasons of sale than of production which are :

(*i*) April-May : Baisakhi fairs ;

(*ii*) August-September : Janmastami ;

(*iii*) October-November : Dussehra, Dewali; and

(*iv*) Fairs and exhibitions when they occur.

During these days the daily average of work is about 9 hours per day.

There is no hard and fast distribution of work among the members of the families and men and women sometimes perform alike and equally significant functions. The male members of the family including the head of the family and one or two others possess the key of the industry and perform all the important functions, such as accumulation and preparation of raw materials, turning the wheel, moulding, painting and so on whereas women are entrusted with such other duties as breaking of the soil, preparation of clay, cleaning of wares and rough colouring of articles. Children perform comparatively lighter work, *e.g.*, removing the clay from pond or lake to the potters' dwellings, looking after the pottery in the sunshine, and removing them from the open air to the residential quarters.

So far as wages are concerned it is difficult to assign values to the work performed by the members of the family. Firstly, because of the collective nature of work which forbids estimation of individual's output and secondly, because the workers do not make any allowance for wages in calculating their earning. The question of payment of wages arises only in the case of hired labour which is almost unknown in pottery and clay modelling industries and wherever labour is employed it is unskilled and untrained in scientific methods of production.

Cost of Production, Output and Earnings

One of the outstanding features of the U. P. pottery is the low cost of production as shown in the following table :

The Cost of Production of articles at different centres in U. P.

Centre	No. produced per unit	Cost of raw material Rs.a.p.	Cost of fuel Rs.a.p.	Depreciation Rs.a.p.	Wages of hired labour Rs.a.p.	Total Rs.a.p.
Khurja	100	20 0 0	48 0 0	0 8 0	69 0 0	137 8 0
Chunar	100	2 8 0	2 4 0	0 2 0	0 12 0	5 10 0
Nizamabad	100	3 0 0	1 8 0	0 2 0	....	4 10 0
Kithore	100	1 5 0	4 0 0	0 4 0	....	5 9 0
Lucknow	100	2 0 0	2 0 0	0 2 0	....	4 2 0
Banaras	100	1 4 0	2 6 0	0 2 0	....	3 12 0
Average		....	....	....	....	26 14 0

:able discloses that the average cost of is about Rs. 27 per 100 articles but this ems to have been greatly influenced by the of china clay wares produced at Khurja. t cost of production is met with in the case clay toys where it is only Rs. 3-12. Chunar tery is produced at the cost of Rs. 5-10, l at the cost of Rs. 4-10, and Lucknow at f Rs. 4-2 per unit of 100. The rent of pre- interest on capital have been omitted as tainment and apportionment is extremely not wholly impossible.

and vegetable clay models of Lucknow displayed in a stall

timate of the total output on the basis of ires (where available) and of the state- otters has been attempted here. According e total number of articles manufactured in bout 21,13,000 pieces per annum, valued at 7,53,85,000 which is made up of the

Type	*Value in Rs. (Approx.)**
pottery	7,50,00,000
l pottery	2,25,000
modelling	1,00,000
Black pottery	60,000
Total	7,53,85,000

absence of sales records and figures of er than by rail, it is very difficult to give idea of the earnings of potters. Moreover, rally feel reluctant in giving information their annual incomes. The results of in- at some of the important centres of re are tabled below :

It will be seen that the average earnings of the U.P. potters come to about Rs. 1217 per annum, Rs. 101 per month and Rs. 3-5 per day. The highest

Finished flower vases, ink-stands and toys, etc., of Chunar

income is recorded in the case of china clay potters at Khurja, the amount being Rs. 5 per day whilst the lowest is reached in the family of cheap toy-makers at Banaras as the daily income is about Rs. 2-2. It has been found that at some centres the

Finished earthen wares of Chunar

incomes are much below the average, *e.g.*, at Allahabad and Agra they hardly exceed Re. 1-7 and Re. 1-10 per day. Consequently potters have taken to certain subsidiary occupations to supplement their meagre incomes from this source and also to utilize their time during slack periods of work.

Earnings per family at different Centres in U. P. (Rupees)

Value of annual output	Cost of production	Losses Holding	through— Breakage	Net income	Monthly income	Daily income
8800	5500	750	750	1800	150	5-0-0
2660	1400	30	30	1200	100	3-5-0
3850	2000	200	150	1500	125	4-3-0
1250	130	5	40	1075	90	3-0-0
1075	65	50	—	960	80	2-5-0
825	48	6	6	765	64	2-2-0
3077	1524	173	168	1217	101	3-5-0

tries of Uttar Pradesh published by the Directorate of Cottage Industries (1952), p. 53.

SUBSIDSARY OCCUPATIONS

Subsidiary industries adopted by potters at different Centres and annual income therefrom per family

	Subsidiary industry	*Centres*	*Annual income*	*Remarks*
(*i*)	Domestic earthen pottery	Khurja	200	
		Chilhia	160	
		Binsaindi	150	
(*ii*)	Tazia making	Utraula	300	(Tazia-making is primary and pottery-making subsidiary.)
		Biswan	500	
(*iii*)	Naichabandi and Tomtom Drum making	Amroha	100	
(*iv*)	Menial labour	Agra	120	
		Faizabad	100	
(*v*)	Painting of housewalls	Biswan	500	
(*vi*)	Lending of clay figures on hire for display	Allahabad	50	Clay figures are lent at Allahabad on the occasion of Kumbha Mela and also during marriage season (*Lagan*) both at Allahabad and Banaras.
		Banaras	50	

The subsidiary occupations enumerated above are not much remunerative to potters. The caste barrier is as much a headache-problem of economic advancement and freedom as that of social ecology. A 'Kumar' cannot do the job of a 'Teli' or that of a 'Julaha' with the result that he cananot adopt better and more gainful occupations, such as Khadi weaving, oil-crushing and *gur*-making.

A good tea-set of Khurja

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

For training potters in large numbers, the U. P. Cottage Industries Department has started a scheme of "Earn while you learn" and the Department has opened Tuitional classes in the different important rural centres, *viz.*, Kithore, Chunar, Nizamabad, Khurja, Chilhia and Nara. In these training-*cum*-production centres artisans are trained to produce better articles; and new up-to-date designs are introduced. Training in the use and handling of improved and up-to-date tools and appliances is imparted. These workers of tuitional classes are paid wages and their products are put for sale in the market which fetch fancy prices. When the artisans are fully trained, a Co-operative Society of such members is formed. Then the production centre is run on co-operative lines. Thus this class replaces the middle-man, master craftsman and the Mahajan. The entire machinery at first is set in motion by the State. The co-operative societies are evolved gradually of trainees and otherwise assisted by craftsmen and not imposed on them as panacea for all their ills. With the combined efforts of all, the cost of production is lowered, competition is eliminated, raw materials are purchased in bulk and also their produce is sold at higher prices in *melas,* fairs and exhibitions than ordinary sales. The scheme has been a great success and it is suggested that the potters should take maximum advantage of this scheme. Such tuitional classes may be opened in all imporant centres, rural and urban, where there are potentialities for the growth of these industries.

The International Toy Exhibition organised by the U.P. Government at Lucknow in 1951 has amply demonstrated that in the production of toys and clay figures of several kinds and varieties we excel many others. There is no room for doubt that India can command international market in such goods provided far and wide publicity and propaganda is resorted to, which is the crying need of the hour, in order to popularise the products. The possibilities of these industries proving good dollar-earners cannot be discounted off-hand. Even at present some articles are exported to foreign countries through the U.P. Handicrafts, a sale depot of the Industries Department, U.P. The Government has, therefore, to take initiative and chalk out an exhaustive scheme of organising the much-needed advertisement and propaganda. Advertisement in the country can be done through important trade centres, railway stations, cinemas, exhibitions, fairs and *melas*. Of all these, cinemas provide a very useful means, and experiment in advertising pottery in the cinema houses through films showing the methods of manufacture as trailers and overtures can be made with advantage and effect.

EACHING INDUSTRIAL ARTS TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PUPILS

By CLAUDE E. NIHART

the important objectives of education is to
ıdividual needs and interests. A certain amount
ɔl time for work with tools and materials which
ndividual pupils to acquire new facts, know-
and skills is unquestionably justifiable.
ı from towns and cities in many parts of the
States indicate increasing interest in the indus-
s program on the elementary school level.
some areas, a major expansion of this phase
:ation is under way. This is particularly true
Angeles, in the Pacific Coast State of Cali-
-a city with 344 elementary schools staffed by
mately 6,000 teachers—where industrial arts are
in the classroom by classroom teachers. Three
e supervisors serve the elementary schools.
ɪits of tools and materials,
sit the various schools where
sist with classroom problems,
trate ways of using the
ɔnt, and conduct training
for teachers.
ɔs Angeles a centrally located
al-arts workshop, equipped
ɔols and materials, is open
imes to teachers who wish
ion, and workshop meetings
d in remoter districts for
eachers unable to travel to
tral workshop. The prepara-
instructional material and
ining of teachers in tool
nd construction processes are
ous. The equipment in the
grades is limited to saw-
(frames for holding wood
t is being sawed), a few
hand tools, and a portable
ıck or carrier which can be
from room to room as
:d arises. Most of the work
ı on the sawhorse. When
the pupil clamps his material on the sawhorse
oids nicking or cutting his fingers by holding
block of wood against the saw when starting
. For nailing, the work is also placed on the
ɔes.

recent years in Los Angeles the industrial-arts
sors have given most of their time and atten-
the program in the first, second, and third
In hundreds of these classrooms, the children
een adding realism to their social experiences
structing miniature boats, trucks, trains, build-
nd other articles pertaining to their regular
ɔm work.
reased attention is also given to the indus-
trial-arts program in grades four, five and six, where three supervisors have developed a limited number of pilot programs. In those rooms chosen for this purpose, a designated area is given over to construction work and special workbenches were designed and built. Each bench is equipped with a two-sided raising-and-lowering tool panel supported by sash balances; each workbench has cabinets in which lumber, supplies, and additional tools may be stored; four small vices clamped to the corners of the bench may be removed when not in use. Each bench accommodates from four to six pupils, stands 30 inches high, and has a 36-inch by 60-inch maplewood top. Only one bench is assigned to a classroom area.

Pupils in an elementary public school in Los Angeles, taking tools from a portable tool truck

Certain phases of the industrial-arts program in the upper grades of the elementary schools in the Los Angeles system which have been carried on for several years are being expanded. The program serves the individual interest of pupils by allowing them to plan and undertake seasonal, personal interest, and home workshop projects. It also serves individual and group needs of boys and girls in the social studies, music, science, and arithmetic. To satisfy pupils' needs for leisure-time activities, a number of handicrafts are carried on in classrooms and later in home workshops. These include copper tooling, leather working, lettering, and the use of plastics.

Some of the projects centering around the indus-

trial-arts workshops of the public schools system in the city are seasonal in nature. At Christmas time, many boys and girls make gifts for their parents which are greatly appreciated, especially if they represent a child's advancement in skills. Simple and well-designed projects, as many of these are, make fine gifts and provide educationally sound experience in the use of materials and tools. Girls enjoy working with tools as well as boys, if there is sufficient motivation. A work period is set aside for such activity with about a fifth of the class working at a time.

Girls enjoy working with tools and making things, as well as boys
Courtesy : Los Angeles City Board of Education

Providing the opportunities to follow individual interests sometimes makes the difference between success and failure in schoolwork. For the average boy or girl, personal interest projects usually require reading for information, planning, solving unexpected problems, and measuring—which calls for practical application of the academic skills. An example of the personal interest project is the model yacht built by the pupils and sailed in the Los Angeles City Schools annual regatta held in June in one of the municipal parks. Many children have the pleasurable experience of helping to build the yachts and feeling the thrills of sailing competition.

The best place, ordinarily, to carry on these hobbies and interests, outside of school, is a home workshop. Teachers can assist the children in the necessary planning and by showing them what can be made with inexpensive, available materials. The child, in the meantime, is working out these plans with his *parents*. Shelves, tool hangers, and similar articles for the home workshop can be made in the school workshop and then installed in the one at home.

There are many worthwhile construction problems connected with social studies; a definite amount of time is provided in the classroom during the week to work on the various needs of a unit, with pupil committees formed to work on the different problems. The industrial-arts workshop provides tools, materials, and space for the committees' use. Sixth-grade children making rhythm music instruments not only use different kinds of tools, but they employ various art principles in decorating them. Science projects and experience enable the children to obtain the answers to many questions about the world in which they live. Some science projects that can be made by elementary school pupils are electromagnets, telegraph keys, cages, insect mounts, weather-station equipment, and similar objects.

Pupils in the upper elementary grades in the Los Angeles schools have constructed arithmetic teaching aids that have proved to be of value, thereby contributing to meting the needs of the class and receiving concrete experience in various arithmetical principles. The teaching aids include squares, circles, and cubes cut up into fractional parts.

The activities discussed by no means limits the number and kind that can be included in industrial-arts programs. Careful planning is needed; success is determined in large measure by the smooth operation of the area and its facilities. The workbench should be located in the classroom under the immediate supervision of the teacher, should have ample space around it, and should be convenient to other classroom activities. Before work is undertaken, the teacher should explain the program and plan with the class in selecting groups to be responsible for keeping tools, supplies and equipment in order, cleaning up the bench and surroundings, and supervising general safety measures.

If the workbench is located near a bulletin board, the responsibility chart can be posted along with other printed materials and pictures relating to class organizatoin and current class work. Books, magazines, and pamphlets relating to woodwork, crafts, science, and other topics should be kept on a shelf near the workbench area, and a small drawing board should be available for the making of working drawings.

ollowing is a list of the tools and equipment used industrial-arts program in the Los Angeles, rnia, public schools : two 16-inch crosscut saws ; 10-inch backsaw ; two 7-ounce hammers ; two try squares ; two 4-inch C clamps ; two block ; one hand drill; one each, straight shank drills, ghth, three-sixteenths, and one-quarter inch; one 8-inch swing; one set dowel bits, one-quarter, ighths, one-half, three-quarters, one-inch; two saws; one scratch awl; one 8-inch half round cabinet file; one 8-inch mill file; one 8-inch slim taper file; one 8-inch rattail file; four file handles for 8-inch files; one file card; one nail set; one countersink; one pair side cutting pliers; one 2-inch screw-driver; one pair tin snips; one marking gauge; two 12-inch rules; one spokeshave; one compass saw; one woodworking bench; two sawhorses; two bench hooks; and one miter box.—From *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education.*

——:O:——

THE PLACE OF BENOY SARKAR IN BENGALI LITERATURE

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.,
Research-Fellow, Bengali Institute of Sociology, Calcutta

1905-1914

:G in *The Modern Review* for January 1947, the rof. Nripendra Chandra Banerji observed about Sarkar that "he is justly admired for his original and novel methods of expression and presenta- There was hardly a subject which Sarkar had uched and enriched. A "free-lance and non- nist in political and economic theory and e," as Nripen Banerjee puts it, Benoy Sarkar made a signal contribution to Bengali ure.

roughout his life since 1905, Benoy Sarkar had made conscious attempts to enrich Bengali ure and to enhance its prestige. A mighty is to the cause of Bengali language and literature urnished by the glorious Bengali Revolution 6). The dream of the country's freedom, both ic and political, certainly belonged to the ideo- complex of the Revolution. But it is absolutely sical to characterise the Swadeshi Revolution here politico-economic movement. The spirit of hi once roused made itself manifest in the of education and culture too. "We," wrote ra Nath Banerjea, "must be Swadeshi in all Swadeshi in our thoughts and ideals and aspira- Swadeshi in our educational methods and deve- it" (*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine,* 1906). The foundation of the National Council cation (March 11, 1906) was the visible expres- the victory of the Swadeshi spirit in the domain cation. Born in and through the protest against iversities Act of 1904, the National Council of ion laid broad and deep the foundations of a al University. Its basic ideal was to promote l education, technical, scientific and literary, on l lines and under national control. The adop- Bengali as a medium of instruction as far as able in all classes was a striking feature of the educational scheme of the N.C.E. Satish Chandra Mukherjee, the founder-organiser of the famous Dawn Society (1902-7), was the chief ideological father of the movement for educational autarchy.* Hirendra Nath Dutta (1867-1942), Sir Gooroodas Banerjee (1844-1918), Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (1864-1919), Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) were other makers of the movement. Benoy Sarkar as a student of the Dawn Society and a lieutenant of Satish Mukherjee (1865-1948) threw himself heart and soul into the National Education Movement. In the milieu of the Dawn Society (1902-7) and in the National education move- ment, young Benoy Kumar had imbibed from Satish Chandra Mukherjee a vigorous passion for the enrich- ment and expansion of the Bengali language and literature. His Bengali publications alone run to about forty in number and cover approximately twelve thousand printed pages. These publications constitute an eloquent testimony to his profound love for the Bengali people and Bengali literature.

Benoy Sarkar's earliest writings in Bengali go back to the beginning of the present century. His first writing *Banglar Jatiya Siksha Parishat O Banga Samaj* was published in the *Maldaha Samachar,* Malda, June, 1906. This was followed by his brochure on *Bange Navayuger Natun Siksha* (1907). The first six or seven years of his literary life (1906-1913) were chiefly devo- ted to discussions on problems of education or *peda- gogics* which was included by the National Council of Education in its scheme of studies. Among his books on *pedagogics* in Bengali the following deserve special mention :

* Sreejut Hemendra Prasad Ghose in his book *Aurobindo* (Calcutta, 1949, pp. 9-10) wrongly attributes to Aurobindo the credit of chief leadership in the National Education Movement. If a single leader of that movement can be marked out, it was Satish Chandra Mukherjee of whom Aurobindo himself said that he was the real organiser of the Bengal National College (Vide *Sri Aurobindo's Speeches,* Calcutta, 1948, p. 15).

(1) *Siksha-Vijnaner Bhumika* (1910)
(2) *Prachin Griser Jatiya Siksha* (1910)
(3) *Bhasa-Siksha* (1910)
(4) *Siksha-Samalochana* (1912)
(5) *Sadhana* (1912).

In these works on education, Benoy Sarkar introduced a world of ideas, drawn from far and near. The range of discussions was exceedingly broad and comprehensive. He was a pioneer in grasping and formulating the principles for teaching a language, Bengali or non-Bengali, without Grammar. In his own *pedagogic* system, it was the sentence, not the word, that is conceived as the smallest unit of a language. The logic was simple. A word can hardly express an idea. Idea or ideas are expressed only in a sentence, be it however short. Therefore, it was undertaken by Sarkar to start language-lessons not with isolated words, but with short sentences. The method was applied to the teaching of languages—English, Bengali and Sanskrit, and was highly appreciated by competent critics. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal observed in 1910 :

> "Prof. Sarkar's programme is certainly an ambitious one, but he is fully qualfiied to carry it out. and there is no doubt that it will be found to be a healthy and stimulating force in the Indian educational world of today."

His novel method for teaching Sanskrit without Grammar was so impressive as to win for him the title of *Vidya-Vaibhava* from the Sanskrit scholars of Benares (1912). Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharyya, M.A., Prof. of Sanskrit Literature, Muir College, Fellow, Allahabad University, wrote to Sarkar :

> "I write this in my appreciation of your efforts to facilitate and popularise the study of Sanskrit. Your method to teach Sanskrit without the learner's going through a first course of Grammar merits trial. At the very outset the attempt looks somewhat revolutionary. But in other fields it is such revolutionary departures from the old track that have hastened the advance of arts and sciences" (1912).

In his application of this quicker method of learning languages, Sarkar was continuing and developing the tradition of Bohemian pedagogist Comenius of the 17th century.

A second line of services of Sarkar in the period of Boycott-Swadeshi-Swaraj Movement (1905-1914) was the formulation as well as propagation of a conscious and systematic policy for the promotion of Indian mother-tongues. In 1911, he moved a resolution before the North Bengal Literary Conference, held in Malda, for considering the case of Bengali as a medium of instruction in the schools and colleges of the country. His resolution was accepted in the same year by the literary men of Bengal at the Bengali Literary Conference, held at Mymensingh and presided over by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose. His scheme for *the adoption of Bengali* and other Indian mother-tongues as the medium of instruction was published originally in *Prabasi* (1911) as *Sahitya-Sevi*. It was also published in English in *The Modern Review* for April, 1911 and subsequently also in Hindi and Marathi. It was an immense joy to Sarkar to find the authorities of the Calcutta University to introduce Bengali as a medium of teaching and examination in 1940 up to the Matriculation Standard and still later (since 1947-48) up to the B.A. Pass standard.

A third line of service of Benoy Sarkar to Bengali literature during 1905-1914 was his strenuous effort to enrich Bengali literature by a systematic policy of translations from recognised Euro-American authors. Thanks to the initiative of Sarkar, a fund was raised and placed at the disposal of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat for publishing Bengali translations from European standard books on science, philosophy, history and so on. Be it noted in this connection that out of the fund placed by Sarkar with the Sahitya Parishat in the year of Tagore's fiftieth birth anniversary (1911) was published Guizot's *History of European Civilisation* from French into Bengali. The translator was the late Principal of the Ripon College, Rabindra Narayan Ghose, a pupil of Satish Mukherjee in his Dawn Society. The Bengali translation was published in 1926 under the title of *Europiya Sabhyatar Itihash* (pp. 399). Again, Benoy Sarkar himself undertook translation work and published in 1914 his *Negro Jatir Karmavir* which was a translation from Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery,* originally published in New York in 1901. This translation was widely read by young intellectuals of Bengal with great avidity in the period of World War I and for many years since then. It has become a classical book in Bengali literature.

1914—1925

The years between 1914 and 1925 were a period of world-tour of Benoy Sarkar through Egypt, England, Scotland and Ireland, the U. S. A., the Hawaii Islands, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, China, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy. This is the most brilliant chapter of Sarkar's life, and constitutes the Sarkar's Era of Bengali history. In this period he was equally active in diverse branches of human scholarship. On invitation by the foreign scholars, he had to deliver lectures before the great Universities of the world, whether in the East or in the West. He had to write articles, books and brochures in English, German and French, to mention only a few. His English publications alone ran to ten volumes. He lectured in German and in French respectively before the Berlin and Paris Universities. Besides, his papers in German and French were also considerable in number. In this period of world-tour, he also enriched Bengali literature in a manner not done by any Bengali previously. His travels and tours in different countries and among diverse races

ultures of mankind were brought home to the lis by his series of publications under the gene- title of *Vartaman Jagat*. His travel-accounts refreshingly different from the traditional travel nts, diaries or books of his predecessors. Origi- published serially in the Calcutta monthlies *Grihastha, Pravasi, Bharatvarsha, Bharati, Navya- ta, Sahitya, Banga-vani* as well as in weeklies like ya, *Bijoli, Sarathi, Sisir, Atmashakti* etc., Sarkar's s were later published as books which ran on to en volumes, covering about 5000 pages. As many e volumes of the *Vartaman Jagat* series were also hed in book-form in course of his world-tour ; 1914-25. These volumes are chronologically indi- below :

1) *Kavarer Deshe Din Panera* or Egypt (1914).
2) *Vimsha Shatavdir Kurukshetra* (1914).
3) *Ingrajer Janmabhumi* (1916).
4) *Cheena Shabhyatar a, a, ka, kha* (1922).
5) *Yankeestan* or the U.S.A. (1923). The rest ublished between 1926 and 1935.

he *Vartaman Jagat* is indeed a land-mark in li literature. The volumes in this series concerned elves with the most diverse aspects of human e of the modern world. The accounts were ic and objective and drawn mostly from the s and weeklies of the foreign countries. Through volumes the entire modern world was forcibly d up before the cultural forum of Bengal. The lis were initiated virtually in the cult of world- of modern times. The readers of the *Vartaman* serial articles were thousands in Bengal during 5 and it appears from the records of Nalini t of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad that thought- s like Akshoy Kumar Sarkar, Haraprosad Shas- tamendra Sundar Trivedi, Brojen Seal, Gurudas jee, Hiren Datta, Suresh Samajpati, Nagen Jaladhar Sen, Dinesh Sen, Amulya Vidyabhushan thers looked forward with great eagerness to ublications of Sarkar's writings on *Vartaman* Among the youths and budding scholars of the l of 1914-25, the impact of Sarkar's articles, and brochures were remarkable. In fact, as the r of *Vartaman Jagat* Sarkar influenced and ated the intellectual and scholarly world of l so profoundly that the entire period of 1914-25 be significantly called the *Age of Vartaman* for modern Bengali culture. It is not to be l that no other man, institution or move- was as powerful at that time as Sarkar. By the *f Vartaman Jagat* it is to be simply understood luring 1914-25 Benoy Sarkar represented a very nent intellectual force among other forces in ltural pattern of Bengal. In any case, Sarkar's will always find an honoured place in the r of Bengali literature of the period of 925.

1925-1949

A new phase of his services to Bengali literature opened with Sarkar's return to the country after his first term of world tour in September, 1925. He addressed himself most energetically to enrich and expand Bengali literatu e by first class historical, economic and sociological publications. In 1926 was published his *Parivar, Gosthi O Rastra* which was a free translation from a German book by Engels. Next, was published *Duniyar Abhawa* (1926), which deals with a factual narration of world-developments in economics and politics during 1921-24. This was

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

followed by his celebrated historical book entitled *Hindu Rastrer Gadan* (1926) which discusses on the basis of original sources the morphology of Hindu State with his customary novel outlook from the 4th Century B.C. down to the 13th Century A.D. It is doubtful if a Bengali historical work of a superior quality has ever been published by any other Bengali scholar in course of the quarter of a century following 1926.

To promote serious economic and sociological writings in Bengali, Sarkar next started a monthly called *Arthic Unnati* in 1926 in collaboration with Narendranath Law, Satya Charan Law, Tulsi Charan Goswami and others. Throughout its career from 1926 to 1949, Sarkar was the Editor of the journal. Hardly any scholar before Sarkar tried to carry on economic researches in Bengali. In Sarkar's Arthic

Unnati, theoretical or historical economics did not loom large in the journal, which was principally addressed to the problems of applied economics. Secondly, Indian problems were constantly placed in the prospective of world-developments. Thirdly, political bias was hardly visible in the pages of the journal which stood for autarchy for economics as a science, free from political shackles. In this journal, Benoy Sarkar personally wrote several hundreds of pages on world economic data and problems. Again, it was an integral part of his policy to invite young intellectuals to contribute economic articles to the journal. Altogether, by editing and publishing the *Arthic Unnati* (1926-49), Sarkar gave a fillip to the drive for enrichment and expansion of the Bengali literature in economic writings.

To promote economic researches Sarkar founded also in 1926 the Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishad which was a Bengali seminar for studies in economics, theoretical and applied. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal was the President of this economic Seminar from 1930 to 1938, and from beginning to the end of his life, Sarkar was the Director of researches. Since its inception a band of young scholars was associated with it as Research-Fellows whose number in 1949 rose to about forty. Most of them are authors of one or another publication in Bengali bearing on economics. For discussions, Bengali was generally resorted to as the medium of expression, although English was not wholly boycotted. Among the economic publications in Bengali by the Research-scholars of the Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat the following deserves mention :

(1) *Dhana-Vijnane Shakreti* by Shib Dutta,
(2) *Takar Katha* by Naren Roy,
(3) *Taka-kari* by Rabi Ghose,
(4) *Desh-Videsher Bank* by Naren Law and Jiten Sen Gupta,
(5) *Arthasastrer Ruparekha* by Kasturchand Lalwani.

Benoy Sarkar himself wrote several important books on economics such as :

(1) *Dhana Daulater Rupantar* which is a Bengali translation from a French work by P. Lafargul (1928).
(2) *Ekaler Dhan-Daulat O Artha-Shastra*, 2 Vols, (1930-35).
(3) *Swadeshi Andolan O Samrakshan Niti* which is a translation from a German book by Frederich List (1932).
(4) *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan*, 2 Vols. (1937-39) by Sarkar and other collaborators.

Thus Benoy Sarkar pioneered serious economic studies and researches in Bengali. Equally mentionable is his impetus given to sociological studies and publications in the mother tongue. To promote sociological researches Sarkar founded in 1937 *Bangiya Samaj-Vijnan Parishad* and drew round him a band of enthusiastic young scholars. His own sociological works in Bengali were (1) *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* 2 vols. (1932) and (2) *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (1934), while he edited and published a volume on *Samaj-Vijnan* in 1938 in collaboration with 13 researchers. These were all pioneering attempts to study sociological problems in Bengali. Prof. Hiranmay Ghoshal, while reviewing *Samaj-Vijnan* in the *Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, Warsaw, observed :

> "This extensive volume of nearly six hundred pages contains matter worth filling a whole Library."

In the opinion of Dr. Sushil Kumar Dey :

> "The present work is not only a pioneer attempt to study directly the sociological and economic problems in relation to Bengal and India at large, but also to popularise the study through the medium of Bengali."

Few of our countrymen made such an organised attempt as Sarkar to promote Bengali literature, particularly in economic and sociological writings.

Conclusions

From the foregoing discussions it is quite evident that Sarkar took a conscious vow to enrich Bengali literature and spared no pains whether at home or abroad in fostering it. He not merely started pioneering works in sociology and economics, but also was responsible for the development of a forcible literary style which was his own. If style is life, it is perhaps cent per cent true of Benoy Sarkar. His style was popular rather than one of literary aristocracy. Short sentences were an important feature of his style. Long sentences were deliberately avoided. He had a marvellous power of diction. His frequent blend of coloquial words with sophisticated literary words was characteristic of his writing. What is generally condemned or ridiculed as a *Guru-Chandali-Dosha* became a positive merit of his literary technique. Sarkar has demonstrated in a very convincing manner how to write forcible sentences by the proper jaxtaposition of colloquial Bengali words with literary as well as Bengali words with Pharshi, Urdu and Hindi. True to Sarkarism, he made a revolutionary departure from the beaten track even in respect of his literary style. *"Benoy Sarkarer Baithake"* written by the present author in collaboration with five other scholars unmistakably reflects what a profound love Prof. Sarkar cherished for Bengali literature.*

---

* Tripura Sankar Sen's paper on "Benoy Sarkar and Bengali Language" (*Sonar Bangla*, December 24, 1949) and Kalidas Mukherjee's article on "Benoy Sarkar in Bengali Literature" (*Prabasi*, February, 1950) may be consulted by the readers with advantage.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

AJI AND HIS TIMES, 5th Edition (en- *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by M. C.* ıd *Sons, Calcutta 12. 8 portraits. Pp. 424. 10.*

e new edition the book has been further and expanded by some new features. One of ı detailed study of the birth and growth of fighting fleet and mercantile marine, as (in r's words) "the importance of this subject st Hindu navy to New India demands." His ıd their tactics, their weakness and the mar- rength of his naval bases and dockyards, his tifications ("The Chhatrapati put a bridle on are fully described. The fragmentary Sanskrit ently discovered and published in the Baroda Series as *Paramanand Kavya* (edited by with Sankar's long Foreword) has been here nd this has enabled a human story of domestic life and succession disputes in his be constructed. We notice the curious evi- Mir Alam, the famous Minister of the Nizam, ıl Khan treacherously first stabbed Shivaji ıracing him, out of a proud desire to prove *Bahadur* !

N. B. R.

NATAK INSCRIPTIONS, Volume II : *Vidyaratna R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A. by Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. xii + 147. Price Rs. 8.*

ɔresent work contains the text of 42 inscrip- the Karnatak region, mostly in Kanarese and script (with a few in Sanskrit or Kannada in Nagari script), which were copied and by the author in 1940-41 but which could not ıed earlier because of the exigencies of ar II and its aftermath. The author has well of all students of Indology by adding to ɔtion introductory notes and (in the most examples) translations in English. The ıs range over a period of more than seven from the early Kadambas down to the They throw interesting side-lights upon the and political history, the administration, and economic conditions, of the region con- ıile one record is of unique interest as giving st known Saka date (465) for South India. which is illustrated by 10 plates is prefaced sified list of inscriptions (arranged according ies and localities) and it concludes with a x.

IN BOMBAY STATE : *By A. V. Pandya. Vidyanagar. 1962. Pp. 118. Price Re. 1-8.*

The problem of territorial re-distribution of States has been very much with us for some time past. One of the acutest of these problems has centred around the accession of the former Sirohi State (lying on the borders of Rajputana and Gujarat) to the Indian Union. Following a resolution of the Sirohi Rajya Prajamandal on 20.5.48 to that effect, the then Regent signed an agreement for its merger with the Indian Union on 18.11.48 and this was followed by its incorporation in the Bombay State on 5.1.49. Another turn in the wheel of its fortunes took place on 25.1.50 when in accordance with a fresh resolution of the Prajamandal, Sirohi proper was made over to the State of Rajasthan, while the Abu area was retained in the Bombay State. In the present monograph, the author makes out what appears to be a convincing case for its retention in the Bombay State on grounds drawn from geography, past history going back to the oldest times, art and architecture, language and literature. His arguments point to the strong affinities of Abu with the Gujarati-speaking area of the Bombay State, while emphatically denying its connection with Rajasthan. In the course of his discussion the author throws refreshing light upon the history of two recent movements which have been at cross purposes with each other, namely, the Brihattara Rajasthan and the Mahamalava movements. The author wields a trenchant pen and freely uses satire against his opponents. Altogether this work is of surpassing interest for our knowledge of one of the living political issues of the people of Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN METAL SCULPTURE : *By Chintamoni Kar. Published by Alec Tiranti Ltd., 72 Charlotte Street, London. 1952. 61 half-tone illustrations. Pp. 46. Price 7s 6d.*

With no pretension for scholarly or original presentation of a great theme, Chintamoni Kar, a young Indain sculptor, has given an excellent popular guide to a phase of Indian sculpture which is one of the most brilliant chapters of Indian Art. With an inadequate historical outline the author gives a rough general survey of the different schools without characterizing their peculiar qualities. He gives a very useful chart and a short chronology. The descriptive notes are all but adequate and simple, with lapses here and there. A "Dipa-Lakshmi" known as such to all European connoisseurs and collectors is much more than a "Temple Lamp-holder." The South Kensington 'Lakulisa' comes from Java *not* Bihar. The bibliography is inadequate for further studies. The author has missed the richly illustrated little *Hand-book on Southern Indian Bronzes* by O. C. Gangoly in the series *Little Books of Asiatic Art.* Though not chronologically presented, the 69 illustrations excellently re-

produced are the best feature of this popular handbook and is a very opportune publication for which the enterprising publishers deserve high praise and gratitude.

O. C. G.

A SURVEY OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONALISM: *By P. Rajeswara Rao. With a Foreword by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by the author. 1950. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 6-12.*

The book purports, if its title is any guide, to make a survey of the evolution and development of Indian constitutionalism from the dawn of Indian History to the present day—a rather too ambitious a project to be attempted in a book of less than three hundred pages. The inevitable result is extremely scrappy, cursory and superficial treatment of the subject all through. Then again the book is characterised by a complete lack of unity of purpose. The author does not stick to his theme indicated in the title beyond about one-third of its contents, because chapters XVIII to XXXIII are devoted to narration of events and circumstances leading to the making of the new constitution and chapters XXXIV to XXXIX to a descriptive analysis of the provisions of the new constitution, neither of which has much relation to a survey of constitutionalism.

The book containing in all two hundred and eighty-three pages excluding the Foreword, Contents, Index, etc., has been divided into as many as forty-one chapters, giving each chapter hardly seven pages. Actually some of the chapters contain even less; for instance, the chapters headed "Regime of the East Indian Company," "Under the Crown," "War and the Montford Reforms", "The Role of the Civil Servants," to cite only a few, contain 2½, 2½, 3½ and 2½ pages respectively and it can be left to the readers what justice can be done to subjects indicated in the title of the chapters within the space given. The titles of some of the chapters also are misleading. For instance, in Chapter IV "Mediæval and Moghul Period," one would naturally expect a discussion bearing on how far constitutionalism was present or absent in Moghul system of administration, but there is nothing of the sort in the chapter. The same criticism applies more or less to Chapter III, "Puranic and Buddhistic Era" where we are only treated to some views and opinions expressed in ancient literature such as Mahabharata, Kautilya's Arthasastra, Kathaka Sanhita, etc. instead of concrete historical facts bearing on constitutionalism.

But perhaps the principal defect of the work is this that the author does not seem to have a clear conception of his theme. He cannot quite make up his mind as to what he would mean by "constitutionalism." Usually in the literature of political science the term implies Government limited by certain fundamental rules deriving directly or indirectly from popular will as distinct from autocracy and rule of law as distinct from rule of men. He begins by quoting from two distinguished writers on the subject which supports this notion of the concept which he calls "Western", suggesting thereby that the Indian brand of "constitutionalism" is something different which is also suggested by the title of his book. He actually remarks: "Its (constitutionalism) course may change from region to region and period to period. We cannot say that particular course is wrong. We can only say that it is different and distinct" (p. 17). He then goes on to observe: "A close study of the vicissitudes of constitutionalism in a country *spread over its long history will* be conducive to better understanding and improvement." The reader will be left wondering what he means by "vicissitudes of constitutionalism" and to ask, "better understanding and improvement" of what? But that is by the way, just to show a sample of lack of clarity of thought and expression of which there are plenty of instances in the book.

To come back to our point, constitutionalism may take different forms and expressions under different circumstances whether in the same country or in different countries, but basically it can have only one meaning as indicated above and we are not sure that there can be an English brand, another, an American brand or yet another, an Indian brand of constitutionalism. But far from developing his thesis of Indian constitutionalism he has subsequently attempted to produce evidence of constitutionalism in the Western sense in different periods of Indian history, although the evidence is very meagre and sometimes of doubtful value. He laments that "things have come to such a pass that it requires very great effort to believe even when sufficient evidence is forthcoming that institutions which we are accustomed to look upon as of Western growth flourished in India" (p. 18), because even Indian scholars like S. Srinivasa Iyenger and the great orientalist Max Muller lent their weight of authority on the opposite side. His object seems to be to produce convincing evidence as to the existence of institutions of Western growth in India in the past to overcome the prevailing scepticism. But that does not strengthen his thesis of Indian constitutionalism. Incidentally, it is difficult to understand how the discussion on the alleged attack on the caste system (p. 19) is relevant in the context in which it occurs.

Further, the author does not stick to one consistent notion of "constitutionalism" throughout. Reference may be made in this connection to Chapter X on "The Role of Civil Servants" and Chapter XII on "The Government of India Act" in connection with federalism. Considerations of space prevent us from going into details.

There are some serious spelling mistakes which should have been detected. It is strange that the names of some very renowned personages have been misspelt in a number of places in the book. For instance, "Laski" has been spelt as "Lasky" (p. 206 and Index), "Panikkar" as "Pannicker" (pp. 60, 78 and Index) and "Montagu" as "Montague" (pp. 50, 58, and Index). The number of repetitions of the mistake in each case makes it difficult to put them down to the printer's devil.

A. K. GHOSAL

COMBINATION MOVEMENT IN INDIAN INDUSTRY: *By Dr. M. M. Mehta. Published by Friends Book Depot, Allahabad. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This book is the result of an explanatory enquiry into the connection of ownership, control and management in Indian industries. This is not a new attempt. Asok Mehta's *Who Owns India* must be mentioned in this connection. There is ample room for further research into this interesting as well extremely useful subject. Dr. Mehta says that a more important motivation underlying the combination movement is the desire to eliminate wasteful competition through regulation of productive activity, prices or allocation of markets. He has cited the view of the U. S. Industrial Commission and the British Committee on Trusts in support of this theory. He says that for the achievement of these objectives, *viz.*, the reduction in costs or elimination of wasteful competition, the individual

organise themselves into some kind of association ganisation. In practice, however, it is universal all such combinations, whether they may be man's agreement, market pools, or full-fledged cartel, ring or a syndicate, tend towards the motive—monopoly profits and exploitation of nsumer. The Indian Managing Agency adds two vices, *viz.*, depriving the shareholder of his iate profit and the state its taxes. Dr. Mehta has a mass of data, very illuminating and useful but the book is incomplete. Little attempt has made to go deep into the subject.

D. B.

CREATIVE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN AN SCHOOLS : *By K. D. Ghosh, M.A. (Oxon), pal, David Hare Training College, Calcutta. ey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. Price 8.*

AUDO-VISUAL AIDS IN TEACHING AN HISTORY : *By K. P. Chaudhury, M.A. .), Central Institute of Education, Delhi. Atma and Sons, Delhi 6. Price Rs. 4.*

is a truism to say that History is not a bare ion of facts, not a catalogue of events. Yet y is taught as such in our schools, colleges and sities. Within a comparatively short compass of an 250 pages, Principal Ghose in the first ably with the various problems of History as a for examination, *viz.*, the curriculum, methods hing, the manner in which young learners should mined in the subject and the like. The learned rightly points out further how history-lessons made lively and interesting with the help of apparatus and appliances. He further tells us a teacher of History should be and what he or ould do. We agree with him when he says that her of History should be open-minded, first and st. The last chapter of the book deals with the lum of various Indian—and Pakistani—univer- and suggests improvements thereof. The sugges- e feel, should have been made with more atten- the average intellectual capacities of our ts. The author's suggestion that the B.A. ees of Calcutta University should have one of 100 marks in European History from 1453 to esent day—"to be studied in broad outlines," r,—for example, will not have the approval y who actually handle the Under-graduate of that University. More instances might be Principal Ghosh's book however is a welcome n to our educational literature. Teachers of in Secondary schools will find it very useful. e second volume under review, as its title indi- s much more limited in scope than the first. The discusses a number of devices—more than a nd mostly inexpensive—which will make History n interesting subject. These are intended to simultaneously to the eyes and ears of young s. The book is written in simple English and s a number of illustrations. The get-up is ve.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

DIA—THE PEACE-MAKER : A SOLUTION IF KASHMIR PROBLEM : *By Paul Richard. ed by Ganesh and Co. Ltd., Madras 17. Pp. 35. ight annas.*

are glad to receive this booklet from a pub- who had at one time during the second decade Christian century made a name for themselves ishers of Nationalist literature. The author was co-editor with Sri Aurobindo of the *Arya*, first published from Pondicherry on August, 1914. This magazine was the dynamo of high thoughts and mystic intuitions that have helped mould many of our ideas on world problems, secular and spiritual.

What Paul Richard writes on "the sacrifice of narrow nationalism, of their egoistic, anarchical, anachronical sovereignties" and their being put under the supervision of "higher up federated units," echoes what Rabindranath Tagore wrote on his "Nationalism." The development of these nation-States, once welcomed, appears to cut across the "Manava Dharma" of Arya idealism. And India is naturally expected to play this part. But the question remains—Will India find conditions favourable for this ideal State? On reply to it depends Paul Richard's whole argument. Kashmir is only a symptom of a world-wide disease. Seers and saints have yet to find a remedy to it.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDU CULTURE : *By K. Guru Dutt. With a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 254. Price Rs. 4-12.*

It is a very good collection of sixteen addresses and essays of the author delivered and published some years ago. They deal with a wide variety of popular topics and are so interesting that this volume has now run into third edition. The author who is the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore State elucidates in these essays and speeches the important ideas underlying various aspects of ancient and medieval Indian thought. He has successfully brought to bear upon these his profound knowledge of our literature and philosophy.

In an inaugural address delivered before the Sanskrit Association of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, in 1936 he has beautifully pointed out the genius of the Sanskrit language. Therein he poetically observes that like the stream of the holy 'Ganga', the river of this Sanskrit, whose remote source we have not the temerity to explore, flows past our homesteads and fields sustaining and purifying our work-a-day life and leading us without haste and almost unknowingly to the very shore of the Infinite.

The author in another essay thoroughly examines and fully answers the serious charge and challenge of the late V. Subramanya Iyer who was a Registrar of the Mysore University and a Reader in Philosophy to the former Maharajah of Mysore. In an article in the *Triveni*, Mr. Iyer tried to show that India at present has no philosophy as such of her own. Refuting this charge point by point practically by irrefragable arguments the learned author concludes : "For these, specially philosophers (like the critic concerned) who in the name of Science and scientific method would deliberately avoid all other avenues of knowledge, Nemesis is lying in wait. The only reply to them is in the words of Oliver Cromwell. 'My brethren, by the bowels of Christ, I beseech ye; bethink ye that ye may be mistaken'!" This remark is a quite suitable and sound reply to the false charge.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

MANGALA-CHANDIR GIT : *By Dvija Madhava. Edited by Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya. Published by the Calcutta University. 1952. Pp. 77 + 303. Price Rs. 8.*

Professor Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya's edition of the Middle Bengali poem—Mangala-Chandir Gita by Dvija Madhava which goes back to the third

quarter of the 16th century and is a contemporaneous work with Kavikankana Mukundarama's better known poem on the same theme—presents modern Bengali scholarship at its best. Dvija Madhava's work is well-known from histories of Bengali literature, but it was so long lost sight of as a complete poem, and interested students knew it only from extracts or excerpts. An edition was published long ago, over half a century from now, and this is no longer available. The present edition has been very carefully prepared by collating some 21 MSS. of this work and the printed edition (from its second printing), and this gives us as good a text of an important Middle Bengali Classic as can be prepared now with proper critical apparatus. Before discussing the work itself, its variant readings from MSS., its authorship and its language, the editor has contributed a section on the cult of the Devi which forms the theme of the work, and in this connexion he has presented to us some striking suggestions and speculations on the history of a popular form of mediæval and modern Brahmanical Hinduism, as derived from the Sanskrit texts and from Anthropological observations. The University of Calcutta which has brought out the edition can be congratulated on sponsoring such a handsome edition of a Middle Bengali Classic, handsome both from the point of view of its scholarship and its outward get-up.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

PRABAHA : *By Bibhutibhusan Gupta. Published by Bharati Library, 145 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Price Rs. 3.*

Bibhutibhusan Gupta, till now known as a short-story-writer, whose delicate touches leave a fine impression on the mind of the readers, has turned his hands to novel-writing. Gupta has succeeded in his attempt. He has not crowded his canvas with multifarious characters, but the characters he has introduced in his novel are drawn with an able hand. Mrinmoy is the hero, but Manju, the heroine of the novel, draws all our simpathy. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee remarks in one of his great novels that there is a hidden curse in youthful love. In *Prabaha*, Mrinmoy and Manju who are attached to each other and has loved each other from their very childhood are not destined to be united in marriage and live together happily ever afterwards. It is not love turning itself to something else. It is fate. Through the machination of a so-called friend whose selfish character is marked by an unforgivable meanness, the two lives are rent asunder and both are drifted apart in the storm-tossed sea of life. The great self-abnegation of Nanku, a real friend, brings them closer. Though not a problem-novel, at the close of the story we meet with a problem, whether the uncompleted ceremony of the marriage of Manju and Nanku is a real marriage, a marriage that is upheld by society. The writer does not answer the question directly. He leaves it to the imagination of the readers. Manju and Nanku are well-drawn. The interest in the story never flags. The style is charming. Readers will find the novel very interesting.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

SWAPNA-O-SANGRAM : *By Amiyaratan Mukhopadhyay. Sadhana-Mandir, 55, Narayan Ray Road, Barisa, Calcutta 8. Price Rs. 2.*

This is perhaps the Poet's second published book of poems. It is a mature work, free from misty sentimentalism or weak experimentation. The poet is a worshipper of humanity, not deluded by 'catchwords.' *His love for truth* and beauty has found expression in *rich melodious language.*

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

THE MODERN HINDI TEACHER : *By Captain C. L. Vasudeva with a Foreword by General K. M. Cariappa. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 105. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The very fact that the Army Headquarters of India have approved the book as a text-book speaks of its quality and usefulness. It is divided into four parts, the alphabets, grammar, conversational exercises and glossary. The main object of the book is to make the reader an adept in conversation in a short time, and that object has been achieved by the author. The bold-type neat printing is also commendable. General Cariappa's remark in the Foreword of the book, "I commend this book to all those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, as it has been written especially for them," is fully justified.

B.

GUJARATI

AGAMONUM DIGDARSHAN : *By Prof. Hiralal R. Kapadia, M.A., Surat. Printed at the Mahoday Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 5-8.*

A well-known scholar of Sanskrit and Ardha-Magadhi, Prof. Kapadia's is a familiar figure in literary matters, verse and prose, specially to those connected with Jaina Philosophy. "Agamo" are highly technical, metaphysical works bearing on the philosophy of that community. He presents to the reader, a picture of what they are and himself raises certain questions and problems and seeks their solution at the hand of some one more erudite than himself. Only Pandits can follow the text of his book, the result of deep study and strenuous labour, ordinary readers cannot, specially as it provokes thought, which the latter are unable to put forth.

GUJARATI BHASHA VYAKARAN ANE LEKHAN : *By Prof. Mansukhlal M. Jhaveri, M.A. of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay 2. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 2-4.*

This is the Second Edition of Prof. Jhaveri's work called for in a year and a half. Being a teacher himself and being a writer too of many literary works he has become familiar with the difficulties of learners and the shortcomings of teachers, the consequence of which is a slipshod study of Gujarati in respect of the language, its grammar and the way in which it should be written. It furnishes a very valuable guide in this direction.

ACHARYA ANAND SHANKARBHAI : JIVAN REKHA ANE SAMSMARANO : *By Principal Ratilal Mohanlal Trivedi, M.A., Ahmedabad. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay 2. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 126. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The late Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University was a gift, made through Gandhiji's exertions, by Gujarat to Pandit Malaviyaji. How the distinguished scholar justified the choice and raised at one bound the status of the University, and made it famous not only in India but outside, has now passed into history. While a Professor in the Gujarat College at Ahmedabad, he had by his private goodness, changed for the better the life of his numerous pupils and each and all of them feel grateful to him in their after-life. One such pupil was Principal Trivedi and in addition to giving a sketch of his life, he has reproduced reminiscences, which throw a vivid light on the exemplary life lived by a scholar and all his life a student, pure and simple. They would prove of great help to anyone who thinks of writing his biography, including Principal Trivedi himself.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA (1937—952) : *Published by the International Labour Office (ILO) Indian Branch, Cochin House, 3 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. Price Re. 1.*

A valuable compendium on the problems of labour and workers in India and enactment of laws for labour welfare in conformity with the advanced countries of the world.

THE FIFTH YEAR (15th August, 1952) : *Published by the Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Pp. 275. Price Re. 1-8.*

A very useful publication for the general public, containing in two parts, a brief account of the more important activities and achievements of the Central Government of India and of the Governments of the States during 1951-52.

CIVIC LIFE IN BIHAR : *By Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar. Selling agents—Motilal Banarasidas, Patna. Price Re. 1-4.*

The book gives in brief a statistical account of civic life in Bihar. It contains all the necessary information in a nut-shell about the civic and political administration of the Government of Bihar.

HASTINAPURA: *By Amar Chand. Published by the Secretary, Jain Cultural Research Society, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras 5. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The author illustrates in this book from tradition and classical literature that this ancient land of glory was once a seat of Jain religion and culture. Two maps and several photos and pictures of ancient Jain temples and relics found on the site of Hastinapura, enhance the value of the book.

HIMALAYA (Journal of the Badrinath Temple Committee, Vol. I, No. 1, July-September, 1952) : *Hony Editor, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Sole distributors—Rajkamal Publications Ltd., Faiz Bazar, Delhi.*

The Journal is full of interesting and informative articles, written by well-known writers, about the multifarious aspects of the Himalayas—physical, economic, social, religious and cultural. Charming illustrations and good printing on quality paper make the volume attractive.

SRI G. VENKATACHALAM SASTIABDA-POORTHI SOUVENIR: *Published by Malini Thacker, Shantaram Lane, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6. Profusely illustrated and printed on art paper.*

The Souvenir publishes on the occasion of the completion of the 60th year of his life, messages and tributes paid to Sj. Venkatachalam, the well-known art-critic of South India, by almost all the well-known artists of our country, for his excellent services to Indian art and artists.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for February, 1953 : P. 126, *read* By Dr. D. B. Singh *for* By Dr. D. M. Singh.

" " P. 129, col. 2, line 22, *read* 1855 *for* 1836.

(The first catalogue of the Library was published in 1855.)

58th year ! ***58th year !!***

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

OR

AWAKENED INDIA

(Founded by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)

A High Class English Monthly devoted to Universal Religion, Comparative Philosophy, Education, Art, and other topics of national and international interest.

Subscribers are enlisted from January.

Annual subscription : **Inland Rs. 5 ; Foreign 14 sh. ; U.S. $ 4.00**

CONTENTS OF JANUARY 1953 SPECIAL NUMBER

The Eternal Quest—*By Dr. Amaresh Datta*
Vedanta and the Problem of Human Relations—*By the Editor.*
The Voice of India—*By Swami Tejasananda*
Sri Ramakrishna Temple at the Belur Math *(Illustrated)*—*By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.*
Karma-Samadhi—*By R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar*
The Conception of History in Ancient India—*By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.*
New Hopes—*By Anirvan.*
Ramakrishna Vedanta and the Unity of Religions—*By C. T. K. Chari, M.A.*
A Pilgrimage through the Himalayas *(Illustrated)*—*By Swami Apurvananda.*
The Tantric Cults : I. Shākta Tantra—*By Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D.*
A Comparative Study of the Commentaries on the Brahma-Sutras—*By Swami Virewarananda*
Literature and World Peace—*By Dr. A. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D.*
Some Positive Aspects of Advaita Vedanta—*By Swami Gambhirananda.*
Religion and Science—*By Dr. Mohan Lal Sethi, D.Sc.* Etc., Etc., Etc.

Beautifully printed and excellently got-up.—Price As. 12.

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

Tribute to Beauty...

Quality toilet products are real aids to beauty culture. Our toiletries are humble tribute to Beauty.

Calchemico's

MARGO SOAP

NEEM TOOTH PASTE

BHRINGOL MAHABHRINGARAJ HAIR OIL

LABONNY SNOW AND CREAM

KANTA KERCHIEF PERFUME

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO.,LTD. CALCUTTA 29

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit **Maha** Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta **has** won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e. g., in **England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore,** etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. **This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist,** Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11. **Bagalamukhi Kavacha** :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4. **Mohini Kavacha** :—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8 Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14. **Nrisingha Kavacha** :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. **Saraswati Kavacha** :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English

"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O. :—105(M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Caltutta. 5. Consultation Hours 8-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B. B. 3665.

Branch Office :—*47, Dharamtola Street,* (Wellengton Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.

LONDON OFFICE:—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS,** 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Science, Society and Health

The following article, as published in *ce and Culture*, is based on Dr. Mahendra-ircar Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr. . Ukil at the Indian Association for the vation of Science, Jadabpur, on the 23rd ıary, 1952 :

RGSON declared many years ago that "man hardly d that he could shape his own destiny." The t Aryans also believed in this but they approached a a metaphysical angle.

om the earliest times, man has been actuated by inciples of self-preservation and the natural e of life-interest and life-protection, which has xpressed in various ways, such as the raising of y agriculture and its storage, the domestication mals, the use of metals and evolution of certain and trade, shelter, water supply, land drainage, on, removal of refuse, and the avoidance of pain, and death.

ıe blending of Greco-Roman craft-based science hilosophy took place in the 15th century. The of modern science was laid in the 16th centrry. 7th century science cleared the way for approach-e fundamental facts of physics and chemistry and l the transition from the amateur to the ional scientist. The progress in the 18th century fields of chemistry, geology, botany, zoology, , mathematics and astronomy made a deep sion on the learned world, and ultimately led to dustrial revolution. Newton's discovery of gravi-the inductive method of Bacon and the logical ry of Descartes, which took place earlier, led to believe that by reason and calculation based servation men could succeed in solving all their ms. The discovery of the steam engine and the ing conductor were not only the fore-runner of dustrial revolution but it had a profound influence ial re-groupings and cultural trends. Science a necessity in the 19th century and it became ntegral part of civilisation. Its anti-social ıtions, however, led to imperial expansion and The nineteenth century was marked by rapid ries based on the inductive and experimental ls and was marked by the dawning of social usness in the western world. Political and ıic advance progressed at a rapid rate, followed ial advance at a slower pace.

ıe first half of the 20th century has seen enormous es in many fields of scientific knowledge, which t on society and statecraft in diverse ways. Each new discoveries opened up a new vista of lities for applying them to the well-being of man. The most outstanding discoveries in recent have been in the field of radio-electronics, ır energy, synthetic chemistry and antibiotics.

ıe of the incidental bye-products of the splitting nium nuclei in the atomic pile relates to radio-active isotopes of elements with unstable nuclear structure. Atomic piles in some of the advanced countries are now providing increasing quantities of these substances, and with the development of apparatus for rapid assay, radioactive tracer techniques are being used for a variety of purposes, particularly in the diagnosis and the treatment of certain conditions. Thus radio-cobalt isotope has been found to be as good as and probably better than radium in producing gamma rays valuable in medicine for radiation from outside. Both radio-active phosphorus and radioactive iodine have been found useful in the control of certain pathological conditions. Tracer techniques have been made use of in the detection of certain other conditions. For example, radio-dyes have been utilised for the location and determination of the nature of brain tumours. Several isotopes, notably phosphorus 32, iodine 131 and sodium 24, have been used for diagnosis of pathological conditions by external exploration technique. One of the outstanding achivements of metabolic tracer work has been the tracking of the precursors of creatine, one of the important constituents of muscle. Another concerns the synthesis of uric acid in the body. The use of isotopic tracers has led to a new conception of cell metabolism within the animal body. The cyclotron can also be used to produce radio-active isotopes of a whole range of elements.

It may be noted that while piles liberating energy in hundreds of thousands of kilo-watts are needed to produce material for atomic bombs and probably for primary power stations, relatively small amounts of no military value suffice for the production of isotopes for the peaceful purposes of medicine and research. The question which faces us today is whether these gifts of science should be used for the welfare of mankind or for frightening and destroying all human life and achievements which have accrued since the dawn of history.

Science and Society

Society has been defined as a group of people united together more or less closely by sentiments, ideals, traditions, customs, folklores or other ties which define the interests and purpose of the people belonging to that group. Science has a transforming influence on society. "Science reacts on society unconsciously and indirectly through the technical changes it brings about, and directly and consciously through the force of its ideas." It opens the possibility of indefinite improvement in social structures and function. Theoretically, it can give more plenty and leisure, and better health of body and mind.

It has been stated that the development of man's ideal and man's mind has not kept pace with the speed of scientific progress. In our quest for material progress and comfort, we have neglected to study the human mind and human society.

Knowing that dynamite can be utilised as a fertiliser to increase cultivation of food, why do we employ it for destructive purposes ? Knowing that steel can be used in manufacturing plough-shares for food production, why do we use millions of tons in

preparing cannon balls? Knowing that atomic energy can supply a cheap means of power and can alleviate human suffering by diagnosing and treating diseases, why are we tempted to utilise this brilliant discovery of 1939 to destroy large tracts of land and wipe out human civilisation?

It is difficult to believe that scientists are responsible for these anti-social activities, but the fact remains that they are made pawns in the game, thus interfering with the ideal of scientists to pursue knowledge for the sake of truth and for human welfare. Is the society responsible for it or are the ruling authorities on whom society has no control to be blamed for this attitude of mind?

Society has reached to scientific dicoveries in a different way in different countries. Some countries have organised themselves along capitalistic lines, some on socialistic lines, while others along varying combinations of both.

Some countries support democracy, while others support dictatorship. Why is there so much suspicion among and intolerance between these divergent groups?

I venture to make a plea for a scientific study of these problems from a sociological angle. Sociology is the science which deals with society (man in his social relations), its origin, development, activities and functions. As the human body has to be studied from the point of view of structure (anatomy), function (physiology), dysfunction (pathology) and preventive treatment, so also social groups can be studied likewise.

The main purpose of sociology is (1) to understand society at its particular stage of development, and (2) to work out programmes and policies which direct this understanding towards social betterment. It is closely related to all fields of science, and specially to the social science—economics, political science, history, philosophy, psychology, eugenics, euthemics (the provision of an environment whereby each individual will have the opportunity to develop to the limit of his latent powers), and education. Social problems furnish sociologists with opportunities for studying human association under varying and changing conditions. The results of their studies help in working out programmes and policies of sound social adjustment. The study and solution of group conflicts, whether in the economic, political, social, religious or cultural fields fall within its domain. Some of the examples of facts which mitigate group conflicts are:

(1) In the *economic field*—wide improvement of standard of living and employment; labour laws which enable settling of disputes between labour and capital, provisions for safeguarding the health, old age and unemployment insurance or other devices which reduce the hazards to each of them.

(2) In the *social field*—widespread educational opportunity; inculcating a scientific method of thinking; transferring the focus from emotional prejudices and hatred to social fields of wider application, such as social and civic service, pursuits connected with art, literature or philanthropy; widening democracy and political opportunity; equality before court and law; and socialising religion, *i.e.*, suiting it to the needs of the common man and adapting it to the social problems of the day.

Civilisation has always presented to society two great inequalities—inequality of knowledge and *inequality of material* wealth. The main purpose of society, guided by its degree of moral growth, has been directed towards the reduction of these inequalities and to put forth a continual effort to improve materially and morally. Moral progress has, however, lagged behind material progress. The central problem is, therefore, to direct our efforts to adjust our social life and social institutions, so that as individuals and as communities, we may use and enjoy the largest measure of civilisation possible, and promote further progress in harmony and peace.

Science and Health

A human being is one of the most expensive things we can rear and develop. Hence, from the strictly economic view point, national health is of the greatest importance. Health is a major basis of human progress, and its lack is one of the causes that lead to national decay. Other things being equal, good health makes for physical efficiency, bodily comfort, a sense of well-being and develops energy, alertness and keenness. The energy for creative enterprises depends upon it and the inventiveness that develops our civilisation is closely related to it. On the other hand, sickness and death bring many evil results, such as poverty, crime, laziness, inadequate output of work, broken homes and hopelessness and despair. The improvement of personal, semi-public and public health must, therefore, be a problem of national importance. Public health truly belongs to the domain of social welfare. Consideration of health can seldom be divorced from economic, demographic and social factors. To quote Prof. J. D. Bernal, "It is probable that an overwhelming majority of diseases that occur throughout the world are due directly or indirectly to the lack of primary necessities, generally food, and many of the remainder are attributable to bad working

." A failure of the social machinery to ensure individual in the community a standard of d education adequate for the maintenance of responsible for much preventible ill health. scoveries of science and the impact of the ical age on the agricultural civilisation of times created new problems in the organisation nity life. The application of the knowledge, sive periods however, to solve these problems ed the development of the social services, but always been a lag between modern knowledge ommunity utilisation.

y the scientist is not satisfied with merely secrets from Nature but he wants to see lication for the betterment of human

growth of technology and technocracy has led nergence of a new branch of medicine, called Medicine. New techniques of manufacture use of new substances are creating new diseases. Some have direct action on the mucous membranes, some have injurious the kidneys or liver, while the inhalation of umes may lead to diseases of the respiratory he latest is concerned with the application of e isotopes. It has been necessary to lay ety limits of exposure of laboratory workers, ctivity and also of packing and transportation me.

THE HEALTH OF THE MIND

cent years, it is being increasingly realised health of the mind is inseparable from that dy. This is nothing but a reiteration of old enunciated in Latin and Sanskrit. The nt of technology and technocracy in the post-revolution era has unfortunately fostered a titude which leads to undue ambition, greed shness and accentuates exploitation of men ries. The result is that with increased plenty re one does not find the happiness which om a poised and satisfied mind. The t emotional imbalance, worry and unsatisfied probably responsible for a steady increase of pes of heart disease, which now ranks as the uent cause of death in the industrialised

A similar trend is already noticeable in he development of a balanced mind and perso- rough scientific education, is of fundamental e in any country, particularly in India, which us history and cultural heritage. The science logy, which is not yet a highly developed as hitherto occupied itself with the study of variations. It is time that psychologists heir attention to devise methods of education tice for developing a balanced-personality . We leave too much to chance at the oment.

Croce's Philosophy

Italian Cultural Digest reproduces an article by M. A. Venkata Rao on Croce's Philosophy from *Mysindia* :

The death of Benedetto Croce, just announced, at the age of 86 removes from Italian life one of the colourful personalities of the present generation. Croce was not merely the most outstanding philosopher of his time and country. He was also a manysided personality with a singularly catholic cultivation and breadth of interests. He was an acknowledged leader of taste and opinion in many fields, *viz.*, historical investigation and interpretation, literary and artistic criticism and theory, logic, technical philosophy, and current political and economic thought. He lived in Naples and built up a position of influence among his contemporaries as a private scholar, only serving for a period as minister of public instruction before the Mussolinian era.

In politics he was a convinced liberal. Growing up in the era of Italian unification and freedom, Croce absorbed by indefatigable industry and sensitive enthusiasm the higher currents of European thought in the closing years of the nineteenth century, and found himself equipped with an extraordinarily enlightened and broad-based wealth of scholarship, enabling him to sift the grain from the chaff in the confused growth of ideas and aspirations of the time. He was one of the few who kept themselves free of the "romantic decadence" symbolised by Nietzsche. He kept himself uncorrupted as well by the scepticism and hasty materialism of the Spencerian epoch.

SPIRITUALISM AND MATERIALISM

Before the war of 1914 broke out, Croce was already a fullfledged philosopher and leader of culture. The rude shock of disappointment occasioned everywhere in Europe by the failure of higher hopes occasioned by the "German" war turned many minds with anxious interest to the teachings of the Italian philosopher who maintained such a serene consciousness of conviction in the values of the spirit. Indeed from this point of view the thought and work of Croce will remain a source of stimulus and encouragement for generations to come. For the issue of spiritualism *versus* materialism is still with us and will remain in its present shape and physiognomy for a long time to come.

One reason is that the crisis in world culture is the outcome of science. The other is that the materialist interpretation of history and of nature has become bound up with the colossal experiment of Communist Russia. And in both of these fields, theoretical and practical, Croce's reflections have been fruitful and suggestive.

Croce has understood the currents of the present time in all their length, breadth, and depth, and has reacted with intelligence, conscience and grasp of events.

From this point of view, the first appeal he has to the instructed student and those anxious for the spiritual values of human life, lies in his philosophy. In philosophy Croce is an unrepentant idealist. He is aware of the full force of scientific naturalism and agnosticism, of Spencer and Comte, evolutionism and positivism. But he takes his departure from Hegel. He has written a fascinating volume on Hegel called *What is Living and What is Dead in the Philosophy of Hegel.*

Croce holds that the central idea of Hegel regarding the synthesis of opposites is sound and of far-reaching significance. Taken broadly without technicalities, the phrase refers to the nature of reality as consisting in a rhythm of activity. It expresses itself in continual activity. The activity is not the motion of matter but the self-expressive development of perfect consciousness. Croce agrees with Hegel in holding that such spiritual activity implies the phases of being and non-being, affirmation and negation, spirit and matter. Croce separates what he holds to be vital of Hegel from what he thinks are misapplications and confusions external to it.

Thought and Action

Croce develops his idealism in his own way and expands his thought into a system of his own dealing with the great problems of philosophy in a new and fascinating form. Instead of the time-honoured triad of eternal values, truth, beauty and goodness, coming from the days of Plato and revived by Kant and Hegel in recent times, Croce arrives at a twofold pattern and action. Spiritual activity (which is all there is) has two moments, thought and action, each distinct from the other. But thought is prior to action. Thought is autonomous and contains action implicitly within itself, but action is dependent on thought, though its nature is distinct. And each of these phases again is twofold in a similar way.

Thought occurs in two distinct phases, intuitive and intellectual. Intuition grasps and makes the real in a definite and indivilual way. It is the first utterance of spirit. It is not mere feeling. It is a form of apprehension. Intuition passes into the work of the analytic and synthetic intelligence. Intuition is autonomous and self-dependent. But intelligence needs intuition for its material.

The work of the mind or spirit is a cyclic rhythm passing from intuition to intelligence and back again, in which successive riches of experience are created, formed and illuminated.

Similarly the second moment of practice or action has two levels or phases, the economic and ethical. All action exhibits the two phases of utility and morality. Utility expresses individual interest, while ethics expresses universal interest. The individual phase has the universal implicit in it, both in the realm of thought and of action.

Thought and Reality

Any adequate realisation of the full implications of such a metaphysic will involve an exposition of detail not possible in the space at our disposal. Only the main drift can be indicated here. Corce does not shrink from the consequences of such an extreme position. He defends his central idea that the real is spiritual, that spirit exists in and through its activity, that activity is self-expressive and perfect in the only sense of perfection, *viz.*, passing from one phase to another through opposition and cancellation of opposition.

To the objector that on such a view the external world of nature is dimissed as an illusion, Croce replies by a theory of the nature of scientific ideas. Scientific laws, whether of the material sciences like physics and chemistry or of the mathematical sciences like geometry, he regards as half-ideas or pseudo-concepts giving only schematic pictures, fictitious in nature. They are the results of the economising activity of the classificatory judgement. Croce agrees with the positivists that science gives only phenomena, averages, sensory impressions, etc. But he adds that phenomena are not all. Behind the appearances of science, there is the concrete universal apprehended in integral thinking, in intuition and conception. The procedure recalls that of Sankara who agrees with the Sunyavadins but adds that behind the Maya of world-illusion there is the reality of Satchidananda or pure, joyous, perfect consciousness. Nature is spirit misunderstood.

Croce shares in the Hegelian view of religion as experience of reality relegating dogma to the realm of fiction and elevating philosophic contemplation to the dignity of religion with the capital R. Religion in the ordinary sense of worship of personal gods (or God) together with belief in particular revelations, *avatars*, miracles, etc., is set aside as fiction. Croce goes a step further than the Hegelians in rejecting the mystical

of religion. If by religion is meant a
ıess of spiritual reality through spiritual action
ıt and practice, Croce is religious. But it is
ıis position to characterise it as an acceptance
al values than to term it religious.

Art is Expression

ıer special line of thought for which Croce is
s the aesthetic. His philosophy of beauty
ıite a sensation and became the talk of critics,
's and philosopers in the early years of the
His aestheic centres round a fresh exposition
ın as the essence of art as an activity. Croce
't from obscurantism.

ːe holds that intuition which is expressed
ɔrms is no unintelligible mystery but an
essentially intellectual in character, con-
n apprehension.

hen has knowledge value. It is not merely a
subjective feeling. Mere feeling is the raw
f art. Art consists in creating form. Intuition
ɛssion are the two sides of the art activity.
gives insight into things, the other shapes it
The two work in a single throb. Expression
ion are identical, according to Croce.
therefore holds the two sides of insight and
in a vital balance in his aesthetic theory.
rong herefore to identify him with the
ts, who neglect intuition and knowldge in the
ırt.

applies his theory to many phases of culture,
:he writing of history and the meaning of
Plenty of discussion has taken place on
ɛcts of his philosophy, but it cannot be said
full suggestiveness and value have yet been
l adequately realised in contemporary thought.

Political Ideas

ɔolitical thought of Croce is of encouraging
us. Croce lived through the National Socialist
condemned totalitarianism frankly as contrary
ɛral statesmanship of modern Europe. He re-
the liberal philosophy in accents of vigour even
ɔolini took power in 1926 in his own country.
ːame necessary for him to assume silence. It
redit of Mussolini that he was allowed to remain
l in his home at Naples. Croce refused to
linister of Education in the Fascist regime. His
ɔlleague Gentile took up the position he refused
ıe the philosopher of Fascism.
ɛr he studied and refuted the fallacies of
n. In his essays published from time to time
ıce his answers to the fundamental perversions
ırxian creed and his reassertion of the liberal
separated the liberal doctrine from its
association with the *laissez faire* economics.
d it on his spiritual philosophy.
is idea of spirit is different from that of
or Advatia Vedanta, for its nature is activity,
ith opposing forces, overcoming them with its
ower and imbuing them with its own meaning
ɔe.

then was no philosopher of the ivory tower or
ut one whose thought penetrates the inmost
f his time and illumines them with the light of
alism.

Strength to Strength

From height to height and from strength to strength the Hindusthan is making a record of outstanding progress every year. It is an arresting landmark in the onward march of Indian Life Insurance. The 45th Annual Report for 1951 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and distinction which always have been so characteristic of the Society

THE FIGURES THAT TELL

Assurances in Force	Rs. 81,02,36,164
Total Assets	Rs. 19,98,13,853
Life Fund	Rs. 17,66,19,628
Premium Income	Rs. 3,72,27,528
Claims Paid	Rs. 83,57,978

NEW BUSINESS

16,28,85,800

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE

INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,

4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sociological Issues in Israel

Shlomo Riemer observes in the *Jewish Frontier*, November 1952 :

Israel is the classical contemporary example of a nascent pioneering society whose existence as an independent social organism is measured in decades alone. Of the 1,404,696 Jewish inhabitants who lived in Israel on December 31st, 1951, no fewer than 1,061,000, or over 75 per cent. had been born outside its borders. 684,275 of these, or nearly 50 per cent of the total Jewish population, had immigrated into the country since the re-establishment of the Jewish State, that is to say they have lived in Israel less than four years. These facts have had a massive impact on the strength of social cohesion in Israel.

Each society implants into the minds of its members its own particular value norms. Where all the members of a given society were nurtured in the same society, the operative behavior norms in their minds are more or less identical, or, as far as different social strata are concerned, complementary. The resulting value integration makes for understanding, trust and harmony in the dealings between its members. Willing consent as a form of social control, and organic social cohesion are at a maximum.

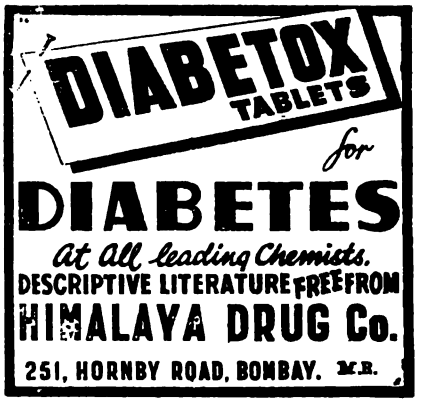
While it may be argued that all human society has at its base similar fundamental moral values, it cannot be denied that the actual, concrete, socially sanctioned behavior norms emanating from them vary enormously as between different societies both in space as well as in time. Accordingly, the normative concepts of what is right and wrong or good and bad, which different societies introject into the minds of their members are widely divergent.

Israel is the case of a society whose members have been recruited literally from all the ends of the inhabited globe, from societies representative of divergent human cultures at different stages of social evolution. There is therefore a conspicuous lack of unity among the normative values which these people have brought with them to their new homeland. The resulting faulty integration gives rise to attitudes of strong in-group feeling and of corresponding suspicion and mistrust, directed at ethnical "outsiders." Overt behavior in public places tends to be harsh and full of callous, social disregard. Society becomes steeped in an atmosphere of constant social tension and of latent conflict. Consent as an agency of social control sinks to a minimum and has to be replaced by the coercive instruments of State power, the army, police, judiciary, etc., which gain in prominence not only as social defences but as daily regulative organs.

The incidence of this faulty value integration is by no means distributed uniformly throughout the country. There are residential districts, Rehavia in *Jerusalem*, for instance, which compare favorably with *English suburbia. Nahariya on the* northern coast is famed for its congenial atmosphere of an old German Spa. Yet to preserve that atmosphere, and with it its holiday appeal to certain sections of the Haifa and Tel-Aviv public, it is trying hard to insulate itself socially against the huge *ma'abara* sprawling right up against its back-door. Even in a nationwide organization like the Histadrut, one of the great power hierarchies in the country, things generally run smoothly because there the Russian-Polish workers' "aristocracy" still predominates in the key posts and sets the general tone and pace by its peculiar mentality. Finally, *kibbutzim* must be singled out for mention as catalysts of social integration by virtuo of their ideology and mode of living. Different ethnical groups are socially fused in a surprisingly short period of time.

But apart from the communes and away from the population and power centers of the old *Yishuv* the picture changes abruptly. Tel-Aviv in this respect perhaps epitomizes the whole country. Here the Yemenite from the burning desert of Arabia lives next door to the taxi-driver from a central European metropolis, and the products of North-African Ghettoes rub shoulders with the graduates of Anglo-Saxon Universities. The range of colors of skin is matched by the babel of tongues and vernaculars which in turn is indicative of different cultures, modes of living and value norms. The Central Bus Station at Tel-Aviv is a seething human volcano of wails, shrieks and shouted commands.

However, the ideal model of social estrangement in urban surroundings is provided by the Arab-abandoned and now Jewish immigrant towns such as Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Beersheba. Lydda, for instance, formerly a small Arab town 22km. south-east of Tel-Aviv, was inhabited by some 18,000 Arabs. Of the present population of close to 14,000, only about 1,000 Arabs have been left. The rest are Jews, all of them new immigrants, 54 per cent from countries of Eastern Europe (Ashkenazim) and the rest Sephardim (16 per cent from Bulgaria, 16 per cent from North Africa, 12 per



cent from Turkey and the rest from other old corners of the world). Owing to language difficulties there is little if any non-economic social interest or contact between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim. While the common tongue of the former is Yiddish, the vernacular of the latter is Ladino or Arabic. WIZO (Women International Zionist Organization) has established a community center in the town which carries out an ambitious program of social, educational, vocational and welfare activities among its inhabitants. Of the 500 women enrolled at the Center practically none hail from the East European countries although they represent more than half of the local Jewish population.

A great deal of faith is placed by some in the army as an agency of social integration. It would be well-nigh impossible to verify this claim by objective statistical measurements. Two positive circumstances stand out however: the army gets hold of *all* new immigrant youth up to the age of 29 for a period of two years (18 months for those above 26); whatever influence it does exercise is therefore diffused equally among all newcomers. Secondly, the army teaches the immigrant at least rudimentary Hebrew which is a natural prerequisite for his social integration in post-army life. As against this must be put the fact that just as the utterly voluntary character of life in the *kibbutz* makes it such an ideal social integrator, so the essentially compulsory nature of the army with its enforced community living mitigates against its effectiveness as social catalyst. While the army is no doubt very successful in teaching the technologically backward Oriental youngster the use of complicated machinery, it probably makes little if any positive impact on those deeper recesses of his mind where his value norms are embedded. This vital distinction between machines and morals, means and ends, civilization and culture, is absoultely decisive to our analysis.

Since the outbreak of World War II, some 450,000 Jews have immigrated into Israel from the continent of Europe, the great majority of them after 1945. These are poor, wretched, scattered remnants of the once mighty and prosperous European Jewry. Most of them spent the war in the hell of Hitler's Europe experiencing on their bodies the abominations of Nazi Labor, Concentration and Annihilation Camps, or living an underground existence of disguise in constant terror of discovery, often without adequate means of livelihood. The sum of deprivations and sheer subjective sufferings which these people went through probably exceeds in magnitude and intensity that of any comparable group of human beings during the recent war. It has been said that suffering ennobles. This is not quite true. Suffering, if exceeding given limits of intensity and duration, particularly when it is felt to be unjustly imposed, may be likened to a fire that either hardens a man's moral fibre or else destroys it altogether. It is the majority who succumb and only the chosen few who come out of the ordeal strengthened. Those whose moral stature was impaired or broken by the impact of suffering openly exhibit the scars of their experience in their behavior. As harrowed fugitives in Hitler's Europe, law to them had meant death; survival therefore became a function of the ability to circumvent the law. This maim may have crystallized into a fixed mental attitude towards all law irrespective of who decreed it and where it is practised. But law in a civilized community prescribes the minimum conditions on which men can live peacably together in society. In the absence of law—the limitation of individual freedoms in the greater interest of social freedom—the foundations of society would crumble.

Or again, the barbarous treatment meted out by the Nazis to innocent Jews may have shattered the latter's belief in humanity and their erstwhile moral values and left them bitter, hard, self-centered men, full of rancor towards their fate and mistrust towards their fellow men.

It must be stressed that these reactions towards past suffering are neither necessary nor universal, but factors that cannot be left out of account in enumerating the forces at work in Israel which tend to weaken consent as a force of effective social control.

For nearly 2,000 years the Jews have lived a strange abnormal existence, always an alien body, often despised pariahs and social outcasts, on the fringes of Gentile society. This experience has left its indelible marks on the Jew physically and psychologically. Physically it is responsible for the familiar Ghetto physiognomy. Psychologically it has afflicted him with a peculiar habit of social non-identification or estrangement from the wider social environment in whose midst he was living. The great French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, coined in a different context a special phrase for this state of mind: he called it *anomie*, and it is perhaps no accident that E. Durkheim was an assimilated Jew, the son of an Alsatian rabbi.

The Jew of the Galut has generally not identified himself emotionally with those around him. His attitude is characteristic of an exclusive clan morality in contradistinction to inclusive social morality. The social

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches: College Sq., Cal. Bankura.

Chairman: JAGANNATH KOLAY M.P.

A BOON TO THE STUDENTS AND OTHER BRAIN-WORKERS

BRAINO

A marvellous Brain-Tonic and specific for loss of memory, brain-fag and all other brain troubles. Rs. 5 per bottle. Postage Rs. 1-8.

GRAHARAJ CHEMICAL WORKS

P. O. Belgharia (24 Parganas) W. Bengal

consciousness of the Galut Jew was centered mainly around his immediate family circle. This accounts both for the intimacy of Jewish family life so characteristic of the Diaspora, and also for a certain lack of deep feeling *a priori* towards wider social environs.

The incidence of *anomie* is of course not spread equally over all countries of the Dispersion at all periods of time. Rather, it may be said by way of generalization, does it tend to vary in inverse proportion to the measure of recognition and acceptance as an equal accorded to the Jew in every country. It is perhaps most conspicuous in the modern world among the Jews of Turkey who to this day speak Ladino, a kind of Sephardic Yiddish which their forefathers had brought with them from Spain some 450 years ago. The present generation of Jewish children is the first to learn Turkish at school thanks to Ataturk's educational reforms. The Jewish community of Turkey, or what is left of it today, is a completely alien element in Turkish national life, and it would appear that the Moslem religion, as in the Arab world, remains an effective insurmountable barrier to mutual cultural and social rapproachment. At the other extreme, *anomie* is at a minimum among the Jewish communities of the Anglo-Saxon countries whose culture, ways of life and even national aspirations have been accepted by the Jews in such a great measure. History is not even lacking in examples (in Germany at the turn of the century) of Jews who tried to out-do their Gentile fellow-citizens in patriotic fervor. But usually healthier national sentiments prevail. In Europe before the advent of Hitler, and excluding the Soviet Union, it may be a true approximation to say that the state of *anomie* increased as one moved from West to East across the continent. It certainly was very strong among the teeming millions of Poland who had succeeded in building up a specifically Jewish culture on Europe's eastern plains and whose fellow-feeling with the Polish peasants was of a very tenuous nature.

Such is the social background of the people who are the raw material from which Israeli society is built. National rejuvenation becomes a function of our ability to overcome the physical and psychological handicap which our past national homelessness has inflicted upon us. It is easy enough to eliminate the physiological traits. There is nothing like plenty of fresh air and hard physical toil to straighten bent backs and to infuse new strength into underdeveloped limbs. But to straighten out distorted minds is a more difficult and subtle process. To make people, with different upbringings, experience and tradition, identify themselves with their society and State requires much more time and relentless effort. The aim is to induce the Galut Jew of yesterday to discard his anomic mentality like an old skin and to embrace his society emotionally as his own and to think of it in terms of the pronoun "we" instead of the hitherto accepted pronoun "they."

It would seem that we have yet a long way to go in infusing into the minds of all the people an adequate sense of civic duty and responsibility towards their own society.

We have so far dealt with those issues arising from the multifarious cultural background of Israel's predominantly immigrant population. One basic feature underlies these issues: they were imported from abroad; they are the results of experience and circum-tance from beyond Israel's borders. The question arises: *what* about the Sabras, the native-born Israelis? Being *born and bred in the country one* would assume that they have a more or less homogeneous cultural background; not having lived in the Diaspora, they are immune to the traits of Galut Jewry. On which side of our sociological balance-sheet do we have to enter them? Are they instrumental in strengthening or weakening organic social cohesion in the Israeli society?

At the end of 1951 there were 344,000 native-born Israelis in the country, or 25 per cent of the entire population. About 100,000 of these were above the age of 15. These figures do not include the considerable number of people who had come to Israel as young children, were educated there and are to all intents and purposes Sabras. From our sociological vantage point the Sabras cannot be regarded as an unmixed blessing, though for reasons other than those enumerated above.

For those who believe in Jung's archetypes and the collective unconscious, there exists at least the possibility that *anomie* has become an inherited trait of Jewish mentality, and that the native-born Sabras are equally burdened with the heritage of 2,000 years' Disaspora existence of their forefathers.

Whether we accept or reject the possibility of direct *biological* heritage, there is no denying the powerful mechanism of *psychological* heritage which is handed down from parents to their childern.

The prevailing moral standards of society are introjected into the minds of all its newly born members. The principal social agents to perform this invisible operation of moral control are parental love and parental authority. The moral values which the child receives are therefore in the first instance the values of their parents and not necessarily those of society, the implicit assumption being that the parents themselves were reared in the same society so that their moral standards are representative, by and large, of those prevailing in society. This fundamental assumption does not hold true in an immigrant society like Israel. What the parents succeed to introject into the minds of young Sabras is their Galut mentality containing values which may have stood them in good stead in the Ukraine or even in Yemen, but which are completely at loggerheads with the reality of the new Jewish society. This may become a fertile cause of social maladjustment and conflict. But in reality something else happens. The young native generation sense that their parents' moral values are "old-fashioned, outmoded" and unsuited to Israeli society. Being products of that society they revolt against the moral authority of their parents and reject its tenets out of hand. But in the absence of parental authority there is no equivalent social agency which can accomplish the vital task of moral value introjection. The nearest substitutes would be *Madrichim* in youth movements,

teachers at school and even fellow classmates, and these are very poor substitutes indeed. The result is that the first generation of native Israeli children tend to grow up in a moral vacuum. This really is not surprising; it could hardly be otherwise.

Frequently the heroism and spirit of selfsacrifice displayed by the Sabras in the recent war are cited as examples of their moral stature. But there must be no confusing cause and effect. No one can dispute their courage and heroism in battle, even against hopeless odds. But this did not always stem from moral conviction as from the fervent nationalism with which they had been imbued, and in some measure was due to the contempt the average Sabra had for the Arabs that attacked them, the Arabs they knew for their squalor and vice.

It may be concluded that the first native-born generation of Israelis (in common with the experience of other immigrant societies such as America where the problem has been exhaustively studied) is lacking in moral values as backbone to personality and guides to social conduct.

Every society creates a network of social institutions to match the moral standards of behavior introjected into its members' minds. All old, well-ntegrated societies create a luxuriant growth socially sanctioned patterns of an informally binding nature such as customs, conventions, etiquette, mannerisms, etc. These pervade and regulate the entire realm of social life down to the smallest detail. They are signposts mapping out safe pathways through the perplexing jungle of social existence. They are no more felt to be limitations and restrictions on human behavior than a well-tailored suit is to the conventional movements of the human body. They minimize the potential areas of friction and discord. They are indispensable aids to cultured living.

Israel as a pioneer society has not had time yet to evolve these social signposts; it has not been able yet seriously to get down to the task of polishing off its rough edges, to acquire those social graces that adorn older and maturer societies.

M.B.SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS

167/C 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA, (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCN)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM Phone AVENUE 1701 - Gram BRILLIANTS

The White House

When the new President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, moves into the White House after his inauguration on January 20, he will be its 33rd occupant since the nation's second president, John Adams, moved into the partially completed structure in 1800.

Although the White House has always been the home and office of the presidents, it is the property of the people, and as such, it is the people who select the occupants of the famed house by exercising their right

For safeguard from evil influence of stars
—"NAVARATNAM"—
(NINE JEWELS)
to be worn as per instructions of
"BHRIGUSANHITA"

Fully Illustrated (in tri-colour) detailed report as to Colour, shape, size, weight and price (seperately) with directions for use on Rings and finger size (with date) card can be had by writing with two annas postage stamps to the dealers in :—Precious Stones, Gems and Pearls.

B. Pani & Sons
Post Box No. 7839, CALCUTTA-12
Show-room :—C-4, College Street Market (1st Floor)
College Street, Calcutta-12

as citizens to vote for the man they want to be President. In the last election they cast more than 60 million votes, 33 million of which went to Eisenhower, thus assuring him of at least a four-year stay in the White House.

Outwardly the White House has changed little in appearance since John Adams lived there, but the new President will find that within the past three years it has undergone the most complete interior renovation in its history. Total cost of the project was $5,761,000. Those in charge made certain that the new White House retained the appearance, feel and atmosphere of the old house, but in rebuilding the interior they made the room space half again as large as before.

The house is situated on 17 acres of land and is surrounded by many shady trees. It has three floors, two basements, two office wings, comprising 107 rooms, of which 21 are bedrooms. There are 40 corridors, 19 bathrooms and 12 lavatories.

President Harry S. Truman, who preceded Eisenhower, uncovered structural defects in the White House, and in January 1947 he asked a group of architects and engineers to examine the building carefully. Their findings led to the complete rebuilding of the interior.

This was the first major overhauling of the White House since it was rebuilt after being burned on August 27, 1814, during the British invasion in 1815 and completed in 1817 under the supervision of its original designer James Hoban. The damaged sections of the walls were taken down and rebuilt, partitions replaced, a new roof constructed, and all the mill-work renewed.

George Washington, the nation's first president, helped to decide on the location of the President's house in 1791 while making a survey of the new city of Washington. An early account said that "the house will stand on rising ground, not far from the Potomac River, with a view of the Capitol."

It is not definite whether the name "White House" was derived from the white sandstone of which it was constructed or from the coat of glistening white paint it received after its reconstruction in 1817. However, the name "White House" became an official designation in 1902 during Theodore Roosevelt's administration, and since then it has been used on all executive stationary and documents.

Here is the famous Lincoln room into which the Civil War President's seven-foot bed was recently moved. It was in this room, which Lincoln used as a study, that he signed the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery.

Lincoln's bed is only one of the historical pieces of furniture to be found in the House. In the Green Room on the first floor, for example, a gilt bronze clock with a figure of Hannibal is still in use. It was purchased in France by President Monroe.

The furniture is English, French, and early America period pieces. The China Room contains nearly 300 pieces of chinaware, silverware, glassware and miscellaneous objects of historical interest which belonged to former occupants.

The real estate value of the White House is estimated to be about 60 million, but to the people of America it is more than wood, stone and steel. It is the symbol of national freedom and liberty.—*USIS.*

OUTSTANDING
PRODUCTS OF
HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.
OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, iching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injuriour, depressing or habit-forming druge. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. NOVUM SIMPLEX, Rs. 12-8. NOVUM FORTE, Rs. 50; NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

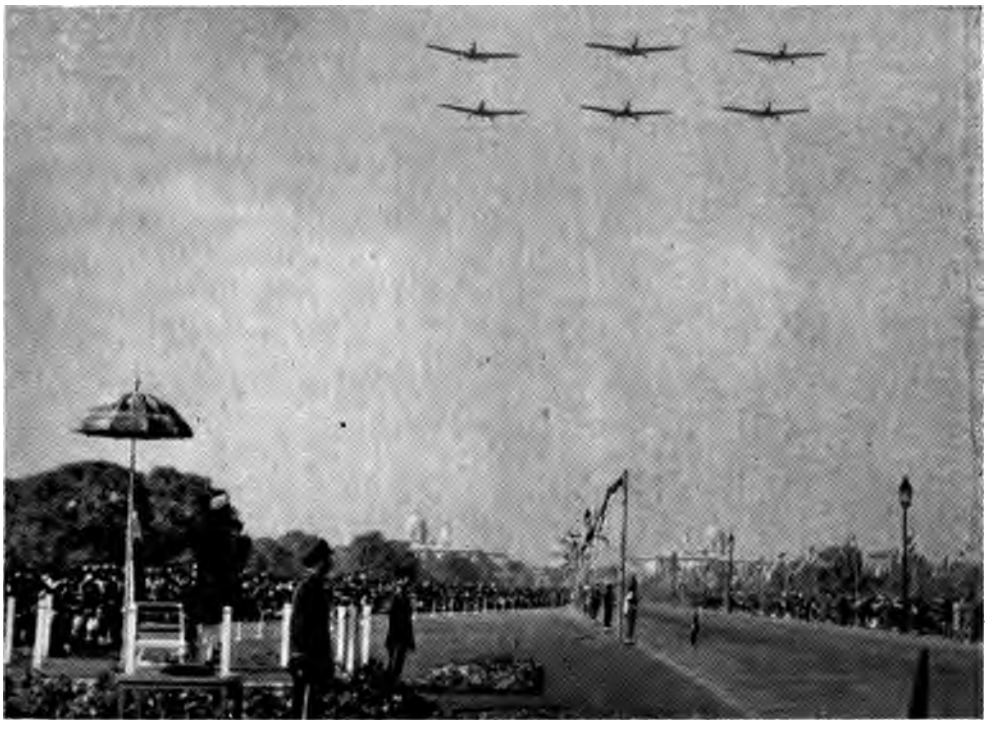
EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

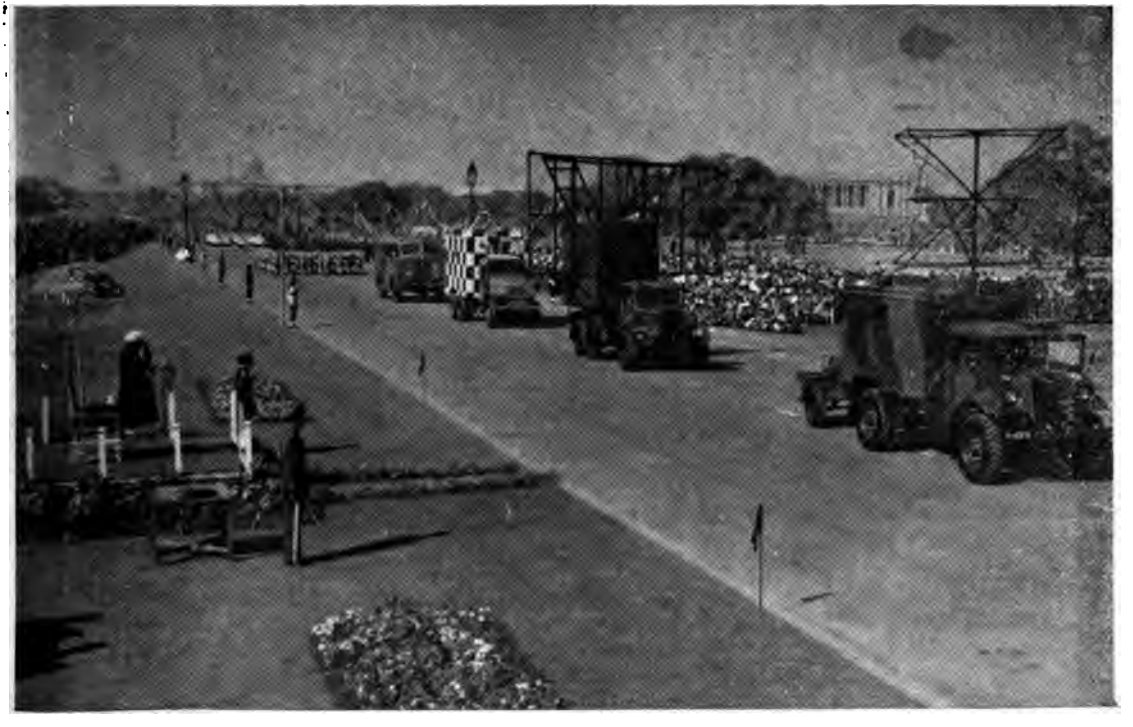
HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. 'Phone: 242972

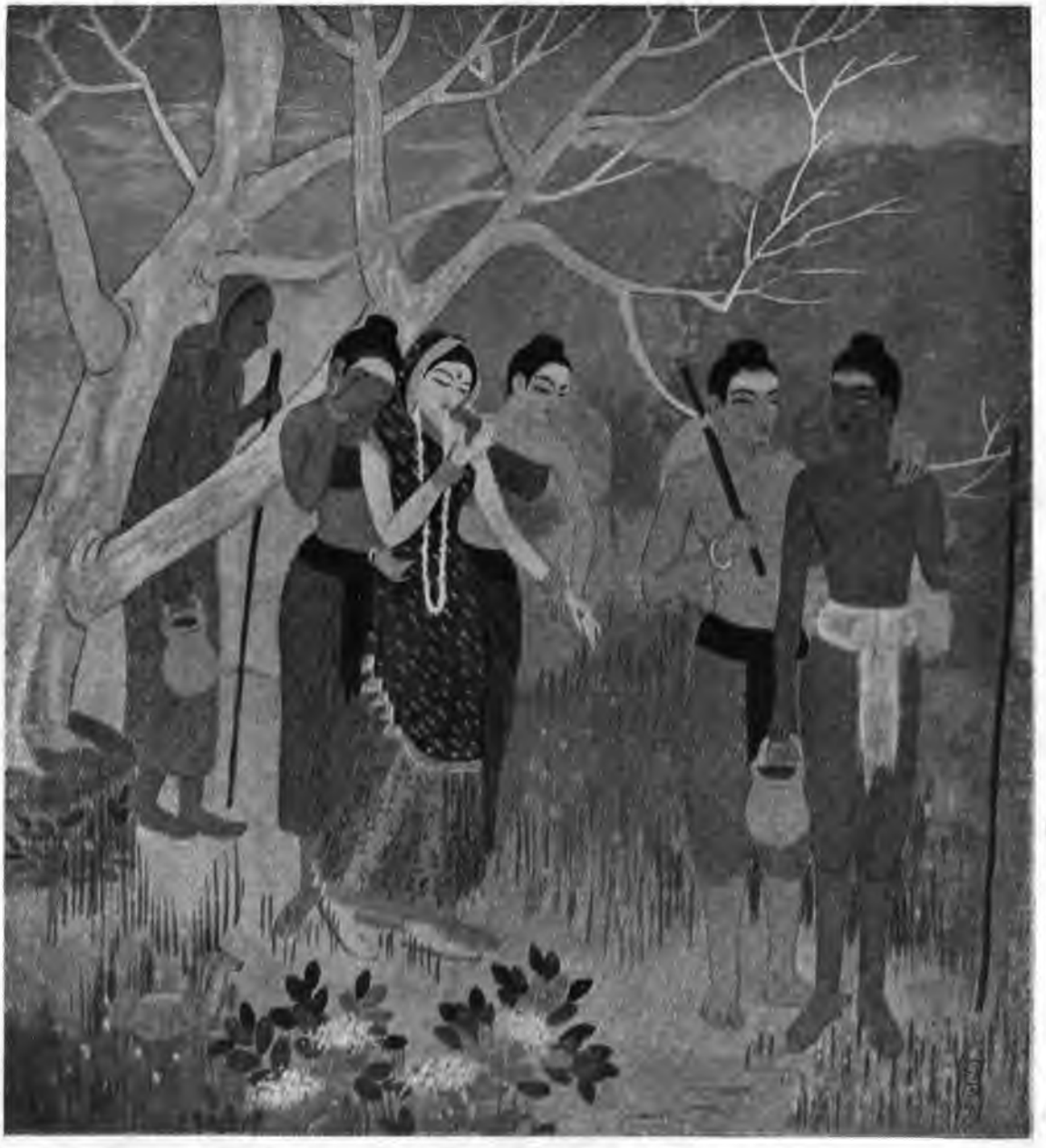
Printed and published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



A flight of six Hindustan Trainers aircraft designed and built in India was given the honour of leading the Armed Forces Parade to celebrate Republic Day in New Delhi on January 26



Republic Day Parade in New Delhi on January 26. Picture shows portable radar and other modern *signals equipment* on wheels used by the front-line I.A.F. units



SAKUNTALA STARTS FOR THE KING'S PALACE

By Satindranath Laha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1953

VOL. LXXXXIII, No. 3 WHOLE No. 555

NOTES

The Welfare State

The Central Government's Budget for 1953-54 came out in the papers just when the final lines of the editorials were being sent to the press. Obviously no considered comments can be presented at such short notice and therefore that will have to be deferred to a later issue.

At a first glance the "Five-Year Plan" Budget, as it is termed, is more or less like the Plan itself, neither inspiring nor excessively disconcerting. It seems to be a humdrum budget, not likely to cause any major alteration, either way, in the meandering and miserable state of the Union or its nationals. Concessions have been made to the Commercial and Industrial interests and also to the tax-payer of the middle-classes, to a minor degree. But there is little of an attempt to tackle matters with vision and courage.

There is one point about the proposed increments in certain postal charges that deserves mention at this stage. These days, the transit of packets through post having become more uncertain than they have ever been in the last fifty years, as we can say from our own experience, books and packets that were formerly despatched through plain book-post are more often being sent per registered post. Therefore an increase of 33⅓ per cent in registration charges will be a serious imposition on the already heavily handicapped publishing and book-selling business. Indeed as most of the registered packets emanate from the book-trade, this enhancement will be in the nature of a tax on education. We do not suppose this will count in any way with our government but it has to be mentioned all the same. Unjustifiable paper prices, both open and black-market, have already brought publishers to the verge of ruin, and this might be the last straw. Paper prices abroad are tumbling down, but our paper monopolists, safe under protective tariffs, continue to exact extortionate prices without let or hindrance. It does not cause the behemoths of the government any loss of slumber. What matters a few cupfuls more of misery to the comman-man when whole streams are flooding the country?

And why worry about education? Look at the unemployment figures amongst the educated, and listen to the fatuous remarks like those uttered by Shri Krishnamachari in the Council of State in reply to Shri B. C. Ghose's question as to whether the Government was aware of unjust discrimination being practised against experienced and competent Indians employed in foreign firms in India. Shri Krishnamachari is evidently ignorant of the fact that no self-respecting government allows any foreign firm working for profit in its territory to discriminate against its nationals in any way. Of course, it may well be asked as to whether our Government considers self-respect of any consequence. Look at its emasculated foreign policy and look at the figure it cuts in the comity of nations.

Nowhere is this androgynous attitude so well marked as in our dealings with Pakistan. Take for example, the Jute agreement. In all our previous deals we were befooled and mulcted to the last limit, though our profiteering bag-barons, Indian and foreign, benefited vastly, to the tune of about 10 crores of ill-gotten rupees. Finally came the discriminating levy on the jute exports from Pakistan to India and that caused a break in the State-level trade in raw jute. We were told that now we ought to strain every nerve in order to attain self-sufficiency in jute.

The peasant and the small holder responded bravely to the Government's behest, particularly those of West Bengal. Jute production went up by leaps and bounds, and self-sufficiency was very nearly attained. Unfortunately a depression set in soon after, in the world-trade in jute, and the poor small-holder peasant,

on February 18, have achieved no substantial progress towards a solution of the problem, it was reliably learned.

After conversations, which have been going on for a fortnight, both the Indian and Pakistani delegations are reported to be merely referring back to their respective Governments the new proposals put forward by Dr. Graham, U.N. Kashmir mediator.

The talks have centred round the question of the demilitarization of the area and the number of troops each side should be permitted to retain during the holding of a plebiscite to determine Kashmir's future status.

The Jammu Agitation

Acharya J. B. Kripalani writes in the *Janata* that the agitation now going on in Jammu cannot be dismissed as a move by the Hindu communal vested interests to create chaos and disorder. Nor can he approve of Sheik Abdullah calling the organisers of the movement traitors. The Praja Parishad stands for closer association with India, extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India to Kashmir, acceptance of the Indian flag and the implementation of the terms of agreement between Kashmir and India. It cannot reasonably be said that the Praja Parishad, being a Hindu organization, is conspiring with the Pakistan Government. Another aspect of the situation was that there is a risk of communal amity being strained in the neighbouring States as a result of the action of the parties involved in the conflict.

Sri Kripalani suggests that the movement in Jammu persists because the people there are afraid. Measures should be adopted for allaying their fears, among which he suggests granting a measure of local authority to the Jammu State. An enquiry should also be made regarding the complaints of the Praja Parishad that the agreement arrived at between India and Kashmir has not yet been implemented. Even the President of the Congress and Prime Minister admits that the people of Jammu have some genuine grievances. "However, the agitation in Jammu does nobody any good and does a great deal of harm to India. Every well-wisher of the country would want the agitation to cease," concludes he.

We are in full agreement with the above remarks of Acharya Kripalani. We have carefully gone through the material issued by the Government of Sheikh Abdullah. There has been "wild and wooly" talk by the Praja Parishad champions, if the quotations are correct. Pakistan's reaction is immaterial to the question.

The most that can be said against the Parishad is that some of its moves and statements were ill-advised. But there can be no denial of the fact that there is a logical basis for their apprehensions, and that there is need for parleys and measures to soothe and allay them.

Iran and India

The Iranian Press delegation arrived in Calcutta on *2 on a two-day visit.*

Mr. Abbas Masoodi, Senator, editor-proprietor of *Ettelaat* and leader of the delegation, said in an interview that they had been greatly impressed by what they had already seen in India. India, he said, was taking important steps towards national reconstrucion. Everyone was earnest in making the Five-Year Plan a success.

Mr. Masoodi added that through an exchange of views between the journalists of India and Iran an abiding link between the two countries could be established.

Deneutralization of Formosa

India's official reaction to Mr. Eisenhower's announcement about the deneutralization of Formosa is not likely to be available until after mature consideration of the issues.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the present feeling here is one of concern, not of indifference, and the implications of Mr. Eisenhower's statement were being carefully assessed at the Foreign Office.

Anxiety arises from the dangerous inference inherent in the declaration that the 7th Fleet would no longer be employed "to shield Communist China."

Though India had no advance information on this new emphasis in American foreign policy—which she may have expected as the principal sponsor of the infructuous peace move at the U. N.—a general hardening of the American attitude was foreseen.

This possiblity is believed to have been discussed during Mr. Krishna Menon's recent visit here when he held consultations with the External Affairs Ministry over the Korean situation.

It was then feared that, while India must not abandon her peace efforts in co-operation with other nations, the likely change in American policy did not encourage hopes of immediate success.

Objective opinion in India does not question the USA.'s motives behind the new move. It is conceded that belief in a show of strength for peace is well meant. Doubts arise, however, over the risks involved.

Mr. Eisenhower's statement in his State of the Union message that he would not recognize certain "secret understandings of the past" has caused some confusion here.

The major agreements of interest today which Mr. Eisenhower may now wish to repudiate were :-

The return to Russia of the southern part of Sakhalin which was taken from Russia in 1904 by Japan; the internationalization of the commercial port of Dairen; restoration of Port Arthur as a naval base for Russia; joint operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway by a Sino-Soviet company; handing over the Kurile Islands to Russia; the acceptance, as a basis for discussion, of the payment of $10 million by Germany to Russia; modification of the frontiers of Poland so as to give Russia the important city of Lwow and Poland the German province of Upper Silesia; the admission of two Russian republics, the Ukraine and White Russia, as original members of the U.N.; and preservation of the status quo in Outer Mongolia under the Mongolian People's Republic.

Finance Commission's Recommendations

It may be remembered that the Finance Commission was appointed by the President under Article 280 of the Constitution. The Commission assumed office on November 30, 1951 and submitted its report to the President on December 31, 1952. The recommendations of the Commission would be given effect to from April 1, 1952. It was required under Article 270 of the Constitution to advise the President on three fundamental matters. These were : (1) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be or may be divided between them and the allocation between the State of the respective shares of such proceeds ; (2) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States out of the total revenues of the Centre ; and (3) the continuance or modification of the terms of any agreement entered into by the Government of India with the Government of any Part B States. Under the Commission's recommendations, which have been accepted by the Government of India, there will be substantial transfer of resources from the Centre to the States. The total amount of Central grants and devolution of revenue to the State Governments will be of the order of nearly Rs. 86 crores annually, as against an average annual sum of Rs. 65 crores for the three year period 1949-50 to 1951-52. The main recommendations of the Commission are :

(i) Increase in the percentage, from 50 to 55, of the net proceeds of income tax to be assigned to the States ;

(ii) Increase in the grants-in-aid by the Centre to the four States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in lieu of their share of the export duty on jute and jute products ;

(iii) Allocation to the States of a share in certain Union excise duties, namely, tobacco, matches and vegetable products ;

(iv) Increased and additional grants to certain States which are considered by the Commission in need of assistance, and

(v) Grants to certain less developed States for expansion of primary education.

The Commission has also laid down certain general principles to regulate grants-in-aid to States from the Centre.

Allocation of Income-tax

Under Article 270 of the Constitution, the Commission is required to make recommendations to the President in regard to three matters concerning income-tax, namely, (a) the percentage of the net proceeds of income-tax which may be assigned to the States, (b) the manner in which the share so assigned shall be distributed among the States, and (c) the *percentage of the net proceeds of the* tax which shall be deemed to represent proceeds of the tax attributable to Part C States.

At present, 50 per cent of the net proceeds of income-tax is assigned to the States. The Commission has recommended its increase to 55 per cent. The percentage which should be deemed to represent the share of Part C States is fixed at 2.75. Under the recommendations of the Commission, the States' share of income-tax should be distributed as follows :

States	*Commission's recommendation* Per cent	*States*	*Commission's recommendation* Per cent
Assam	2.25	Orissa	3.50
Bihar	9.75	PEPSU	0.75
Bombay	17.50	Punjab	3.25
Hyderabad	4.50	Rajasthan	3.50
Madhya Bharat	1.75	Saurashtra	1.00
Madhya Pradesh	5.25	Travancore-Cochin	2.50
Madras	15.25	Uttar Pradesh	15.75
Mysore	2.25	West Bengal	11.25

The Commission states that there was an "almost unanimous demand" from the States for an increased share in income-tax. While it is undesirable, according to the Commission, to concentrate on income-tax as a balancing factor in the adjustment of resources between the Centre and the States, nevertheless, on a consideration of various factors, it feels that some increase in the share assignable to the States, is justified.

As regards the criteria of distribution, the Commission comes to the conclusion that the main considerations in determining distribution of income-tax should be :

(a) A general measure of needs, furnished by population and (b) contribution.

Taking a broad view of the position, the Commission recommends that 20 per cent of the States' share of the divisible pool of income-tax should be distributed among the States on the basis of the relative collections of States and 80 per cent on the basis of their relative population according to the census of 1951. Applying this formula to the collections during the three years beginning March 1951, with certain adjustments for the Part B States, the Commission has recommended the fixed percentages mentioned earlier.

In making the allocation to the States, the Commission has taken into account the population and collections of the "merged areas" (former Indian States) included in the various Part A States. As these States will be receiving their share of divisible taxes on a common basis with all the other States, the Commission has suggested that "the revenue gap grants" which the States of Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal are now receiving in respect of merged areas should be discontinued with effect from 1st April, 1952. Part B States will however receive their share of revenue or the guaranteed revenue gap, whichever is higher.

While making recommendations, the Commission took into consideration not merely the needs of the States, but the ability of the Centre as well to assist the States by the transfer of a large portion of its revenues. It was guided by three main considerations, namely, (1) the additional transfer of resources from the Centre must be such as the Centre could bear without undue strain on its resources, keeping in view its responsibility for such vital matters as the defence of the country and the stability of its economy ; (2) the principles for the distribution of grants-in-aid must be uniformly applied to all the States ; and (3) the scheme of distribution should attempt to lessen the inequalities between the States. There is also the consideration that the measures for increasing the States' revenues should be such that the States will be enabled automatically to participate in the benefis of natural expansion of revenues. Accordingly, the Commission decided against increasing the States' share of income-tax. It held that higher percentage of share should not be used as a major factor in the devolution of further revenues to the States. It rejected the States' demand for a higher percentage of income-tax for the divisible pool and the demand for higher percentage shares put forward by the Industrial States of Bombay and West Bengal. Perhaps for the first time there has been an authoritative record in this context of the fact that "the high collections of income-tax in these cities (Bombay and Calcutta) are due in a large measure to their being in a sense entrepots of the country's export and import trade and to the concentration within their confines of the head offices of companies and concerns operating all over the country." An even more important observation is, "A study of the informatoin collected by us from some of the larger concerns indicates that the bases of income creation are far more diversified and widely spread over the country than the facts of collection would seem to suggest." In its view incomes which are earned in different States in India cannot be put in the same category as incomes earned in different sovereign States. The Commission, therefore, rejects collection as an equitable basis of distribution. And as for needs, only a broad measure of need is suitable for application in this connection, and "further refinements of the needs criterion should be left for consideration in relation to grants-in-aid, as such factors like areas, sparseness of population, economic backwardness, financial difficulties, special burdens or commitments of a State, etc., are more relevant to the determination of grants-in-aid.

Union Excise Duties

The Commission has taken a liberal view of their functions and has not confined its enquiry to those questions on which the President is empowered to act *without reference to Parliament.* It has brought the *whole field of federal finance within its* purview and has made recommendations on all the related questions. On the basis of the memoranda submitted to it by the States, the Commission came to the conclusion that there is "imperative need for a substantial augmentation of the revenues now available," to the States. This view is based on the division of governmental functions as between the Centre and the States. The Centre has great responsibility for making the Five-Year Plan a success, but it should not be overlooked that the responsibility for progress, development and social services expenditure lies to a far larger extent on the States.

As part of its scheme of assistance, the Commission has made certain specific recommendations for distributing the Union excise duties. These recommendations can be implemented on enacting necessary legislation by Parliament. Distribution of Union excise duties was not specifically included in the Commission's terms of reference, but it was convinced that it was open to it to suggest such distribution as part of its plan of assistance. Several State Governments had raised this claim before the Commission.

The Commission, however, has not considered it desirable, at any rate for the present, to distribute all Union excise duties. Three such items—tobacco including cigarettes, cigars, etc., matches, and vegetable products—are considered by the Commission most suitable for distribution on the ground that they are of commodities which are of common and widespread consumption and which yield a sizable sum of revenue for distribution. The Commission has recommended that 40 per cent of the net proceeds of these duties should be allocated to the States and distribution among them should be made in proportion to their population. The shares of the individual States will be:

States	Per cent	*States*	Per cent
Assam	2.61	Orissa	4.22
Bihar	11.60	PEPSU	1.00
Bombay	10.37	Punjab	3.66
Hyderabad	5.39	Rajasthan	4.41
Madhya Bharat	2.29	Saurashtra	1.19
Madhya Pradesh	6.13	Travancore-Cochin	2.68
Madras	16.44	Uttar Pradesh	18.23
Mysore	2.62	West Bengal	7.16

Following this recommendation, the Commission has suggested that the present arrangement, whereby certain States, namely, Bombay, Madras and Madhya Pradesh, do not levy taxes on tobacco and receive instead some compensation from the Centre, should be discontinued with effect from 1st April, 1953. The States concerned should be left free to levy such taxes as they like. The Commission has suggested that necessary legislation for the implementation of these recommendations should be taken at the earliest possible date and the legislation should be given retrospective effect from 1st April, 1952.

Jute Export Duty

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, 624

t of the net proceeds of the export duty on jute e products were allocated to the jute growing es. After the Partition, which resulted in able parts of the jute-growing area of un- India being included in Pakistan, the share uced to 20 per cent. The Export Committee on l provisions of the Union Constitution sug- that export duty should not be shared but n-aid should be given to the Provinces in lieu duty for a transitional period.

ler Article 273 of the Constitution, grants-in- e to be paid for a transitional period to the of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in their share of the export duty on jute and jute s. The Deshmukh Award fixed the grants-in- he States concerned as follows : Bengal Rs. 105 Assam Rs. 40 lakhs, Bihar Rs. 35 lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs.

ler the Commission's recommendations, the n-aid will be :

engal	Rs. 150 lakhs	Bihar	Rs. 75 lakhs
	Rs. 75 lakhs	Orissa	Rs. 15 lakhs

e Commission has suggested that these grants be paid to the States with effect from 1952-53.

Grants-in-Aid

e Finance Commission has made important endations that should govern important grants- by the Centre. Grants-in-aid are made for reasons including (*a*) deficiency of States' s, (*b*) importance of augmenting welfare and development projects, (*c*) developing tivities like unemployment activities, insurance, ecurity, etc., and other factors. Historically g, the most important factor governing grants- as been the deficient resources of the States ime when the impact of a rapidly changing ic situation created large and insistent demands governmental services."

h conditional and unconditional grants have lace. Unconditional grants, according to the ssion, should reinforce the general resources of te Governments which would be free to allocate ants among competing purposes according to est judgment, subject to the usual administra- d parliamentary checks. Conditional grants may be for broad purposes—may be given to te expansion of particular categories of services han specific schemes under those categories.

mmenting on the Commission's recommendations, N. Law, President of the Bengal National Chamber merce, said : "Less than justice has been done Bengal, particularly in the matter of allocation ne-tax revenue. By all tokens, the decision to te 20 per cent of the States' share of the pool of income-tax on the basis of collection per cent on the basis of their relative population and.

"It is unfortunate that the Commission has taken the needs of the States as the principal factor governing the allocation of income-tax revenue and has not given due importance to the rights of the States as arising from the collection of revenue. Apart from the fact that the needs of a State for additional revenue are relevant only in considering grants-in-aid, the question so far as income-tax allocation is concerned has to be determined in the context of density and the volume of industrial labour, which has not been taken into consideration by the Commission.

"The decision to destribute the Union Excise duties is to be welcomed. But I regret that the Commission had not invited the views of the public on this question and we were deprived of placing our points of view before the Commission at the appropriate time.

"The recommendations in respect of grants-in-aid in lieu of jute export duty appear to be well comceived, though here also we had expected that due consideration would be given to the large increase in the acreage under jute in West Bengal after partition as well as the location of the entire jute mill industry in West Bengal."

Discussing the principles under which grants-in-aid should be made, the most important criterion that the Commission lays down is the extent of self-help that a State practises. This should determine the eligibility for, as well as the amount of, help from the Centre. Secondly, the method of extending financial assistance should be such as to avoid any suggestion that the Central Government has taken upon itself the responsibility for helping the States to balance their budgets from year to year. "If the amount of grants-in-aid were to be merely in proportion to the financial plight of a State, a direct premium might be placed on impecunious policy and a penalty imposed on financial prudence. On the other hand, if a State is eligible for a grant on other grounds, it should not be precluded from this benefit merely because its budget is in order as a result of its sound financial management."

Economy in expenditure practised by the States is another test recommended. Other principles suggested by the Commission are :

(*a*) Grants-in-aid should assist in equalising standards of basic social services. Factors like the area of a State in relation to its population, economic backwardness, etc., would be reflected in the level of social services and the standard of development of a State and these should be taken into account ; (*b*) a State may be helped to meet a special burden or obligations of national concern, though they may arise within the State's sphere, for example, the strain on the economy and the administration of the State as a consequence of the Partition, increased responsibility in respect of security, etc.; and (*c*) beneficent services of primary importance for which assistance to less advanced States is in the national interest.

These principles were kept in view by the Commission while formulating their recommendations.

The Commission has made a new departure in the pattern of general grants-in-aid to the States; special grants-in-aid have been recommended for expansion of primary education in some of the States the need for which became apparent during its discussion with the Governments concerned. It has suggested a modest beginning in this direction by helping those States where large gaps in expenditure have to be made up. The following States where primary education is at present comparatively backward have been recommended assistance in the next four years on a gradually rising scale :

(*In lakhs*)

	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
Bihar	41	55	69	83
Madhya Pradesh	25	33	42	50
Hyderabad	20	27	33	40
Rajasthan	20	26	33	40
Orissa	16	22	27	32
Punjab	14	19	23	28
Madhya Bharat	9	12	15	18
PEPSU	5	6	8	9
Total	150	200	250	300

The following table shows State-wise the breakdown figures of the amount receivable by each State from the Centre under the various heads :

(*In lakhs of rupees*)

States	Share of income-tax and Union excise	Grants-in-aid under Article 273	General grants-in-aid under substantive portion of Art. 275(1)	Revenue gap grants	Primary education grants	Grand total
Assam	170	75	100	..	..	345
Bihar	730	75	..	..	50	855
Bombay	1125	..	..	..	..	1125
Hyderabad	335	..	..	..	24	359
Madhya Bharat	135	..	..	..	11	146
Madhya Pradesh	390	..	..	..	30	420
Madras	1110	..	..	..	..	1110
Mysore	170	..	40	158*	..	368
Orissa	265	15	75	..	19	374
PEPSU	60	..	..	..	5	65
Punjab	240	..	125	..	17	382
Rajasthan	265	..	..	..	24	289
Saurashtra	75	..	40	187*	..	302
Travancore-Cochin	180	..	45	98*	..	323
Uttar-Pradesh	1170	..	..	..	..	1170
W. Bengal	730	150	80	..	..	960
Total	7150	350	505	443	180	8593

* As the share of divisible taxes of these States is expected to be less than the guaranteed "revenue gap grants," the States will receive the latter, the balance of these grants after allowing for the share of divisible taxes is shown in this column.

The actual sums accruing by way of devolution of revenue will obviously vary from year to year. The Commission has assumed that its recommendations, if given effect to, would be operative for a period of five years ending 31st March, 1957. The Commission has made two further recommendations, one relating to the setting-up of a small organisation to study State finances and the other for improving the available statistics in regard to income-tax. It suggests that this organisation should preferably be a part of the Secretariat of the President and should make a continuous study of the finances of the State Governments so that, whenever future Finance Commissions are constituted, they will have sufficient material available to them at the very commencement of their enquiry.

The actual allocations are open to many criticisms. But as full details have not yet been revealed they must be reserved for a subsequent issue.

Railway Budget

The annual report on the working of Indian Railways for 1951-52, reveals that for the third year in succession since independence, the railways have set up new records in traffic and earnings. The gross traffic receipts of the Indian State railways during 1951-52 was Rs. 290.82 crores—the highest ever reached so far. This amount is higher by Rs. 27.81 crores over the 1950-51 receipts. Passenger earnings were Rs. 109.88 crores and goods earnings Rs. 156.79 crores, the balance of Rs. 24.15 crores being made up of other coaching and miscellaneous earnings.

The ordinary working expenses amounted to Rs. 194.04 crores or 77.37 per cent of the total earnings. The appropriation to the Depreciation Fund was Rs. 30.21 crores, including Rs. 21 lakhs chargeable to capital, being depreciation on capital assets of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works. After meeting all charges, including the appropriation to the Depreciation Fund, the net revenue on the results of working for the year 1951-52 amounted to Rs. 61.75 crores. Out of this Rs. 33.41 crores was paid to General Revenues as dividend under the Revised Convention of 1949.

The net surplus for the year stood at Rs. 28.34 crores as against Rs. 15.05 crores in 1950-51 and Rs. 14.59 crores in 1949-50. Of this, Rs. 10 crores was allocated to the Development Fund and Rs. 18.34 crores to the Revenue Reserve. The total number of passengers carried dropped to 1,232 million in 1951-52 from 1308 million in 1950-51. The passenger miles dropped to 39,551 million in 1951-52 from 41,672 million in 1950-51. The average earnings per passenger per mile were 5.41 pies and the average earnings per freight ton mile 10.2 pies during 1951-52.

The total capital outlay on March 31, 1952, stood at Rs. 861.55 crores on all Indian railways, including the lines under construction. This comprised Rs. 850.11 crores of Indian Government capital and Rs. 11.44 raised by companies, District Boards, etc. Capital outlay during 1951-52 on all railways was Rs. 23.39 crores, of which 23.21 crores related to Indian Govern-

railways. The bulk of the expenditure on the was on open lines, namely, Rs. 21.34 crores, the ining Rs. 1.87 crores being spent on new lines. total route mileage of all railways in India at the of the year 1951-52 was 34,119. The total number aff on all the railways was 929,448 on March 31, as against 919,368 on the corresponding period of revious year.

n India, there is a mile of railway for every 10,464 e, as compared with a mile of railway for every 253 e USA.

The gross traffic receipts for the current year -53), which were originally estimated at Rs. 282.16 s, have been revised downwards to Rs. 269.55 s, while expenses, originally forecast at Rs. 187.69 s, have moved up in the revised estimates to Rs. 0 crores. The Railway Minister said that passenger had declined from Rs. 112.19 crores to Rs. 102.65 s, and the goods traffic had declined from Rs. 6 crores to Rs. 144.56 crores. While the estimate venue has turned out to be an overstimate, the ate of expenditure has proved to be an under- ate. The rise in expenditure confirms the ession that costs in the country have become rigid are not easily amenable to regulation in face of king incomes. It also lends support to the oft- ted complaint of the Railway Audit that actual diture in the administration of the railways always to outrun estimates.

In the Budget for 1953-54, the estimated gross receipts have been placed at Rs. 272.28 crores and working expenses at Rs. 191.20 crores. The total ises would amount to Rs. 228.20 crores, and the urplus estimated for 1953-54 is Rs. 9.31 crores. 34.77 crores will be paid as dividend to general ues. It is gratifying to find that the Railway nistration has not made any attempt at increasing ares and freights.

The Planning Commission has emphasized that the y of the Railways during the period of the Plan d be "to keep down the working expenses to the t level compatible with efficiency and reasonable ard of service in order that the necessary surplus financing the development programme becomes ible." Glaring instances of financial irregularities been disclosed by the Railway Audit Report. The ay Minister, however, made no reference to this rt in his Budget speech.

Thefts on the railways have been on the increase. ie year, during 1949-50, the Railways had to pay ls. 3.71 crores by way of compensation for goods or damaged. As regards the efficiency of the rs, the Kunzru Committee Report made some un- limentary observations, and it is not clear whether improvement has been effected in the efficiency of workers.

The Zonal System introduced by the late Gopala- y Ayyangar—and altered without rhyme or reason im later on—*was supposed to increase* railway facilities and to bring down expenses. Expenses have gone up and returns have come down, as can be seen by the comparative table below. But not a word has been said regarding this precious system. How long more are the railways to be fooled with by inept men with curious ideas about their own selves? We would ask the Government to publish in detail the working results of the Zoning Sytem.

	Actuals 1951-52	Budget 1952-53	Revised Estimate 1952-53	Budget 1953-54
		(Rs. in crores)		
Gross Traffic Receipts	290.82	282.16	269.55	272.28
Working Expenses	194.85	187.93	189.10	191.20
Net Miscellaneous Expenditure	4.72	6.76	6.86	7.00
Appropriation to Depreciation Reserve Fund	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00
Total	229.07	224.69	225.96	228.20
Net Railway Revenues	61.75	57.47	43.59	44.08
Dividend to General Revenues	33.11	34.00	34.11	34.77
Net Surplus	28.34	23.47	9.48	9.31

Bengal Budget

The West Bengal Budget for the year 1953-54 reveals an overall deficit of Rs. 6.14 crores—Rs. 5.11 crores on revenue account and Rs. 1.03 crores outside revenue account. The estimated revenue receipts for the year stand at Rs. 38.16 crores, and revenue expenditure Rs. 43.27 crores. The revised estimates for 1952-53 disclosed a total deficit of Rs. 5.26 crores, reducing the year's opening balance from Rs. 7 crores to Rs. 2 crores. In the last year's budget, the yield from customs and income tax was Rs. 8 crores, from land revenue Rs. 2 crores, from sales tax Rs. 6 crores, from excise Rs. 6 crores and from stamp Rs. 3 crores.

Of the total expenditure in the coming year's budget, Rs. 5.88 crores will be absorbed by the police, Rs. 4.52 crores will be spent on education, Rs. 3.53 crores on medical, Rs. 1.15 crores on public health, Rs. 2.29 crores on agriculture, Rs. 75 lakhs on Community Development Project and Rs. 2.45 crores on General Administration.

In 1938-39, the total revenue of Bengal stood at Rs. 12.77 crores. Of this amount, nearly Rs. 2 crores were spent on the police. Today in West Bengal, which is one-third of the previous undivided Bengal, the expenditure on the police will amount to nearly Rs. 6 crores, or 16 per cent of the total revenue. In 1938-39, about Rs. 1 crore was spent on the general administration, whereas at present nearly Rs. 2½ crores will be spent on it and that is in one-third Bengal.

In India, the average per capita revenue and tax revenue are much higher in Bombay and West Bengal. In West Bengal, the per capita revenue is Rs. 14½, and of this the tax revenue amounts to Rs. 12. The average expenditure per head is Rs. 16-9-0. Thus there is a deficit of Rs. 2 in per capita expenditure. The per capita expenditure for the police and

the general administration is Rs. 4-10 and for medical, public health about Rs. 5.

The State Government are incurring heavy losses on their five important projects, namely, the State Transport Scheme, Deep-sea Fishing Scheme, Middle Class People's Housing Scheme in Entally, Calcutta, the Central Livestock Research-*cum*-Breeding Station at Haringhata, and the North Calcutta Electric Supply Scheme. The loss on the State Transport is Rs. 4.15 lakhs, the gross receipts and working expense being estimated at Rs. 1.03 crore and Rs. 1.08 crore respectively.

The State has a public debt of Rs. 3 crores 75 lakhs at present. At the end of the next year, the public debt will amount to Rs. 5 crores 75 lakhs. The State's total debt to the Union Government at the end of 1952-53 stands at Rs. 55 crores 94 lakhs and will increase to Rs. 77 crores 79 lakhs at the end of 1953-54.

The total capital expenditure in the Budget estimate for 1953-54 is Rs. 21 crores 2 lakhs as against Rs. 16 crores 90 lakhs in the revised estimate for 1952-53. Excluding the Damodar Valley Project, the Community Development Projects, etc., which come within the Central Sector of the Plan, the Plan for the Government of West Bengal contemplates an expenditure of Rs. 69 crores in five years.

Of the resources provided for in the Plan, the largest item is public savings from current revenues and amounts to Rs. 738 crores. But for the last two years, (that is, for the first two years of the Plan). the West Bengal Budget has been incurring deficits. The Central Budget has also running on deficit. While during the first two years of the Plan, the Central and many State Budgets have closed with negative balances, one may wonder if the Five-Year Plan may also close with a negative achievement. In Bengal, today we have a top-heavy administration which takes away nearly 8 per cent of the total revenue. The Chief Minister is reported to have stated that Russia developed with the help of foreign loans. It may, however, be pointed out that the NEP and the first five-year plan of Russia were conducted not with foreign assistance, but with the aid of *created* money, that is, with deficit financing. One thing she has shown and it is that planned development can be successful even without foreign aid. Deficit budget is not, of course, deficit financing.

The Budget does not bring the impression that we now live in a welfare state. It moves along the same old bureaucratic grooves where the State was more a police state than a welfare one.

M. P. Government Drops the Security Act

While the West Bengal Government have re-enacted the Security Act, the Madhya Pradesh *Government, according to the Hitavada,* dated February 6, *have decided not to revive the* Public Security Measures Act which expired on December 31. In emergencies, the Central Act would be applied to the State.

"Open or Quit"

The *Chronicle,* an English weekly, from Silchar, in its issue of the 30th January writes that, the tea-planters should either re-start the tea gardens or quit. At the time of writing more than 62 gardens had been closed in Cachar. Moreover, the closure of the estates had been followed by closure of the schools, hospitals, water supplies, etc., to the labourers. In some case, the offer of voluntary services by the Medical officers and the teachers were rejected. Their request to the planters seeking permission to use the existing stock of medicines in dispensaries and the furniture, buildings, etc., of the schools respectively had been turned down. The paper draws the attention of the Government and the public to this serious state of affairs and appeals "to the good sense of the owners of the tea-gardens" to make the medical and school facilities immediately available to the labourers.

The problem is far more complicated, it seems, than merely the set-back to the tea industry. Tea-plantations have been veritable El Dorados to both the capitalists and also to the labourers. But the intrusion of speculative capital, brought in by persons without the slightest foresight or real business sense, has lowered standards to a disgraceful extent. Labour, on the other hand, has become inefficient and highly intractable, thanks to the leadership of groups of adventurers, without any common-sense or any basic knowledge of the function of labour in industry or plantation. Now comes the reckoning.

Glimpses of the Hirakud Scandal

The *Behar Herald* of the 18th February reports that

> "A contractor at the Hirakud Project was granted eight instalments of advance pay aggregating to Rs. 89,487 during the four months from January to April, 1949. But of this only Rs. 6,600 was adjusted in June, 1949. No action was taken against the S.D.O. who was a party to the swindling of Government money nor was the balance ever recovered from the contractor."

A building for providing accommodation to the Chief Engineer was originally estimated to cost Rs. 58,622. But ultimately the cost exceeded Rs. 79,516. According to the paper, the Chief Engineer does not live there and "the building is used at present as a dancing school for daughters of superintending Engineers and as a club by them."

These are mere glimpses. The reality beggars description, we are told by people who should know. But so long as Pandit Nehru is not satiated with adulation this will continue. Besides, there is the much-vaunted Constitution framed carefully to protect all swindlers, inefficients and such like.

Scarcity in Madhya Pradesh

The Leader of Allahabad in its issue of February 2,

the acute scarcity of food in parts of Pradesh and Rajasthan. In Madhya Pradesh, g to official estimate, over 13,50,000 people in lages spread over 21 Tahsils in nine districts ı affected by crop failure and scarcity of nd drinking water. As reported in the paper : The worst-affected are parts of Buldana and r districts, involving seven lakhs of people. chronic water shortage in Berar has been vated owing to failure of rains.
The State Government have launched a series lief measures including suspension of land ue, distribution of taccavi, opening of works ıetal and earth-breaking and construction and s of roads, tanks and wells, as well as conces- for obtaining fodder from forests. Execution l civil court decrees against agriculturist rs has been suspended under an ordinance l by the Governor on the New Year Day.
Land revenue suspended or proposed to be nded is stated to be about Rs. 29 lakhs. es, the State Government have provided for penditure of Rs. 24 lakhs on relief works and of taccavi under the Land Improvement Loans luring the current financial year.
About 40 relief works at an estimated cost of five lakhs of rupees have already been started affected areas."

paper added that large numbers of people are n from the East Khandesh district in Bombay r in Madhya Pradesh in search of food and ıe Madhya Pradesh Government was reported been treating them sympathetically.
Rajasthan, parts of Bikaner, Jodhpur and divisions were affected by scarcity. Bikaner st hit. The Rajasthan Government had allo- . 20 lacs for relief works in the affected areas, ion to Rs. 11,50,000 sanctioned earlier.
ous relief works were in progress in the Bhil Dungarpur and Banswara districts as well as stricts of Jodhpur, Barmer and Nagaur. A new gramme was proposed for Bikaner and Jodh- sions for which the Government of India locate a sum of Rs. 10 lacs out of the Federal l Integration Grant for Development.

U.P.'s Wheat and Rice Production

Sunday *Leader* of February 8 reports that wheat production had fallen by 3.69 lakh tons 2 as compared to the preceding year, though ge had increased by one lakh acres. The pro- of rice also fell by about eight lakh tons in the e years, simultaneously with a fall in the by five lakh acres.

fall is not merely the reflection of bad s of 1951-52, this also shows the result of high ı thriftless farmers, who reckon only by cash nd not quantities, and therefore are satisfied ghtly higher cash gain, due to much enhanced nsequent on poor production.

Acre State Farm in U.P.

Leader reports that the "16500-acre State farm believed to be one of the biggest in Asia, is nearing completion in the U.P.'s Tarai colonization scheme launched only a few years ago." It adds that "the production on the farm during the last two years, has been of no mean order. It is also being planned to produce 250,000 maunds pedigree seed annually on this farm and an orchard has been established covering, so far, over 200 acres out of the projected 1,000 acres.

"Fuel wood and timber plantation in the farm will cover 1,500 acres and grazing belts 2,400 acres. The latter are being cultivated to get rid of the weeds but ultimately grazing belts would have plantation of 'cultivated grasses' for providing permanent pasture for a herd of about 1,000 cattle. Roads, buildings and streams have been assigned 1,500 acres and farming operations will be conducted on 10,000 acres.

"The dairy demonstration section in the farm is to have a foundation herd of 300 buffaloes and 50 cows. The poultry block is to undertake distribution of about 5,000 eggs and 1,500 good breed birds, annually, for development work all over the colonization area, specially in the newly settled villages. During the last season 600 birds and 3,000 eggs were distributed in these villages for the purpose."

Among other features mention may be made of the provision for pisciculture in ponds covering an area of about 50 acres and for 500 bee-hives in the orchard with a view to facilitating pollination.

Fish Industry in Madras

Sri V. V. Radhakrishnan writes in the *Hindu* of February 1 :

> "The Malabar and North Kanara coasts are among the finest fishing grounds in the world. Out of the estimated landings of marine fishes in India more than half comes from this coast alone, even though the fishing operations are practically at a standstill during the heavy monsoon months from June to August."

Along this coast are caught mackrel, sardines, sharks, cat-fish, etc. The oil from sardine and shark liver is as rich in vitamins as the cod liver oil. Over the last twenty years there has been a tendency for the sardines to disappear. Of recent, signs of revival have been noticed and it is hoped that with the re-appearance of the sardines, the once-flourishing sardine oil industry of Malabar will again come to its own. The shark liver oil industry is now a monopoly of the Madras Government and the factory at Calicut produces fine shark liver oil.

The life of a fisherman is very hard and exacting. He is in the direst of poverty and often has to run to the middlemen money-lenders to meet his daily needs. The middlemen take the best part of the income of the fishermen in good times and the "poor fishermen always seem to be in debt." The extent of poverty can well be gauged by the fact that "the *per capita* consumption of fish in the Madras State was only three and a half pounds per annum as compared to 40 lbs. in the United Kingdom and 110 lbs. in Japan."

With a view to obtaining a larger supply of fish the Fisheries Department of Madras Government is encouraging deep sea fishing. They are demonstrating to the fishermen the desirability of adopting modern methods of fishing. But these efforts have so far failed to catch the imagination of the fishermen, a fact which the writer ascribes to the "lethargy and innate conservatism of these people."

In West Bengal, the picture is gloomier still. In this State the Government is singularly eccentric in all matters of food and raiment. Fish prices in Calcutta are more than double of what prevails in all capital cities. Indeed, it is just now almost three times the prices ruling in Bombay, the next costliest city. But the Rip Van Winkles only sleep, while the poor suffer. The State Government has done nothing tangible as yet to improve matters.

Medical Aid for Famine Areas

Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have entrusted Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, member of the Planning Commission, with the work of organising relief centres in Maharashtra. The *Bombay Chronicle* reports that she laid the greatest stress on the problem of providing medical aid and employment to the disabled. Recounting her experiences of relief work in Rayalaseema, she told the executive committee of the Central Maharashtra Famine Relief Committee that the Government works generally benefited the able-bodied. The disabled should be given work in their own homes, such as work of carpentry, handicraft, etc.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the Union Finance Minister, suggested that the Committee should prepare a map of the affected parts indicating the worst affected areas, so that immediate attention could be given to those areas. He also agreed with the opinion expressed by the Committee that the wages paid to those employed on relief works should be reasonable.

An earlier *PTI* despatch stated that about 150 famine-affected villagers including 23 women, 42 children and 7 old men had arrived at Kolhapur in search of food and shelter.

Man-days Contributed in Banaras

The following news-item appeared in the *Leader* dated February 3:

> "About 11,000 man-days have been contributed as voluntary manual labour in the rural areas of the district in pursuance of the scheme of the pooled planning office in Banaras, completing in all five and a half lacs cubic feet of earth work. About 9,000 voluntary labour were employed in the first fortnight of January working from four to six hours a day under the man-power mobilisation scheme in the district, constructing about 32,616 cubic feet of earth work. Other works done during the same period were inoculation of about 7,000 cattle against rinderpest, construction of 404 compost and 201 soakage pits, disinfection of 228 houses, vaccination of 1,409 persons and setting up of watch and ward organisations including 45 men for duty in three villages."

This example should be followed all over the Union.

Prisoners Employed in Constructive Work

According to a report published in the *Leader*, the U. P. Government have obtained encouraging results by employing prisoners on constructive works of public utility. The working of the Chandraprabha Dam Project in Banaras district, where prisoners were employed on an experimental basis, *indicate that the prisoners were more efficient and enthusiastic in their work than ordinary labourers.* Two prisoners employed as motor drivers were successfully running a transport service covering a distance of 90 miles from Chandraprabha Dam site to Banaras City without any watch and ward. The prisoners employed in the project had earned over a lac of rupees as wages during December and January.

This paradox of prisoners being better workers can be explained probably by the factors of discipline, regular food and good sanitary facilities.

As an incentive the authorities have introduced the award of a running flag each week to the group of 20 prisoners that earns the highest wages. A running trophy is awarded to the group of prisoners earning the highest wages during a month.

Observers "are of the view that projects of the employment of convicts on useful tasks under conditions available to free men are likely to transform the criminals gradually into useful citizens. Some of the prisoners released from the camp are reported to have approached the Irrigation department for employment on the construction of dams," writes the paper.

The U. P. Scheme has attracted the attention of several States. Assam, Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh are reported to have made enquiries about its working and details.

Measures to Improve Slums in Madras

The Madras Government proposes to acquire all privately owned lands in Madras City, on which slums have sprung up, and then distribute these to the people who are already in occupation of the lands. Under the scheme the slum-dwellers will not be given ownership of the lands, but they and their posterity will be able to live there for eternity. There are at present about 200 slums in Madras City on Corporation, Government and private lands. The scheme also envisages wide roads, electricity, water connection and improved sanitary facilities for the slum dwellers, reports the *Hindu* of February 1.

This is a move in the right direction, provided the slum dwellers are also led towards a higher standard of living by a combination of incentives and obligatory responsibilities. As such those who are willing to work for their own salvation, should have

in every way and something *plus*, over and he common betterment plan.

ation of Educational Associations

e *Hitavada* of January 30 published the rs' Charter for India, adopted by the All-India tion of Educational Associations. The Charter is that the teachers must be regarded as nation- s by the society and the State. They must be teed a remuneration compatible with decent od and have security of tenure in service. rs should have the right of association for all ate purposes and should be free to participate lawful public activities—educational, social, nic and political. There should be no bar in their g additional income from supplementary occu- s and they should have opportunities to train elves so that they might perform their functions he greatest possible efficiency. It asserts the right chers to have an effective voice in the shaping educational policy and in the administration and l of any institution run by the Education tment of the Government or Universities or bodies through their accredited representatives. ation to this effect should be initiated by the nment. It proposes that "every teacher's person l as the precincts of every educational institution be regarded as inviolable in times of disturbance, provincial or countrywide provided they both to strict neutrality."

n the other hand, teachers should not be satisfied erely instructing the boys in their studies, they keep an eye on the physical, moral and spiritual of their pupils. It lays down that "every teacher regard every child as an individual capable of e development and yet capable of being prepared cial enterprise to take its place in the social , and so help it to be creative as well as co- tive . . ." The teachers must infuse the ideas of and brotherhood among the young generation. should be no contradiction between a teacher's pts and his practice and the teachers should in conceivable way discard the competitive spirit. teachers should be impartial, balanced, peace- g and above communalism and narrow national- They should always strive to increase their ledge and must champion human liberty, human ty and freedom of thought and expression. They d evolve a new synthesis of Indian culture, com- g the best in the country's past heritage with is best in the new.

We agree with most of the proposals and principles iated. But the main problem today facing the er is economic. And most teachers are unable to to the noble ideals underlying the task of a ptor. Defeatism is the result.

hquake Protection

Earthquake in *Assam, says the World Interpreter*, have been so severe in recent years that a geologist has recommended new steps to reduce destruction. He is M. C. Poddar, author of *Preliminary Report of the Assam Earthquake, 15th August, 1950*, a bulletin of the Geological Survey of India.

Mr. Poddar has proposed as his chief recommendation the establishment of a building commission to study suitable types of earthquake resistant buildings. He includes descriptions of such structures in Japan, New Zealand and Mexico, pointing out that they can be designed so that "the inherent natural period of oscillation is smaller than the frequency of the earthquake waves." More than 1,920 lives were lost during the 1950 quake. Landslides and floods which followed ravaged many tea estates and villages, affecting 462,000 persons.

Pakistan Facing Famine

Press reports indicate a serious food situation in Pakistan. A *PTI* despatch from Karachi quotes a report published in the Pakistan press on February 11 to say that Khwaja Najimuddin had instructed his representative in Washington to approach the U. S. authorities to get one and a half million tons of wheat. The Pakistan press quoted him as saying that Pakistan wanted the food very urgently and that she also wanted a loan from the U.S.A. Unless U.S.A. came to her assistance Pakistan would be facing a severe famine.

Pakistan will be faced with a "difficult" food situation next year, official sources indicated earlier on Feb. 3. During the current year also Pakistan has been experiencing a food shortage.

Official sources said that, although "all human effort" had been made to increase food production in the country during the current year, production would not be enough to meet the requirements of the population. Precise figures on the shortage were not readily available.

Premier Nazimuddin has appealed to the U. S. A. for a million and a half tons of wheat. Therefore the shortage is of a major order. The usual allocation of blame on India has followed, this time on the basis of canal water supply.

The Canal Water Problem

The Government of India has issued a Press Note on this latest howl from Pakistan.

The press note said: "The Government of India have noted with regret the intensive propaganda being carried on by Pakistan on the canal waters issue accusing India of deliberately following a policy of causing deep injury to Pakistan by withholding canal waters. Serious charges against India have been made not only in the press but also by leading personalities in Pakistan. Recently, the Pakistan Government issued a press release containing statements far removed from the facts and making totally unfounded accusations against India.

As is well known, engineers of India and Pakistan have since May 1952 been engaged, at the initiative of the World Bank, in preparing a comprehensive plan of development of the waters of the Indus basin intended to solve the water dispute between the two countries. When the working party had an understanding that while the negotiations were in progress, all unnecessary controversy should be avoided. It is therefore all the more surprising that the Government of Pakistan should have countenanced a propaganda campaign in violation of this understanding and at a time when the engineering negotiations are making good progress.

After a full and careful enquiry it has been established that the complaint referred to in the press and elsewhere in Pakistan have no substance. It is significant that Pakistan has not lodged any protests whatsoever to the Government of India. There are only two canals in Pakistan which get supplies from headworks in India. Water to these canals is given in accordance with programmes communicated to Pakistan before the commencement of each sowing season. Pakistan has objected neither to the programmes nor to the supplies actually received. It should be remembered that due to drought, water supplies this winter have been unusually short in all the rivers of the Punjab and canal waters have consequently been below normal on both sides.

ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

Supply of canal water from India to Pakistan is made on the basis of the agreement concluded between the two Governments on May 4, 1948. Pakistan has been receiving water under agreement from year to year. But in December 1950, after two and a half years, Pakistan repudiated the agreement unilaterally, nevertheless India continued to supply water in terms of the agreement. In September 1951, the Government of India formally proposed to the Government of Pakistan that the question of validity of the agreement of May 4, 1948 be referred to arbitration. To this day the Government of Pakistan have not accepted the Indian proposal for arbitration.

CANAL SYSTEMS

Pakistan's description of the devastation which will be caused should India decide to cut off her water supplies belong more to the realm of fancy than fact. Out of the 16 canal systems in the undivided Punjab, 12 fall entirely within Pakistan and India has no control over them ; 3 lie wholly in India ; 1 is common to both India and Pakistan. Of the total flow of the six rivers of the Indus system Pakistan utilises forty per cent, Indian 5 per cent, while as much as 55 per cent runs wastefully to the sea."

Pakistan and M.E.D.O.

The *Bombay Chronicle* in its issue of February 7, editorially writes that for some time past there had been strong rumours about Pakistan joining the Middle East Defence Organisation. The reports were a first class sensation causing so much interest and, more so, concern in so many countries. For a long time no official comment was available when the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd declared that Pakistan was not among those Governments with whom the British Government were communicating on the M.E.D.O., but that in view of her obvious interest, she would, in due course, be informed of the nature of the proposals.

The paper asks that was such a policy "a mere Commonwealth Formality" ? Then why India should not be informed ? Because she also was equally keenly interested in the matter. The clarification by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd was not completely reassuring because of the reported desire of the Pakistan authorities to join M.E.D.O. The editorial goes on to say that "it is not unnatural to interpret *Dawn's* all-out support President Eisenhower's policy in term of Pakistan's desire to qualify for M.E.D.O. and also. of course, to win further advantages at the current Kashmir talks in Geneva."

In fact the M.E.D.O. is being used as a pawn in this jockeying for position that is going on. If the power-bloc that has formulated the M.E.D.O. desires an worsening of situation in this part of the world, it may go on with its blunderings. But the nett gain will accrue to the other side.

Goa is Part of India

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, declared at Bombay on February 3 that though politically separate from India, Goa was part and parcel of India, historically, geographically and culturally. The Minister referred to certain undercurrents in international affairs aimed at separating Goa from India and said :

> "A fact of history, a fact of geography cannot be undone by international manœuvres or even by the national desire of certain countries."

The Portuguese occupied Goa during the Imperial Expansionist period when India lost her freedom. Under the yoke of foreign rule Goans were suffering economically, culturally and otherwise. While in India, population increased by five per cent during the period 1940-50, in Goa it had remained stationary. During the same period there had been a decrease in the population figure of the Catholics. Many people had left Goa and came to India in search of jobs and economic security.

Dr. Keskar refuted the theory which had been put forward a year or two ago that Goa was an integral part of Portugal and asserted that "Goa is Indian territory which might be politically under another country and it is going to remain thus speaking in a geographical sense. It is not going to decrease its distance with Portugal even by one mile." The people of Goa were linked to the Indian people economically, culturally and traditionally with whom they intermarry. Their sorrows and joys were shared by their fellow citizens inside the Indian border and "not by those who are politically considered to be their masters 5,000 miles away."

ıe Goans had made great contributions to the
ss of art and culture in India, especially in
n India. He disclosed that the Government of
considered all Goans as Indians and though the
uese Government adopted a policy of dis-
ation against Indians, the Government of India
l to follow such a policy of discrimination; and
Goans had been employed by the Governments
mbay and India in responsible positions where
ıad acquitted themselves with credit.

? on War?

ngressmen were told at a White House briefing
. 19 that, though the world outlook was grim, there
) prospect of a general war in the immediate
•

aders of both parties—Senators and Representatives
ded the 90-minute meeting with President
ower at which the global military situation was
:d.

e briefing was given by General Bradley, Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mr. Allen Dulles, head of
l Intelligence Agency, and Mr. Joseph Dodge,
r of the Budget.

Congressman told reporters afterwards that the
g was informed that the Soviet Union was expected
tinue its present "cold war" tactics. The briefing
t indicate any probability of a sudden change in
an strategy.

hatever internal difficulties troubled the Soviet
its Government was in full control of the
n, and of the countries within the Soviet sphere,
ngressmen were told.

ırlier comments by Congressmen had indicated
ad been given a gloomy picture of the situation
e future.

'. Charles Hallock, the Republican leader in the
of Representatives, told repoters: "Everybody
it is a grim picture."

ge Invitation

ry little publicity was given, says the *World*
eter, to the invitation by the French scientist,
ot-Curie, to the Communist-led Peace Congress
nna. "By collecting millions of signatures for
ockholm Appeal," says the leading convener,
ve so far prevented the use of the atomic
ı." In short, had it not been for the Stockholm
ent, the United States by now would be using
om bomb—where, is not stated. Joliot-Curie
:lared that the peace appeal "has shown that
00 million men and women wish to make the
)f negotiation prevail over resort to force." The
ion came just in time to be followed by
's refusal to accept the Indian plan for re-
ion of Korean war prisoners.

the trial and execution of the 11 former
ınist and leftist Czechoslovak leaders recedes from the headlines, the French Communist movement is revealing the seroius damage done to it by the Prague spectacle. While the London *Daily Worker* was able to ignore the anti-Jewish character of the trial, the French Communist daily, *l'Humanite*, had to go into elaborate explanations of why anti-Zionism at Prague was not really anti-Semitism. The attempt failed, largely because the idea of the top Communist, Slansky, confessing to being a "Jewish capitalist" was just too much for the French Communist rank and file, which has had a number of prominent Jews in key positions from top to bottom.

Economic Co-operation in the E. European Countries

A. Stepanov writes in the *News and Views* from the Soviet Union that the end of the second World War saw the disintegration of a single all-embracing world market and in its place the creation of two world markets facing one another—one consisting of the Soviet Union, China and the Eastern European Democracies; the other consisting of the rest of the world.

After the war they were progressing economically and the economic co-operation among them was increasing. They had no sales difficulties. In the period from 1948-1952 the trade turnover of the countries of the new world market more than tripled. Making allowance for the curtailment of trade with the capitalist world, the foreign trade of those countries doubled. In 1952, Soviet foreign trade was three times greater than before the war, and the countries of People's Democracy (meaning the Eastern European countries and China) accounted for 80 per cent of it.

The Soviet exports mainly consisted of industrial equipment for factories, mills, power stations and other industrial establishments. This was of tremendous importance for the speedy industrialisation of those countries. In 1952, Soviet deliveries of machinery and equipment of the latest design to the countries of People's Democracy amounted to ten times greater than in 1948.

The Soviet Union was rendering those countries technical assistance which enabled them to launch production of new types of goods and build up industries equipped with modern machinery.

A characteristic feature of the trade relationship was that the other countries paid for their imports from the Soviet Union in goods that were customary items of exports of those countries. All prices were fixed by mutual agreement.

Poland supplied coal, coke, rolled ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the output of its rapidly growing machine-building industry, foodstuffs and textiles to the new world market. Hungary's export consisted of a considerable part of the output of its transport-

machines, electrical equipment, bauxite, textiles and farm produce. Rumania supplied oil and oil products and timber, etc.

The result of this economic co-operation resulted in a rapid economic progress in those countries. For example, Poland topped its pre-war level of industrial production 2.9 times, Czechoslovakia 1.7 times, Hungary 2.5 times, Bulgaria 4.6 times and Albania more than five-fold. There had also been a corresponding rise in the standard of living of the people, says M. Stepanov.

The real difficulty about these comparative statements, is the impossibility of assessing their absolute values. No basic figures are given, nor have we, of the "other world" any means of checking the accuracy of the statements. It is good to learn that some part of humanity is progressing in spite of the stresses that the world of today is passing through. But we do not feel convinced—no one can be, as a matter of fact, excepting those who are only too eager to believe anything. The premises themselves being unknown, what is there in any argument?

Of late we have had a lot of gushing reports from some of those who have gone to visit the areas within the Soviets orbit. Most of the reports are by persons who have neither the special training nor the proved capacity to judge about the things they are enthusing about. Some have made statements, on the basis of "direct observation," that are patently absurd, considering the time and scope of their visits.

Decline in Exports of Asian Countries

Hsinhua News Agency, quoting Peking *People's Daily*, reports a sharp decline in exports in 1952 in countries of Southeast Asia. It says, on the authority of the British colonial Government in Singapore, that Malayan rubber exports registered a cut of more than 200,000 tons in 1952 as compared with 1951. The decline in rubber exports had resulted in an unfavourable balance totalling 5,400,000 U.S. dollars during the first eleven months. According to the report, American embargo and forcing down of the purchase price had "similarly wrought havoc with Indonesian Rubber exports." The export price of Indonesian Rubber declined from 1409 Rupiahs per ton in 1951 to less than 1,000 Rupiahs per ton in 1952. The total loss in foreign exchange on this count had been more than 130 million dollars. Whereas in 1951 Indonesia had a favourable balance of trade, in 1952 it became unfavourable. In Philippines, the total volume of exports fell by some 27.2 per cent as compared with the previous year. President Quinno uttered a warning that unless the fall in exports was immediately arrested, the national economy of the Philippines would go bankrupt.

In Thailand, the rubber industry was hard hit by *low prices paid by U. S. buyers.* Production had to be stopped in many regions with the consequential rise in the number of the unemployed. Up to the end of September, 1952, the foreign trade showed an average adverse balance of 200 million ticals each month.

Eugene Black Urges Change of Policy

Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is reported to have urged that the United States should open her markets to the free world. In his opinion, no other single factor could do as much, in the long run, to strengthen the world economy. The countries of the world could hope to earn the dollars they needed only if the U. S. markets were thrown open to them. This "fundamental and lasting change in the United States commercial policy," he said, was all the more called for in view of the fact that increased imports would ease the taxpayers' burden for foreign aid, U. S. producers would gain foreign markets; and finally, the opening up of the American markets to foreign goods would bring greater goodwill and cohesion in the world.

U.S.S.R. Breaks with Israel

The Government of the U.S.S.R. announced on February 12 its decision to cut off diplomatic relationship with the Government of Israel. The decision followed a bomb outrage on the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv, which was strongly denounced by the Foreign Minister of Israel.

An earlier report in the *Jewish Agency's Digest* says that the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Moshe Sharett had threatened in the Knesseth action against groups in Israel supporting the anti-Jewish instigations behind the "Iron Curtain." His warning drew protests from the Communist and Mapam members in the House against whose parties it was presumably intended.

Italy Blocks Left by Electoral Stunt

"Is Italy on the eve of a totalitarian Christian Democratic regime? Last October, a bill drastically altering the method of electing Deputies was introduced by the government, following its invention by the ruling Christian Democratic Party. It stands every chance of adoption," says the *World Interpreter*.

"By granting a 'premium' or 'bonus' to any party achieving a vote of more than 50 per cent at the polls, the Christian Democrats and their coalition allies, the Liberals, Republicans and Social Democrats, would get 65 per cent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. This would give them a working majority, and squelch any chance of the Communists, or for that matter of the neo-Fascists, from interfering with legislation. The old proportional

ation system was said to favor the smaller

ere will be 590 seats in the new Chamber. e new move was proposed, the other three n the coalition, especially the Social Demo- jected that it might give an absolute of seats, so that their aid would no longer ed. Premier De Gasperi made a minor con- changing the bill so that the winning bloc et 360 instead of 380 seats.

ians who are deeply concerned over this stunt are not confined to the minority utside the government. It is causing protests al and democratically-minded citizens who ne totalitarian nature of the step. The reasons l for the electoral change are suspiciously se put forward by dictators everywhere—to ability, parliamentary efficiency, the elevation justice, the prevention of Communism, the y and concord of the nation.

measure comes into direct conflict with the constitution, which in Article 48 declares es shall be equal for all electors. Critics point the proposal is dishonest, since the Christian tic government has purposely failed to within the allotted five years of the constitu- ming into force, the Superior Constitutional hich should have decided the legality of the or held a referendum on it. Antonio Greppi, Mayor of Milan and a professing Catholic, wrote in the periodical, *Critica Sociale*: change in the equal value of the votes or adds by a fictitious device a fraction of lue of man as an elector, thus enacting a njustice'."

t's Relatives Make Best of It

attractive sisters and mother of former King have each made their choice of the 200 acres they are allowed to retain, out of the tens of ls the Egyptian royal family once held. All picked acreage in the lush, money-making tates at Inshass, a desert turned paradise.

ler the new land reform law, no person is d to own more than 200 acres. Landowners ig more than this maximum may, however, freely from their estates the 200 acres they keep. Although the virulent attacks of the n press, populace and politicians did not ne royal princesses, they have withdrawn com- from public life, at least for the time being. fused to follow the king into exile preferring in in the country even though their privileges al allowances were drastically cut.

pt is disposing landlords in a more democratic than elsewhere. The landlord is given a chance ning a good *farmer if he so wills.*

Japan's Dilemma : Rearmament or Relief?

"The Japanese government—seven years after the war!—is proposing to start a pension scheme for soldiers. It is popularly regarded as a means of winning political favour from military men, especially the top brass. The public is opposed to such favouritism, arguing that if funds were available (which they are not) Japan should adopt an inclusive social security system. Besides, veterans of the last war are in urgent need of relief, and many of them in the disabled or unsteady income groups, are still begging on the streets, but the government is lukewarm about giving them any immediate help.

"One of the reasons why rearmament is widely unpopular is the fact that the scars of the last war remain unhealed. Public opposition to rearmament is indicated by resentment over reckless statements by U.S. politicians calling for the sending of Japanese troops (which officially do not exist) to Korea, or statements that Asians should fight Asians. This resentment is so widespread that such American attitudes are having a definitely adverse effect on Japanese-U.S. relations," says the *World Interpreter.*

The U. S. Agricultural Extension Service

Mr. M. L. Wilson, Director of Extension Work, U. S. Department of Agriculture, writes that as unceasing efforts have to be made to improve the productivity of land in order to ensure an adequate food supply to an ever-increasing population, science and modern technology have to be applied more and more in agriculture. In the U.S.A., during the past 30 to 40 years an out-of-school type of education, known as agricultural extension work, had been an instrumental factor in the steady progress in agriculture.

This education purports to bridge the gap between the College of Agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station on the one hand and the farm on the other. "This system of education known as the Co-operative Extension Service is the joint endeavour of the Federal Department of Agriculture, the State Agricultural Colleges, and county (local) government."

The unique feature of the whole system is that the education is informal and voluntary. There are no class rooms and the teacher known as the county agent, lives and works with the farm people. All county extension workers are responsible for works with rural young people through 4-H clubs. (4-H standing for Head, Heart, Hand and Health). They devote their whole time to education. Teaching is by practical methods. Local voluntary leaders help the county extension workers in the dissemination of scientific information and improved farming and home-keeping practices. Improvements in farming go hand in hand with continuous efforts to improve

the farm home. Farm families are encouraged to make use of their home-produced materials, in building and remodelling houses.

"Extension workers also help farm people to learn the value of an organised approach to community problems which can be met most effectively through group action. They have helped farmers to develop State seed-improvement associations, self-supporting soil-testing laboratories, and dairy herd-improvement associations."

Extension workers receive much aid from the Federal Department of Agriculture, the State Experiment Station and Agricultural Colleges. Professional extension workers in the United States, number more than 12,000, 70 per cent of whom serve in the counties and less than 100 in the federal office in the Department of Agriculture in Washington.

Here, in India, our approach is the reverse of the above. We have concentrated all our efforts in offices, laboratories and a few college farms. The men in charge are mostly white collar men, placed in office from considerations which are not always cogent to the job. As a result, we have long speeches and tons of printed paper in place of concrete results.

The Community Projects and the Bharat Sewak Samaj are schemes meant to rectify these serious shortcomings. But the way those two are being planned and handled, gives us little hope for the future. There must be a drastic change in the viewpoint of those who are at the absolute fountain-head. They must learn that there is no flow of inspiration neither any creative work from that source. We are wasting time and treasure for nothing as things are being run.

Piracy Conviction Highlights Anachronism

"The conviction of an American citizen at Tangier for piracy throws a spotlight on one of the weirdest anachronisms of U.S. and international history. The American, Sidney Paley, 'the Nylon Kid,' was found guilty of hijacking a cargo of cigarettes from a Dutch vessel, and is out on bail pending appeal. Seven French seamen charged with aiding him are being tried in France.

"To comprehend the significance of this strange trial, one must go back to the origins of American interest in Morocco. As early as 1791, the U. S. established diplomatic relations with the Sultan of Morocco, who showed his appreciation by giving the U. S. representative a high-walled, ornate and dilapidated palace in the center of Tangier. While several of the more important branches of the legation are now housed in ultramodern office buildings in the European sector of the city, American diplomatic *headquarters remain in the old Moorish palace, surrounded by the most squalid, disreputable* and colorful neighborhood in all Tangier. Here sits the Consular Court in quaint majesty. It is one of the ironies of our time that the U. S., which for centuries had led the struggle against colonialism, still clings to the hoary relic of the colonial system, consular jurisdiction.

"Early in the 19th century, when the Sultan's empire was falling to pieces, with tribal leaders on the rampage and pirates roaming the sea-coast, foreign powers seized the chance to secure for their nationals extra-territorial rights. Decades later, the French imposed a pact that gave them a protectorate over a part of Morocco, and Spain similarly got a slice of the coastal land. Tangier became an international zone. Unlike other foreign powers, and precisely because it disapproved of colonial expansion, the U. S. refused to recognise the French-Spanish partition of Morocco. In the eyes of the State Department, the Sultan to this day remains a sovereign ruler, limited only by capitulatory rights—especially consular jurisdiction—to a number of countries, including the U. S.

"After the establishment of the French protectorate, which was recognised by other foreign powers, all foreign consular courts were abolished except the American. Europeans still are not subject to the jurisdiction of the local kadis, but they have a joint mixed tribunal in Tangier. An American citizen, whatever the charge against him, can be tried only in Consular Court. The Court legally has tremendous power but actually it has hardly any cases, and the usual procedure is to have the legal adviser of the legation prosecute, with the Consul acting as judge.

"'The Nylon Kid' has brought this curious hang-over to international notice, and given the Consular Court its first important case for perhaps a hundred years. Paley was sentenced to three years, and if his appeal fails, the U. S. may yet have to set up accommodations for the prisoner in the ancient, incongruous palace occupied by the American Legation at Tangier," says the *World Interpreter*.

Big Business in the U.S.A.

A five-year study of the impact of "big business" on the American economy reveals that big business is not crowding out little business, is not self perpetuating, and is competitive.

The overall conclusion of this study, by the Brookings Institution, a private research organisation, is that the American economy was never more competitive and dynamic than it is today.

The study was undertaken to obtain the answers to such questions as: What effect has big business had on competition? Has the growth of big business impaired the "opportunities" of small and medium-sized business? Are the industrial "giants" immune to competition? Are the pofits of big business increasing at the expense of small and medium-sized corporations?

Here's what the Brookings economists found:

There were 3,000,000 individual business firms in the United States in 1939. By 1948, the number had increased to 3,967,000—a gain of more than 20 per cent.

The number of businesses has more than kept pace with the growth of population. The rise of big business apparently has not closed the doors to individual private enterprise nor reduced opportunity in the American economy.

Small businesses also have been doing better financially, in relation to the overall national economy, than the big businesses.

The profits before taxes of the 100 largest industrial corporations declined from 3.7 to 3.3 per cent of the national income between 1929 and 1949. On the other hand, profits of medium-sized corporations rose from 4.8 to 7 per cent. Actually the share of small business in the national income increased by 1.5 times during this period.

There was no evidence that concentration in economic power was increasing in the United States. On the contrary, in many fields concentration has substantially reduced. During the last 50 years, the share of the market controlled by the large firms—in steel, oil, tobacco, copper, sugar, rubber, automobiles, farm machinery and aluminium—has been cut in half.

Moreover, the study added, in the ever-changing American system it is difficult for large firms to maintain their position. Far from being immune to competition, it was found that the industrial giants undergo a big turnover at the top. Of the 100 largest American industrial firms in 1909, not one retained its relative position by 1948. Neither did any industry. Only 31 of the corporations remained among the top 100 in 1948.

The rise of new industries and new products largely accounted for this change, the study said. In the face of dynamic progress and change, entrenched, secure positions cannot be established—the pattern of production cannot be frozen nor progress blocked.

The Brookings economists found that competition becomes keener under "big business," both between goods and between employers. Research creates new products —and new and cheaper methods of producing goods. Innovation in product and market development tend to break down industry lines and to increase the area of competition.

For example, research has brought petroleum producers into the chemical field and the chemical industry into synthetic fibres. Plastics compete with metals and the newer light metals with the more traditional steels and copper.

The senior staff economist of the Brookings Institution, Dr. A. D. H. Kaplan, who directed the study, concludes:

"The heartening thing to us has been to discover that the system itself, as it operates, has its own actions and reactions and its own methods of punishing the company that *ceases to be competitive.*

"The highly competitive character of big business is not due to the personal predilictions of its present leadership but to stronger forces. Not the concentration of resources in integrated big business, but the dispersion and the versatility of the resources among so many separate units of enterprise is the distinct characteristic and, I might say, the miracle of American capitalism in our day."

This is a new light on Capitalism, working under control.

Settlement of the Sudan Issue?

Britain and Egypt signed an agreement on February 12 giving self-government to the Sudan which they have ruled jointly for the past 53 years.

The pact provides that within three years the Sudanese will choose whether they want independence or some form of link with Egypt, their powerful northern neighbour.

It was signed this morning by Egypt's Premier, General Neguib, and Sir Ralph Stevenson, British Ambassador, after long drawn-out negotiations.

During the transition period the eight million people of this rich cotton-growing land will govern themselves, but foreign affairs and defence will be under the direction of a Governor-General.

Egyptian conditions that no special powers must be retained by the Governor-General (Sir Robert Howe) for the so-called "backward south" and that British and Egyptian troops must be withdrawn before self-determination, are both met in the agreement.

General Neguib told Britain's Ambassador, after they had signed the Sudan agreement at Cairo on Feb. 12 that Egypt would now take up the question of evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal zone.

Main points of the agreement are:

1.—Early elections, probably next month, for an all-Sudanese Parliament. The backward southern Sates will provide 25 per cent. of the members.

2.—Establishment of three mixed commissions to work with the Governor-General: a Governor-General's commission, to supervise the exercise of the Governor-General's powers, composed of one Briton, one Egyptian member, one Pakistani member (chairman) and two Sudanese members whose selection is subject to control by the Sudanese Parliament a seven-man electoral commission of one Egyptian, one Briton, one American, and one Indian with three Sudanese appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of his commission; a commission to supervise the work of Sudanization, by which British and Egyptian officials are to hand over administration to the Sudanese within three years—composition of this commission: one Egyptian, one Briton and three Sudanese.

3.—During the transition period the Governor-General (Sir Robert Howe) will be the "supreme constitutional authority within the Sudan."

4.—The transitional period comes into effect immediately after the election of a Sudanese Parliament.

consisting of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, and the formation of a Sudanese Council of Ministers.

5.—The transition period will be ended by a resolution in the Sudanese Parliament stating that it wants "self-determination."

6.—The Sudanese Government and Parliamtnt will then pass a law providing for the election of a constituent assembly. Detailed arrangements for Sudan's choice of its future will be subject to international supervision.

7.—In the transition period, the Governor-General has the power to proclaim a constitutional emergency if through political deadlock, non-cooperation or boycott he is satisfied that normal Government cannot be carried on under the constitution.

He may take the same steps in the event of imminent financial collapse or breakdown of law and order.

8.—If the Governor-General's Commission disapproves the emergency action, it will be referred to Britain and Egypt. If either Government also disapproves, the emergency will be terminated within 30 days.

The British Houses of Parliament

"Dishonesty in the British House is almost unknown. There are other parliaments with high standards of probity, but the British have built up an ingrained antipathy to the slightest shadiness. British members of Parliament look at certain shenanigans at Washington with wide-eyed, wondering incomprehension. As *Worldover Press* correspondent, Sidney Lens, reports from London, 'Deep freeze or mink coat gifts just don't happen. The British parliamentary system is disciplined, and the indivdual M.P. can exert no independent action and is subject to few independent pressures.'

"A British M.P. is paid $2,800 a year, or $54 a week. Out of that sum he must employ a secretary and pay for his own postage. He has none of the franking privileges of a U. S. Congressman, who can send out almost limitless amounts of mail and literature without personal cost. Nor does he have any assistants or even an office for himself alone. He gets free travel between home and London, both ways, also to and from the constituency he represents. His expenses for parliamentary work can be deducted from his income tax. But after deducting tax and his personal work-costs, he is lucky to have $35 a week left. Some M.P.'s, especially on the Labor side, share secretaries with one or more other Members. Some can earn outside money from speeches or writing, though with the House closely divided, as now, attendance is demanded nearly all the time.

"In many talks with British M.P.'s and members of other parliaments I have often heard the wish expressed for higher pay and better working accommodations. But the salary scales desired were always amazingly low when compared to the wages of a U. S. legislator. To the argument that higher pay ought to promote greater honesty, members of parliament in Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries always looked puzzled, and asked, in unbelief, 'Why should that be?' They seem, on the whole, to think that honesty is best maintained by frugal living. The American idea doesn't appeal to a Premier, as in Denmark, who takes pride in riding to work on a street-car.

"Members of Congress at Washington now receive $12,500 annually, in House or Senate. This is far beyond the proportionate differences in living expenses between Britain and the U. S. Besides, each Congressman gets substantial expense allowances for staff, offices, travel, etc., and for those who come from big States, the expense account reaches as much as around $65,000. Yet when I have visited the modest homes of overseas parliamentarians, and compared them to those at the American capital, it has always seemed to me that foreign frugality, within reason, served as a good example to the public, kept alive in legislators' minds a warmer sympathy for their constituents, and developed a wholesome legislative responsibility. Higher wages for legislators abroad would increase efficiency and relieve strain, but it may be doubted whether a boost at Washington, unless the atmosphere of the capital were changed, would do anything of the kind. There, some of the stress is self-imposed, while the mood of the place needs to be turned away from the notion that more dollars will fix just everything."

The above description will be of interest to our legislators as well.

Gopalaswamy Ayyangar

India lost one of her elder statesmen and Pandit Nehru his astutest debater by the death of Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar on February 10.

One of the very few Provincial Civil Service officers who rose to Central eminence—Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari is another—Mr. Ayyangar was awarded a Knighthood in 1941 and the C.S.I. and the C.I.E. a few years earlier. Easily accessible, patient and friendly, without being demonstrative Mr. Ayyangar even won the respect and admiration of Sheikh Abdullah, when, as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from 1937 to 1943, he had to deal with the rising tide of political discontent in the State.

As a parliamentarian, Mr. Ayyangar was hardly ever ruffled by criticism and, though slow, was sure and effective. His personality was reflected in his sense of humour, which was always good-natured and gentle. His stock of information as a Minister was unfailing but his presentation of the official case was never arrogant or supercilious. Yet he was fairly good at repartee, which reflected sincerity and accommodation rather than ill-will.

Next only to the late Sardar Patel, Mr. Ayyangar was the Cabinet's greatest champion of the Services. His own experience as an officer taught him that firmness and sympathy go a long way in securing the Services' loyalty and devotion to work. His noting was brief but full of information and his decision never hasty. Few understood Mr. Nehru's mind better.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS
Another Indication of West Bengal's Decay

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M A.

all-round decay of the middle class in West l now needs no proving. The effects of a shrink- onomy with its consequential effects on employ- and income are making themselves felt with tating force. In fact, it would not be too much r that the middle class is fast crumbling down f this trend continues for some time more, it be facing almost total extinction as a class. ects of successful employment or gainful occupa- are very little; a Bengali middle class youth, g out of the portals of the school or the college, nore often than not, an absolutely dark future : him. The standard of living in every branch— housing, education—is fast going down. It is no er that such a situation would give rise to deep ation and a decline in moral values. This is y what is happening today. Moreover, Bengalis in other provinces are now forced to start back . The middle class people of East Bengal are also compelled in a large measure to leave their home, lon their properties and migrate to West Bengal. ese factors are gradually building up a dark and l situation. It would indeed be a matter of if this class, which had been responsible for the al renaissance, economic development and al awakening in the country and has been the backbone of Bengal and which has yet to dis- e its role in history though in a new and altered disintegrates in this fashion. It is true that efforts ow being made to remedy this state of affairs. It owever to be realised that these efforts cannot d if they are not based upon a correct appre- n of the historical nature of the crisis as also an ment, at least, on the quantitative level, of the e of the problem in all its economic inter- ns. Unfortunately, the measures that are being ed do not generally disclose any such appreciа- r assessment and are more or less in the nature tchwork. But this will ultimately lead to no on. The first step towards a full understanding e problem therefore is its correct assessment. icient data do not permit an elaborate and pre- nalysis, but the materials already available are ent for giving us at least a broad picture.

Difficulty of Definition

is, however, difficult to define precisely what is by the term *bhadralok* or the middle class. The tself is the result of a long historical process and equired, with the passage of time, a complex of its own. Generally speaking, it used to imply those intermediate classes standing in between the actual agriculturists and labourers on the hand and rich proprietors, rent-receivers, persons living on unearned income or rich industrialists on the other. It has usually meant the professional classes, servicemen, petty landowners, tradesmen of some standing and so on. But it was not an economic category alone. Various factors of tradition, caste, intellectual attainments, high moral standard, economic position and nature of occupation combined together in varying degrees to give the class a peculiar complex of its own. For these reasons its importance in society far outreached the numerical proportions, though numerically too it did not form any inconsiderable proportion of the population. But recently there has been a distinct change in outlook. As the Census, 1931 disclosed, young men belonging to middle class families were found quite willing to take up jobs in the Kanchrapara Railway Factory. Since then a greater and greater number of middle class young men is being found to take up jobs hitherto regarded as taboo. The character of the personnel in the Chittaranjan Locomotive Workshop and other factories fully records this change. The middle class therefore has now acquired a wider meaning and has spread itself over more numerous occupation-groups than previously. The proportion of the middle class has therefore become relatively higher in our population structure, though the recent changes are also responsible for taking the edge off the sharp barriers that used to divide different classes in the past.

Beginning of the End : The Historical Background

It is not necessary to recount of the well-known story of the rise and growth of the Bengali middle class. In fact, it is one of the most significant phenomena in the evolution of the country under British rule and focussed in a concentrated fashion the currents and cross-currents within that process of evolution. When the structural economy of our country underwent a drastic and fundamental change as a result of the impact of British Imperialism,* out of that change grew the Bengali middle class. Designed at first to fulfil the administrative needs of the country, it soon developed far beyond its original purpose. In fact, the socio-economic factors obtaining at that time could not but make it so. The middle class, in fact, arose because of the necessity created by those

* See Venkatasubbia : Structural Basis of India's Economy.

factors and it was only natural that it would develop so long as those factors continued to operate. The middle class reached the peak of its cultural efflorescence as also of economic development in the second half of the last century. The literary giants including Bankimchandra and Rabindranath and the political leaders including Sir Surendranath all belonged to this age; the periphery of the Bengali middle class was extended practically to the western boundaries of the whole of North India. But by the end of the last century the forces responsible for its expansion had begun to decline appreciably and the saturation point was reached. Not only other provinces had by that time begun to develop their own middle classes but the overall decline of the bigger forces responsible for its growth also marked the beginning of the end even at home. The possibilities of expansion, however limited, under the domination of finance-capital were being rapidly exhausted; the fundamental crisis in capitalism even as a world system made itself gradually felt with particular force in the middle class strata which, in fact, was the most typical product of the system and therefore most vulnerable to the forces of decay.

Any complete quantitative analysis of this change is beyond the compass of the present article. But it may be mentioned that by the turn of the century, the supply began to exceed the demand in the administrative services and some other professions. Development of indigenous capitalism and the growth of Indian industries were far more marked in Western India; and the possibilities of employment and earning began to show slow but definite signs of contraction.

The Inter-War Period

The pace of this process of contraction became considerably faster after the first World War. The crisis in capitalism became deeper all over the world; the structural, financial and monetary maladjustments became more pronounced; after the post-war boom and currency muddle of the twenties came the Great Depression. These forces fell full blast on the already disintegrating economy of India. Bengal had to face severe economic distress during the Great Depression, particularly because of her dependence on the world market for jute. The effect of these factors on the Bengali middle class was tremendous. In fact, the middle class had all along been confined within the four walls of its old occupation pattern and could not have even its due share in the growth, however small, in the secondary and tertiary sectors of Bengal's economy. It is easily understandable what disastrous effects these forces produced in such a situation. It was reported by the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 that there was no unemployment of the (educated) middle classes even at that time. To quote the exact words of the Commission:

> *"At present all the young men who have been trained at higher schools and colleges* seem to find posts of one kind or another . . . apart from congestion in the legal profession we have found few signs of actual unemployment among the young men of the educated classes . . . the output of higher education is still absorbed by the Government services, by the professions and by the commercial firms."—(*Report*, Vol. IV, ii, para 14).

The Committee however hastened to add:

> "Nevertheless we cannot but feel that unless there are great developments of industry and commerce in Bengal . . . the supply of young men trained by the high schools and colleges will be found at no distant date to have overshot the demand."

As the *Bengal Census Report*, 1931 (Vol. V. Pt. I, p. 288) comments, the warning very soon proved to be well-founded and in less than three years, on the 30th March, 1922, the problem of educated unemployed was raised by a resolution in the Legislative Council. As a result, a Committee was appointed to enquire into the matter and it reported that unemployment among the educated middle class Bengalis is "overwhelming" and added that

> "We have been greatly impressed by the acuteness of the problem and the urgent necessity for the adoption of measures for the alleviation and removal of the present distress and for the preventoin of any aggravation of the present condition of affairs in the future."

Analysing the causes, the Committee of course mentioned a few temporary causes, such as the shrinkage of war production after the termination of the war. But the Committee also laid proper emphasis on the deeper causes and particularly mentioned the decay of industries as also the decay of village life with a consequent drift to towns and unwillingness to return to the mofussil conditions which invariably lead to unemployment. The Committee ultimately concluded that the prosperity of Bengal in general including the class of educated unemployed lay entirely "in the intensive economic development of the country, in the entrance of Bengali *bhadralok* into industry, trade and commerce of the country and in the immediate acceleration of development schemes which will train *bhadralok* to effect this entrance." As we have pointed out already, the *bhadralok* gradually got rid of his mental antagonism to the so-called non-*bhadralok* occupations, but there was no intensive economic development of the province and therefore no possibility of the entrance of the Bengali *bhadralok* into trade, commerce and industry. There was, on the other hand, a great regression with all its disastrous effects on the Bengali middle class. The Census Report, 1931 commented on the uninterrupted increase during 1921 to 1930 in the number of suits for rent-enhancement, broken only in the year 1927, and concluded that

> "This can almost certainly be taken as an index of the extent to which the midde classes depending upon a fixed income feel the pinch of high prices."—(Report, Vol. V, Part I, p. 17).

he depression again affected them in another— more disastrous—way.

The Impact of War and Inflation

onditions continued to worsen during the e 1930-40 also, when the second World War out. While this steady disintegration was going he first unusual shock of a great magnitude upon the middle class as a result of the second l War, famine and inflation. It is true that yment had also expanded at that time. But omparatively higher rise in the cost of living than offset the advantages of a greater employ- in most cases. Insufficient data make a full ment impossible. We, however, find from *A y of the After-effects of the Bengal Famine of* onducted by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis and that there was considerable economic deterio- in the status of occupation-groups generally in by the middle class.*

Table I

entage of families suffering change between January, 1943 and May, 1944

pational oup	*Improve- ment*	*Deteriora- tion*	*Ambiguous*
ultivating er	....	3.23	1.61
port	....	14.29	....
	....	23.19	2.90
sion and vice	1.47	1.47	1.47

will be seen that on the balance there was far deterioration than improvement. It is not un- l that during a great famine like the Bengal e of 1943, the lowest income-groups would be ardest hit and be forced into destitution in some But it is significant that during that famine, some of the comparatively higher income- did not go without their share of destitution:†

Table II

Destitutes living on charity in May, 1944

(Estimated number in lakhs)

ational groups as January 1943	*Families*	*Persons*
ultivating owner	0.06	0.27
port	0.02	0.08
	0.09	0.40
sion and service	0.09	0.11

other words, 30 per cent of the total number ilies in the group 'non-cultivating owner' e destitute, 75 per cent in the group 'transport', cent in the group 'trade', and 40 per cent in oup 'profession and service.' This is indeed an ion of the extent of disintegration.

The Post-War Situation

It is well-known that the termination of the war did not improve matters. While there was considerable shrinkage in employment and trade, there was, on the other hand, a steep and continuous rise in the level of prices, which completely unbalanced the family-budgets of the middle class. At the conclusion of the war, two surveys were conducted into the family budgets of mainly the salaried class which is supposed to be comparatively more immune to the fluctuations in income than other categories, such as the tradespeople. The surveys however disclosed a miserable state of affairs even for this salaried class. The results of these surveys are worth analysis as they throw a lurid light on the condition of the middle class, specially of the upper middle class which is decidedly better off than the lower middle class.

The first survey was conducted by the Government of India into the family budgets of the middle class employees of the Central Government.* The period covered was November, 1945 to August, 1946. The enquiry was confined to the employees of the Central Government with a salary of up to Rs. 500 per month, which is a fairly high limit for the average middle class family. The main conclusions for the Calcutta (City) block were as follows:

(*a*) The average income of the head of the family from pay and allowances was Rs. 205-2 per month and from other sources such as land, investments, etc., was Rs. 20-10 per month. The average earnings of other members of the family worked out to Rs. 4-2 per month. The total income of the family therefore averaged Rs. 229-14 per month. Income from other sources such as land, investments, etc., was found to be very small, being a little over 8 per cent of which the income from land alone accounted for about 2 per cent.

(*b*) Expenditure however generally exceeded income. Of a total of 664 budgets, only 148 budgets or 23 per cent were surplus and 516 budgets or 77 per cent were deficit budgets.

(*c*) The heaviest expenditure was on 'food' which alone accounted for 39.1 per cent of the total expenditure. (And this in a group which according to Engels' law is pretty high up in the scale and which was getting rationed articles at controlled prices in Calcutta). Clothing came next, accounting for 7.7 per cent of the expenditure. In absolute figures, the average monthly expenditure on clothing came up to an actual total of Rs. 23-6 (Rs. 12-1 for men's clothing), Rs. 7-3 for women's clothing and Rs. 4-2 for children's clothing).

(*d*) The proportion of indebted families to the total numbers of families was 75.9 per cent; in the lower income-group of persons with salary below Rs. 100 per month, the figure is as high as 90.9 per cent, while the corresponding figure for the highest income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 was 73.5 per cent.

rvey, p. 26, Table 4.5.
id, p. 16, Table 3.5.

* *Report on an Enquiry into the Family Budgets of Middle Class Employees of the Central Government, 1946.*

The picture, however, was worse for the Bengal and Assam employees outside the Calcutta City. Here, the average *total* income per family averaged Rs. 198-5 per month. Income from other sources constituted 16 per cent of the total income, of which the income from land alone accounted for about 8 per cent. The greater importance of income from other sources, specially from land, is very much perceptible here. But here, too, expenditure generally exceeded income. The percentages of surplus and deficit budgets for all groups were found to be respectively 23 and 77 per cent. Amongst different income-groups however the monthly per capita income was found to vary from Rs. 17-13 to Rs. 64-2, while the monthly per capita expenditure varied from Rs. 25-11 to Rs. 64-2. Amongst these employees, all persons having a salary of below Rs. 100 per month had no surplus budget, while in the highest income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, 45 per cent had deficit budgets. Average expenditure on food accounted for 41.6 per cent of the total expenditure.

Such a picture for a fairly high-salaried class is a sufficient indication of the economic ruin of even the upper strata of the middle class. But the survey conducted by the Bengal Government amongst their own employees with a comparatively lower income and persons similarly situated outside Government service reveals a still more dismal picture. This enquiry was conducted in March, 1946, and was limited to families with basic salary ranging up to about Rs. 150 per month and residing in towns outside Calcutta. Although the investigation mainly concerned Government employees it was decided to include salary earners of other institutions and professional men of similar income levels. A simultaneous enquiry was also made into the changes in the pattern of consumption of food and clothing since 1933. This survey presents a graphic picture of the fast decay and disintegration of the Bengali middle class. The main general conclusions were as follows :

(*a*) Total per capita expenditure was several times higher than the average salary of the salary level. There were multiple sources of income. Total expenditure, therefore, was more than the total salary. Agriculture and dairy appeared to contribute more than 50 per cent as much as salary at the lowest level. At other levels too income from this source was fairly heavy (about 20 per cent). These people belonged to mofussil areas and were likely to possess landed properties. This incidentally discloses the heavy dependence of even this salaried class on other sources of income, any diminution in which must cause extreme hardship and unbalance their budgets.

(*b*) The lower income-groups did not get enough essential food and their income fell short of their educational and medical needs. Any added income was readily spent on such essential foodstuff as milk, fish, meat, etc. The diminishing expenditure on cereals with rise in income would indicate that the higher consumption on cereals at lower income-levels is not a matter of choice. It was also found that the diet of the Bengali middle class was not only comparatively deficient in calories but it was also much inferior in other food values to the diets of divisions I and II prisoners of both classes A and B.

(*c*) It would appear that the war lowered the food standard by about 422 calories out of 2288 calories as consumed in 1940, that is, by about 19 per cent. As the diet was already deficient in expensive as well as comparatively cheaper essential items the effect of rise in prices was a drastic reduction in both. Substitution of expensive items by cheaper ones could not take place.

(*d*) In clothing, silk and wool almost disappeared. Even in cotton goods the present purchases were meagre. Compared to 1933, the consumption in 1946 was worse.

(*e*) The investigation indicated that the expenditure on education was below the needs and no more.

The detailed figures are still more revealing. The most revealing of them all is the changing pattern in the consumption of food and clothing between 1933 and 1946.

TABLE III

Daily per capita consumption in chatak and calorie value of selected Food items outside Calcutta

Foodstuff	1933		1940		1946	
	Consumption per day	Calorie value	Consumption per day	Calorie value	Consumption per day	Calorie value
Rice	7.14	1442	1.14	1442	6.03	1218
Wheat	0.50	103	0.54	91	0.25	52
Pulses	0.75	152	0.73	147	0.70	141
Sugar	0.40	96	0.36	86	0.34	81
Gur	0.39	87	0.37	83	0.19	43
Edible oil	0.48	260	0.46	249	0.42	228
Milk	3.40	126	0.17	117	1.91	71
Milk products	0.13	4	0.12	3	0.05	2
Fish	0.83	46	0.81	45	0.33	18
Meat	0.25	28	0.22	25	0.11	12

The following table shows the gradual decline in the per capita consumption of clothing commodities :

TABLE IV

Index number of per capita consumption and retail prices of Clothing commodities

Base, (1) Per capita consumption, 1933=100
(2) Retail prices, 1933=100

Name of commodity	1933		1940		1945	
	Quantity	Prices	Quantity	Prices	Quantity	Prices
Dhoti	100	100	93	133	59	329
Shirt	100	100	90	138	53	306
Punjabi	100	100	80	143	44	411
Coat	100	100	68	137	41	376
Ganji	100	100	91	228	61	414
Lungi	100	100	94	154	74	428
Trousers	100	100	74	111	50	293
Pyjamas	100	100	68	138	42	407
Sari	100	100	95	135	55	312
Chemise	100	100	92	140	59	324
Blouse	100	100	86	137	56	290
Petticoat	100	100	82	138	58	280
Canvas shoe	100	100	86	127	68	315
Leather shoe	100	100	99	129	59	308
Slipper	100	100	83	143	67	332

The relative importance of the different sources of income will be clear from the following table :

TABLE V

Average monthly income (in Rupees) per family by sources

1945-46

Sources	Salaried class—all levels		Total	Professionals
	Govt.	Non-Govt.		
1. Total salary	53.19	50.52	56.54	....
2. Total allowance and T. A.	26.73	19.61	25.20	....
3. Gratuity & pensions	2.34	0.87	2.02	....
4. Trade & industry	3.35	3.88	3.46	14.32
5. Profession	3.21	4.49	3.48	91.29
6. Agriculture & dairy	15.47	12.74	14.89	12.83
7. Cottage industry	0.15	0.04	0.13	0.57
8. Rent received	2.67	1.16	2.35	3.53
9. Interest received	0.19	0.45	0.24	0.03
10. Loan received	16.90	15.68	16.64	6.58
11. From saving and sale of cattle	14.76	7.63	13.23	11.93
12. Sale of lands	6.14	1.76	5.20	2.99
13. Help from outside	26.27	23.17	25.60	12.39
14. Other occupations & other sources	16.56	28.00	19.02	5.46
Total	192.93	170.00	188.00	161.92

These figures sufficiently reveal the grim grinding the middle class is going through. Their very submarginal existence has been rendered still more submarginal and the axe has had to be applied, not to any item of luxury because there was none, but to the most essential item of food and that too very drastically.

THE PARTITION AND ITS EFFECTS

On the top of all this came the partition with its disintegrating effects. The intimate inter-linking of the two Bengals needs no description. The heavy dislocation caused in every sphere of life,—social, economic and otherwise, has given a very heavy blow to the middle class. Particularly the families from East Bengal who used to balance their budgets through multiple sources of income (*e.g.*, from salaries earned in West Bengal and income from land accruing in East Bengal) have had their budget completely upset. The general dislocation caused in trade, industry, commerce and even in free and frequent travelling between two Bengals, has produced its inevitable consequences—and bad consequences all along the line—for the Bengali middle class as a whole. It would still take some time yet to realise and assess fully the magnitude of this problem ; the question of Evacuee Property, for instance, is still hanging in the balance. But the picture is already dismal enough and the partial surveys conducted about the refugee problem give sufficient indication. For instance, the survey conducted at the behest of the Government of India amongst the Bengal refugees in 1948 gives some revealing information. The middle class was not specially defined; but it was found that of the total number of refugees, caste Hindus constituted 90.8 per cent. This undoubtedly contains a heavy proportion of middle class. An examination of the refugees *by socio-economic* groups reveals that the occupation-groups roughly corresponding to the middle classes constituted 53.89 per cent of the total number of refugees. The survey further revealed that there has been change of occupation after migration to West Bengal. Figures relating to some of the distinctly middle class occupations are given below :

TABLE VI

Percentage of refugees in each occupation-group who changed occupation after migration

Category	*Percentage change*
Rent receiver	59.85
Agricultural supervisor	79.01
Liberal arts and profession	44.93
High services	30.80

Many have also swelled the ranks of the unemployed. It was found that of the *total* number of refugees 56.7 per cent were living in starvation condition, 32.3 per cent were just carrying on somehow, 7.0 per cent were living among want, while only 4.0 per cent were living in comfort (para 128 of the *Survey*). Even the families have disintegrated. It was found that of the *total* number of refugee families, 31.5 per cent were living in two places, 5.9 per cent were living in three places and 1.6 per cent in more than three places. It is not necessary to point out that conditions have now far worsened in comparison with the conditions obtaining in 1948 when the Survey was made.

THE PROCESS ALSO OPERATIVE IN WEST BENGAL PROPER

It should not, however, be assumed that the process of disintegration is confined to the East Bengal section of the middle class. Not only the partition with its consequential problem of refugees has hit the fortunes of the West Bengal section as well, but also there are other factors working independently which have been leading to fast decay and disintegration in West Bengal also. The recently published *Final Report on Rural Indebtedness Enquiry (1946-47)* in West Bengal conducted by the Government of West Bengal reveals a facet of this problem. This enquiry has been conducted in the rural areas and was not confined to the middle classes alone. Such middle class families as have come within the scope of the enquiry form only a small proportion and generally present in a lesser degree the peculiar problems of the middle class than their purely urban counterpart. Moreover, their income-pattern is more varied, though generally lower than the urban one, and their inter-linking with land more close. But in spite of these factors the picture that emerges out of the survey gives a glimpse clear enough. The following table gives figures about the indebtedness of some distinctly middle class occupation groups :

TABLE VII

Indebtedness by occupation-groups in Rural West Bengal, 1946-47

(Percentage of indebted families)

Interest-bearing cash loan	
1. Proprietor	28.57 per cent
2. Liberal profession	29.79 per cent
3. Trade	22.92 per cent

An examination of the reasons for indebtedness is still more revealing :

TABLE VIII

Percentage distribution of the amount of loan by causes incurrence and occupation of debtor families

	Proprietors	Liberal profession	Tradesmen
Food	54.90	60.56	42.92
House repair	....	4.73	2.55
Social and religious	22.17	5.08	6.47
Litigations	....	....	5.54
Ancar rent	9.96	2.57	17.61
Cultivation	12.97	6.86	3.15
Repayment of old loans	....	0.19	....
Others	....	20.01	21.76
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

This is sub-marginal living on any showing. The major reason for incurring debts is expenditure on food, and that even for proprietors ! It is found that food-requirements account for 71.7 per cent of the debt of agricultural labourers. It should be remembered in this connection that as the basic causes continue to operate, as the over-all decay of our rational economy proceeds at faster pace, as the comparatively temporary causes continue to fall full blast on West Bengal, as the lands on which the composite pattern of their family budgets depends are taken away as a measure of land reform, though they must be taken away in the higher interests of land reforms, and as trade, commerce and industry continue to provide increasingly smaller opportunities for middle class employment, the future of the middle class will grow continually darker and darker. The unbelievably huge number of registrants from the middle class level at the Employment Exchanges is another indication of the existing sorry state of affairs. Still another indication of this deterioration is obtainable from the *Report on a Sample Enquiry into the Living Conditions in the Bustees of Calcutta and Howrah 1948-49*, published by the West Bengal Government, which reveals that the *bustee* population now contains a good sprinkling of what is generally regarded as the middle class population, such as actor, midwife, photographer, compounder, teacher, typist and landholder. Their proportion must have increased with the further influx of refugees, specially of those marginal refugee families who could not move earlier and who are more easily forced down towards destitution than the more fortunate families.

ECONOMIC INTER-RELATIONS

Inadequate data would not permit us to work out with precision the manner and magnitude of economic inter-relations. It can, however, be safely said that the middle class will not go down without dragging down others too. Apart from the loss in social, cultural and political leadership, the loss in the economic field too will be considerable. It is true that the middle class in Bengal has not been an important factor in most of the big industries in this state ; but in the sphere of middle industries and village industries, in the matter of local trades and commerce, in the matter of providing executives in the business sphere and in the matter of professions, the middle class has played a considerable role. For instance, in the food-industries in general and rice-milling in particular, middle class capital and middle class leadership have played the most important part. The new engineering industries on a middle scale, which are the speciality of Bengal, are almost entirely the result of the efforts of the middle class. All these enterprises would suffer a very severe blow from the disintegration of the middle classes. Indirectly, such a disintegration would also mean extra stress and strain for our existing economy. Moreover, the Planning Commission has also admitted that a large element of savings must come from the agricultural sector and from the smaller income-group; in fact, the majority of rural industries in Bengal has been the result of such surplus. It is a simple economic law that any slight improvement in agricultural income would be eaten up rather than saved by the sub-marginal families ; only those families which are on the margin or a little above it can save something as income increases. The disintegration of the middle class will thus hamper capital formation also and cause a drain on the surplus in other sectors for meeting the social problem such disintegration would create. In fact, if this body of human beings finds a way to survive and raise its living standards, there will not only be fresh social, cultural and political leadership, but there would also be released a fresh economic energy and conditions would be more favourable for the working of the multiplier. But if it goes down in a shipwreck of misery and destitution, it is likely to pull the rest of the society down on a fairly considerable scale and for a long time.

ECONOMICS OF 'BHOOMIDAN YAGNA'

By S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

The Constitution of India lays down as one of the "directive principles of State policy" that steps should be taken to "make effective provision for securing the right to work" and to "secure by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life." According to the latest Census figures of 1951, the population of our country is now 356.8 millions out of which about 44.8 million are "cultivating labourers" without owning any land, and 5.3 million are "non-cultivating owners of land" and "agricultural rent-receivers." The total land in India available for cultivation, including current fallows and cultivable waste, is approximately 300 million acres. As is well-known to all of us, the average size of holdings in India as compared with many other countries of the world is very small. The average size in U. P. is 6 acres, in Madras 4.5 acres, in Bengal 4.4 acres, in Punjab 10 acres, in Bihar and Orissa 4.5 acres and in Madhya Pradesh 8.5 acres. Exact figures for the number of holdings above a ceiling of say, 25 acres are not available for all the States. There is, however, sufficient material to indicate that there is substantial area of land in the country which is above holdings of 25 acres. This land could be utilised for re-distribution among the landless labourers in order to solve the problem of unemployment and satisfy the innate hunger for land among the rural population. This, then, is the first basic premise of the *Bhoomidan Yagna* movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Land hunger is a legitimate and healthy desire of human beings especially in the countryside; like air and water, they have every right to possess land as well from bountiful Nature.

Nobody has, therefore, any right to own land more than what he and his family can cultivate for the production of food articles. In fulfilment of this moral principle as well as its obligation under the "directives" of the Constitution, the State should try to redistribute land to the cultivating labourers on the widest possible scale as speedily as feasible. The economic holding in India may range from 5 to 10 acres of average quality. A ceiling of 25 acres of land will, therefore, be a reasonable proposition.

How is this land to be redistributed? In the Communist countries, landlords have been expropriated without compensation. Under the Fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution, however, it is obligatory for the State to pay compensation for acquiring land. No rate of compensation has been laid down in the Constitution. But it is quite evident that even a low rate would run into crores of rupees which a poor country like ours can ill afford to pay. What then is the remedy? Vinoba is trying his best to meet the challenge of Communism by demonstrating to the world that, through non-violence and persuasion, the landlords can be urged to give away their surplus lands to the landless people without any compensation. He has already collected about 3.5 lacs of acres so far through his "Bhoomidan Yagna" movement. As Robert Trumbull wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*, Acharya Vinoba "walks from village to village preaching that those who have much should give to those who have nothing." Vinoba's novel method has attracted and inspired millions of people, both rich and poor, and he is known as "The God who gives away Land." It is true that Acharya Vinoba is not expected to solve the whole problem of land re-distribution in the country single-handed. But his "Bhoomidan" movement is surely paving the way for a speedy and satisfactory land reform to be followed by Government legislation in due course. Vinoba's Land movement is, indeed, the only effective counterblast to the Communist activities in India.

Some doubts have been raised regarding the policy of redistribution of land followed by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Planning Commission in their Draft Outline of the Five-year Plan have suggested that unit of land cultivation should be the whole area of a village on a co-operative basis. They have also advocated the establishment of "registered farms" on a fairly large-scale and mechanised basis. Acharya Vinoba, on the other hand, strongly feels that, to begin with, land should be distributed to the landless labourers in small plots of about five to ten acres in accordance with the quality of land and facilities of irrigation.

Instead of trying to pool the land, attempts should be made to introduce co-operative endeavour in the main agricultural operations like ploughing, weeding, harvesting. Co-operative Societies may also be formed for marketing, purchase of seeds, machinery and manures, etc. In other words, we may encourage "Co-operative Better Farming" rather than "Co-operative Joint Farming." Apart from satisfying the land hunger of a large number of people, small-scale farming would also be more productive through efficient and intensive cultivation on a family basis. It is wrong to think that large-scale farming is more economic and efficient than small-scale family agriculture. This view is not a sentimental or mediæval conception; it is based on hard facts of human nature and psychology. It is supported by a large number of economic thinkers and is based on practical experience.

"One of the immediate needs of the country," observes Prof. C. N. Vakil in his *Planning for a Shortage Economy*, "is to hasten the pace of land redistribution. Whatever be the merits of large-scale ownership of wealth in a non-agricultural form

of activity, so long as agriculture continues to be a way of life, rural opinion which is more and more becoming conscious of the reforms introduced in other countries . . . will never tolerate any piece of land reform which does not think in terms of redistribution of land and the splitting up of large-sized holdings."

Sir Malcolm Darling in a recent article in the *Manchester Guardian* on Co-operative Farming in Yugoslavia observes that

"The experiment has not only set peasant against peasant but many peasants against the State. Even crop yields in the Collective sector differ little from those in the private sector." There is "inefficiency and waste, bureaucratic methods and internal conflicts shirking and loafing."

In a recent publication entitled *Marx against the Peasant*, Prof. Mitrany points out how in Eastern Europe small-scale farms have persisted successfully despite the Marxian theory of large-scale agriculture. Dr. Mitrany also opines that even where large-scale farming has been successful commercially "it has been apt to prove costly nationally because it exhausts the stored goodness of the soil." Practical experience in farming has amply demonstrated the fact that large-scale and mechanised farming often results in increased productivity per man but not per acre.

Mr. Massingham in his book *The Small Farmer* makes the following categorical statement :

"Taking into account human limitations and other natural factors wealth per acre (both 'input' and 'output') tends to move in inverse ratio to size of holding." This is mainly due to "a persistent and permanent desire for a life of independence on the land."

During my tour round the world, I had the opportunity of visiting the Japanese countryside with well laid-out small and artistic farms the average size of which is only 2.5 acres. In China also the present Communist Government has started by first fragmenting bigger plots of land into smaller pieces for being distributed to the actual tillers of the soil. The State has sunk thousands of surface wells in order to provide better irrigational facilities to the cultivators. It is through intensive cultivation and almost "hand-farming" that China and Japan are able to produce about two to three times the Indian yield per acre.

There is large-scale farming in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. because their proportion of land to the population is very different from that obtaining in Europe, China, Japan and India. They cannot but organise large-scale and mechanised farming because labour is very scarce and land is very extensive. Even in the U.S.A., however, where only 18 per cent of the total population is at present engaged in agriculture, *there is a growing* tendency towards *smaller-scale farming because a larger number* of people now desire to settle on land and live in "garden cities" in the countryside.

In the U.S.S.R., which is the home of Collective Farming, there was very severe resistance to collectivisation by the farmers. Doreen Warriner in his *Revolution in Eastern Europe* tells us how "the Soviet experience was a grim lesson":

"Collectivisation brought two years of famine and an immense slaughter of livestock which it took ten years to make good."

Despite the Kolkhoz (collective farm) in Russia, every worker on a big farm is allowed a small holding sufficient for his needs varying from a half to two-and-a-half acres.

On these small farms, the Russian peasants work hard with the sweat of their brow to produce for the needs of their families. As the author of *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania* states, the fact of the matter is that "the form of intensifying production has proved to bring in returns which, for a number of reasons, diminish in the proportion in which the size of the agricultural undertaking increases."

"Protagonists of large-scale farming," observes Charan Singh, Revenue Minister, Uttar Pradesh, "love to think that a plot of four acres while added to another of four acres will yield a produce not equivalent to that which one single plot of eight acres would do, but something higher. This conclusion may be true of manufacturing industry, but not of agriculture."

As I have indicated earlier, this does not mean, however, that there should be no scope for co-operation in such small-scale farming. On the contrary, mutual aid and co-operation among small-scale farmers for various agricultural processes is of vital importance. Short of collectivising their land, they can help one another in ploughing operations, in weeding, harvesting, marketing, purchase of essential commodities both for consumption and production. There could be ample scope for co-operative banking and credit, mutual insurance against loss of cattle or loss by drought or excessive rain, co-operative irrigation and drainage, co-operative dairying and stock-raising, crop-planning by the village community, etc. Co-operative consolidation of holdings in the case of very small and uneconomic plots could also be practised.

In order to relieve unemployment among the landless labour and satisfy the legitimate hunger for land, it is, therefore, imperative to undertake redistribution of land on a very wide scale. Vinoba's "Bhoomidan" movement is creating the necessary atmosphere for the transfer of land from the rich to the poor almost without any compensation and with good-will and sympathy. Such an atmosphere of peaceful redistribution of land could alone save the country from a bloody revolution which the Communists are only too ready to precipitate.

therefore, regard Acharya Vinoba's "Yagna" as ramount significance in solving one of the most lt problems facing not only India but the whole The Acharya has been eminently successful in ring the seeds of a bloodless revolution over the tracts of India. We may not fully realise the ise potentialities of the "Bhoomidan" move- ment at this stage. But I have no manner of doubt that Vinoba's Land Movement will go down in history as one of the most potent landmarks in the titanic struggle of the good with evil, of non-violence with violence and of the forces of peaceful construction with the frenzy of hatred and destruction.

———:O:———

SHARE RENT

A Problem in Agricultural Cost

By D. C. BISWAS, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

D share rent form part of agricultural cost, or is the same thing, should share-cropper's cost of ation be regarded as something different from of owner-cultivator? The question has of late agitating the minds of agricultural cost analysts ch as of others who are vitally interested in the t. It is, no doubt, a tangled problem of some al importance and requires immediate solution able to all interests. The question has, of course, mooted from different angles but no agreement et been reached as to its final solution. This seeks to make an appraisal of the different of view,[1] with a critical evaluation of the com- ve merits thereof, from the standpoint of which uestion has so far been attacked and sought to lved, to elucidate the real nature of the problem inally to suggest a solution keeping in view the mic implications of the *barga* system and the sts concerned.

ne school of thought, apparently more sym- tic with the share-cropper, is strongly of opinion the share-cropper's cost significantly differs from of the owner-cultivator and ascribes this difference wide gap between the share-rent and cash-rent. school rightly maintains that as the average tioanl costs and the yields on the two categories are-rented and cash-rented plots under similar nstances are more or less equal, it must then be nt element that alone accounts for this difference. explanation of the wide gap between share-rent ash-rent this school states that cash-rent is fixed omparatively low and becomes lower still when tioned to the different crops grown on the land specific charge against each crop, whereas share-rent in terms of money is highly variable being the product of the two variable factors, *viz.*, yield per acre and price per unit production, and becomes considerably high in years of bumper crop and high market price. This school further argues that as share-croppers constitute an important section of the farming community their cost of cultivation ought to be taken into account in any calculation of the average cost of cultivation which claims to be a representative one. Such a representative cost will, obviously enough, be much higher than the one calculated on the basis of the owner-cultivators' costs alone and to the exclusion of the share-croppers' costs which include the value of the share rent as one of the items of cost. This representative or average cost, calculated on the basis of both share-croppers' and owner-cultivators' costs, becomes inflated due to the inclusion of the share rent in cost. The extent of this inflation depends on (1) the proportion of share-cropped land in the sample, (2) the yield per acre, and (3) the market price of the crop grown. The representative cost is, therefore, liable to great variation from year to year not only because of variation in the operational cost or in the yield per acre but also due to variation in share rent. It may so happen that all these factors may vary from year to year suchwise that their effects on cost may be mutually neutralising each other leaving either little or no residual effect on cost which, as a result, may not vary significantly from year to year. It is interesting to illustrate what have been said above by calculating on the lines indicated the cost data on cultivation of jute as collected by the Economic Research Section of the I.C.J.C. in the last few years. Let us turn to these data as given in the following tables:

TABLE I

	1948	1949	1950	1951
ortion of the share-rented land in the sample	N.A.	21.8 p.c.	35.6 p.c.	33.6 p.c.
rage yield per acre of both cash- and share-rented land combined	8.19 mds.	8.73 mds.	8.43 mds.	9.42 mds.
e per maund as received by the average farmer	Rs. 30-10	Rs. 31-7	Rs. 34-5	Rs. 45-12
e rent per acre of share-rented land	N.A.	Rs. 158-1	Rs. 154-2	Rs. 172-12
all rent (cash- and share-rent combined per acre)	Rs. 5-10	Rs. 38-4	Rs. 57-6	Rs. 62-0

N.A. = Not available.

[1] The different views examined in this paper have been picked up by the author in course of his discussion with different persons ed in industry, trade and agriculture.

In this table are given the basic data on share-rent, *viz.*, proportion of the share-rented land in the sample, average yield per acre of both cash- and share-rented land combined, the average price of the season as received by the farmers under investigation, and the share-rent as calculated from these data, for the years from 1948 to 1951. The share-rent as shown in this table is the value of half the yield per acre of the combined cash- and share-rented land (which is taken because of its close approximation to the average yield on the share-rented land), estimated at the average price of the season. The interesting point to notice about the data is the fact that share-rent being half the product of the last two variables, namely, yield per acre and average price, as weighted by *the first factor*—proportion of the share-rented land, it (share-rent) does not vary either in the same proportion or in the same direction as these component factors vary, the reason being that all these three factors vary neither, as a matter of fact, in the same direction nor in the same proportion. Each of them takes its own course independently of the others. For instance, the proportion in 1950 was though highest being 35.6 per cent as against 21.8 per cent in 1949 and 33.6 per cent in 1951, the share-rent was lowest being Rs. 154-2 as against Rs. 158-1 in 1949 and Rs. 172-12 in 1951. This is accounted for by the fact of lower yield which was only 8.43 mds. in 1950 as against 8.73 mds. in 1949 and 9.42 mds. in 1951. So also was the case with price and yield in the years 1949 and 1950 when they moved in mutually reverse directions. As compared to 1949, though the price in 1950 was higher yet in consequence of lower yield which was 8.43 mds. against 8.73 mds. in 1949 the share rent in 1950 was lower being Rs. 154-2 as against Rs. 158-1 in 1949. The combined effect of both higher price and higher proportion was more than counter-balanced by the fact of more than proportionate reduction in yield rate. In 1951, however, both yield and price were higher than in the previous two years, and the share-rent too was consequently higher being Rs. 172-12 as against Rs. 158-1 in 1949 and Rs. 154-2 in 1950.

TABLE II

	1948 Rs.as.	1949 Rs.as.	1950 Rs.as.	1951 Rs.as.
Operational cost (for both cash- & share-rented Cash rent per acre plots)	234 9	195 9	185 10	209 2
of cash-rented plots	3 11	4 14	3 15	6 14*
Share rent per acre of share-rented plots	N.A.	158 1	154 2	172 12
Overall rent (cash- & share-rent combined)	5 10	38 4	57 6	62 9

* *This figure is inflated by inclusion in cash rent of the amounts of money paid for taking land in mortgage.*

In Table II have been shown the operational cost, rent per acre separately for cash- and share-rented lands and the overall rent (share-rent and cash-rent combined) per acre of the total land under jute in the sample (that is, both share- and cash-rent being added together has been uniformly distributed over the total jute acreage). One point of interest in this table is the fact that cash-rent as compared to both share-rent and overall rent is quite a small amount. Another interesting fact is that even with a higher share-rent of Rs. 158-1 in 1949 as compared to Rs. 154-2 in 1950, the overall combined rent per acre in 1949 was much less being only Rs. 38-4 as against Rs. 57-6 in 1950, which is explained by the higher proportion of the share-rented land in 1950 which was 35.6 per cent against 21.8 per cent in 1949. Again, with a much higher share rent of Rs. 172-1 in 1951 as against Rs. 154-2 in 1950 this overall combined rent per acre in 1951 is not proportionately higher being only Rs. 62-9 as against Rs. 57-6 in the previous year; this is so because the proportion of the share-rented land in 1951 was less being 33.6 per cent than in 1950. The proportion, therefore, acts as the weightage for share rent in calculation of the overall average rent per acre.

TABLE III

Cost per maund

	1948 Rs.as.	1949 Rs.as.	1950 Rs.as.	1951 Rs.as.
In respect of—				
1. Cash-rented plots	N.A.	22 13	23 8	22 15
2. Share-rented plots	N.A.	35 9	37 6	40 8
3. Share-rented & cash-rented plots combined (*i.e.*, the Representative Av. cost)	29 5	26 12	28 13	28 14
Inflation of the Representative Av. cost as compared to the cost in respect of cash-rented plots	N.A.	3 15	5 5	5 15
The Inflation expressed as a percentage of the cost on the cash-rented plots	N.A.	17.3%	22.6%	26.0%
Proportion of the share-rented land in the sample	N.A.	21.8%	35.6%	33.6%

N.A.=Not available.

In this table are given the final cost per maund of jute in respect of (1) the cash-rented land, (2) share-rented land and (3) combined cash-rented and share-rented land. The cost per maund of the third category of land is what is called the representative cost or cost of the average farmer in the sample. It will be seen that this cost does not vary significantly from year to year being Rs. 29-5 in 1948, Rs. 26-12 in 1949, Rs. 28-13 in 1950 and Rs. 28-14 in 1951. As com-

pared to the cost per maund in respect of the first category of land this representative cost is much higher in all these years being inflated by the inclusion of the share rent in this cost. This inflation is Rs. 3-15 or 17.3 per cent in 1949, Rs. 5-5 or 22.6 per cent in 1950, Rs. 5-15 or 20.0 per cent in 1951.

It has, therefore, been quite evident from the above tables that inclusion of share rent in the share-cropper's cost causes a great inflation in the cost of the average farmer in the sample which consists of both owner-cultivators and share-croppers. Any estimate thus made of the representative cost for the country as a whole from sample results is bound to be similarly inflated.

Another school, representing mostly administrators and industrialists, is rather astonished to find such a high figure for rent which, if included in the average farmer's cost, will inflate the average cost in the case of jute cultivation (as shown in Table III) by 17.3 per cent in 1949, 22.6 per cent in 1950 and 26.0 per cent in 1951 as compared to the owner cultivator's cost alone. This school appears to be worried over this issue and find itself unable to accept such a highly inflated cost. Their simple contention is that if share rent be responsible for this inflation of cost, either share-rent is not an element of cost and is wrongly included in it or there must be some flaw in the entire theoretical concept underlying the particular system of calculating agricultural cost which in consequence becomes so absurdly high as to rouse suspicion about its reliability. This school of thought does not appear to hold well-defined views as to the economic significance of share rent which is quite evident from their failure to offer any plausible argument to back up their objection to its inclusion either in the share-cropper's cost or in the average farmer's cost. They have simply questioned this procedure of working out the sample average and left it there. The explanation which the first school has offered for inclusion of the share-cropper's cost in working out the sample average is that they constitute an important section of the farming community and that their cost cannot be ignored in estimating the representative cost. But this explanation is no answer to the objection raised as to the justifiability of considering share rent as an item of cost. If driven specifically to this point, this school may, perhaps, say in answer that the share-cropper pays a share of the gross produce or of the gross receipts therefrom to the owner of the land for its use by him, and, as such, is as good an outgoing from his granary as cash rent from the owner-cultivator's purse. If cash-rent can be conceived of as constituting an element of cost there can be no justifiable or adequate reason for disregarding share-rent in calculation of the share-cropper's cost. This is the only and simple reason on which this school may take its stand in its advocacy of including share-rent in cost. Prima facie, of course, this stand appears to have the force of logic in its favour, no doubt; but it remains to be seen how far this view commends itself to general acceptance and accords with facts.

Industrialists and other consumers of agricultural produce belonging to the opposing camp find it difficult to reconcile themselves to this view but are not altogether uncompromising or un-accommodating over the issue though at times it seems that they would feel much relieved if the share-rent element of cost be altogether ignored and totally eliminated from cost. They are prepared, however, to leave the question open for further discussion that may help a satisfactory and more logical formula to be devised in lieu of the share-rent being included in cost to compensate the share-cropper for his payment of half share of the gross produce before any deduction is made on account of the cost he incurs. As a result, a good many suggestions and formulæ are being loosely talked of and offered to meet the situation. It is necessary to scrutinise each of these suggestions for clarity of understanding and removal of all confusion which is camouflaging the exact character of the problem before us. The suggestions are briefly summarised as follows:

1. Without the share rent being included in cost half the operational cost may be added in lieu thereof to the total operational cost. (*The purpose envisaged in this suggestion will be served if, of course, the latter be smaller than the former.*)
2. If share rent must needs be included, then the *bargadar's* own and his family labour must not be charged at the market rate of wages. Either his own and his family labour should not be charged at all or, if charged, this should be done at a much lower rate which is on par with the prevailing standard of living of the average cultivators in the locality.
3. Share rent need not be brought into the picture at all in assessing share-cropper's economic position from the profit and loss account of his farming business. It will do well to set off the operational cost against his share of the gross produce for the purpose of profit and loss account.
4. Landlord's share should be reduced in order to effect reduction in the share-cropper's cost of cultivation.
5. Share rent should be left altogether out of account in calculation of agricultural cost.

Let us now examine the implications of these suggestions and see to what extent they go to answer the specific question raised as to the validity of including share rent as an item of cost. The first suggestion that in lieu of share-rent half the operational cost should be taken in calculation of the share-cropper's cost is like a thumb rule judgement on a mooted question when no logical solution can be thought out, is certainly no answer. There can be no sense in taking half the operational cost over again to represent the share-cropper's total cost of cultivation. This is simply a patch work devised only to make the share-cropper's cost less inflated. Application of this principle will make the whole thing unreal and, therefore, it cannot

but be summarily rejected. As for the second suggestion it can be safely asserted that it does not touch the issue before us. Advocates of this view agree to the inclusion of share rent in cost provided the share-cropper's own labour as well his family labour be charged not at the market rate of wages but at a much lower rate which may as they have conceded, be on par with the prevailing standard of living in the region. The purpose underlying this principle is the same as in case of the first one being to keep inflation in the share-cropper's cost to the minimum. Therefore, this is also far wide of the point. The third suggestion is made obviously to sidetrack the main issue. Without going into the controversial procedure of including share rent in cost the advocates of this view maintain that the profit and loss account of the share-cropper should be studied with reference to his operational cost alone as a set off against the value of his share of the gross produce, which, according to them, will give a real picture of the share-cropper's economic position in so far as his farming is concerned. Yes, this is quite an acceptable method that can be applied logically to assess his economic position but then what's about the cost per unit production from the standpoint of the society or of the market? What cost will then govern value and how to find it? So, this suggestion, too, fails to answer the specific question raised as to how cost of production, or in other words the market supply price, should be determined and whether or not share rent should be included as an element of cost in the supply price of the commodity. As for the fourth suggestion it is amusing to find that both the camps can see eye to eye as it goes far to meet the view points of both. If the land-owner's share be reduced to one-third the share rent element of cost will be equally reduced resulting in proportionate reduction in the average farmer's cost per unit production. Those who are sympathetic with the share-cropper also welcome this system because of the larger share of the return it leaves to him by way of partial amelioration of his economic condition. Consumers of agricultural produce too are likely to be agreeable to it because of their expectation rightly or wrongly of a downward trend in price due to reduction in the share rent element of the cost of cultivation, if, of course, cost be any potent factor in determination of agricultural price in India. But the land-owner will be most hard hit under this system as he will be denied a substantial portion of his legitimate dues to which his right as a land-owner has long been established by an age-old custom having the force of law. So the arrangement envisaged in this suggestion does not touch the fringe of the problem. It now remains to be seen how far the last suggestion goes to answer the question regarding legitimacy of treating share rent as an item of cost. The last suggestion is that share rent should be left *altogether out of account in calculation* of agricultural *cost. The protagonists of this view* hold emphatically that the share of the gross produce cannot form part of cost, but with no elaborate process of scientific reasoning to back up their stand that may carry conviction with others also. Perhaps they have a vague idea that land-owners and share-croppers have entered into a sort of partnership contract to raise a certain crop from the land on the particular term of distribution of the gross produce and, as such, each one's share of the produce cannot be a cost from the other's standpoint as, for example, the land-owner's share cannot be included in the cost of the share-cropper or the share-cropper's in the cost of the land-owner. Otherwise they cannot make a bold suggestion like this and emphatically protest the inclusion of share-rent in cost. If this presumption be true then their stand is really unassailable. Let us examine the logical as well as the factual basis of their stand. It is better to start with the latter.

The share-cropping system or what is known as *barga* or *adhi* in Bengal, *varman* in South India and *metayage* in other parts means a sort of organisational arrangement made by an unwritten deed of partnership between the landlord and the share-cropper for cultivation of the former's land by the latter on certain terms which vary from place to place and sometimes from time to time in the same place. In Bengal, as in other States, it is commonly experienced that the landlord supplies land and the *bargadar* cultivates it with his resources of labour, livestock, seed and manure. The landlord keeps watch over the cultivation and comes to the *bargadar's* help whenever necessary. The interest of either party is the half share of the gross produce raised from the land. There is slight variation of this common practice here and there depending as it does on the intensity of demand for and of supply of land for cultivation on share-cropping system. This system of holding land on shares "enables a man who has next to no capital of his own to obtain the use of it at a lower charge than he could in any other way, and to have more freedom and responsibility than he could as a hired labourer; and thus the plan has many of the advantages of the three modern systems of co-operation, profit-sharing, and payment by piece-work."*

It would have been worth our while to go into the possible ways in which this economic arrangement came into existence, but in the absence of any historical record of the genesis of this system one is to rest content with a process of reasoning which starts from effect to cause. The causes which are at work now-a-days can be appreciated by an analysis of the factors governing the supply of and demand for such land. The supply side is represented by the following categories of land-owners:

(1) The land-owners, who were originally cultivators cultivating entirely with hired labour,

* Marshall: Principles of Economics, p. 644.

ind it to their advantage to lease out land on
hare system.
2) With the breaking up of the joint family
roperty is parcelled out amongst co-sharers,
y bringing into existence a number of small
gs in place of a big one. Each such separate
g thus becomes uneconomic for cultivation by
wner himself as a single unit of enterprise.
over, the question of expert supervision also
because all the co-sharers are not experts in
lture and look to other avocations elsewhere.
quently they take advantage of the prevailing
n of leasing out land on shares.
3) Widows and minors having no guardians
k after their properties lease out land on this
n.
4) With the spread of higher education
st the middle class families most of such
es have shifted to urban areas in pursuit of
d professions and services leaving cultivable
with *bargadars* for cultivation.

he demand side, we find that demand mostly
m (1) landless labourers of some means who
ge to procure a plough and a pair of bullocks
purchase or on hire or by some contractual
ents with land-owners as well as from (2)
ltivators who are in a position to cultivate
d in addition to their own more economically
existing resources. The demand is intensified
factors as (1) considerations of prestige that
to the status of a *bargadar* vis-a-vis that of a
ier and to the bigger size of farm being
at least by inclusion of *barga* land in the
tivator's own small holding, (2) consideration
my of extending farm activities even by in-
f *barga* land, and (3) increase in rural popu-
rdly with any aptitude for or training in other
n agriculture or with any alternative avenues
yment.

above analysis brings into clear relief the
ct that the *barga* system is essentially a
ip arrangement which is availed of by both
er and share-cropper by their own volition
ieer necessity and has proved as efficient in
n as beneficial to the parties concerned.* The
causes that bring the parties together now-
form a partnership of this kind for running
nterprise in agriculture were also perhaps
le for the origin and evolution of the system
t. The term of distribution as it obtains today
aps originally fixed upon some reasonable
considerations, which, in course of time,
ot too deep into the socio-economic agrarian system till it became a full-fledged custom. Though the economic circumstances, that originally led to the fixation of half-half share system of distribution between the land-owner and the *bargadar*, have greatly changed now-a-days, yet the customary distribution system has persisted through ages though not altogether unprotested. But the protest has been engineered by interested politicians and is not a spontaneous one from the affected section of the agrarian community.†

It is, therefore, established beyond doubt that the *barga* system is a partnership arrangement that brings capital and labour together in a co-operative joint enterprise.

Now let us pass on to the economics of this joint entrepreneurship in the business of agriculture. The land-owner enters into this partnership arrangement when he has got good grounds to believe that half share of the gross produce to which he is entitled under the system will not be below the net profit he generallly earns from the land when under his own cultivation. The *bargadar*, as the share-cropper is called in Bengal, enters into the contract when he can reasonably expect that his half share of the gross produce will, at current prices, not only cover all his operational expenses including the cost of his own and his family labour calculated either at the market rate of wages or at the prevailing standard of living in his stratum of society in the locality but also leave some surplus to remunerate him for his uncertainty bearing and management. The actual results, of course, may deviate much from this average expectation due to variations in circumstances. The fundamental economic hypothesis that underlies all such partnership contracts in the business of agriculture may, therefore, be enunciated as follows: The land-owner's share of the gross produce under the share-cropping system is expected, other things remaining same, to be at least equal, if not more, to the net profit he earns from the land when under his cultivation and the share-cropper's share will yield him at least marginal remuneration for uncertainty-bearing and cover up all his management and operational expenses including the cost of his own and his family labour calculated either at the market rate of wages or at the prevailing standard of living in his stratum of society according as the share-cropper happened originally to be a land-less labour or an owner-cultivator prior to this arrangement. That is to say, other things remaining constant, if the land-owner's expectation does not come true he may perhaps elect either to bring back the land under his own cultivation or to change hand simply; so also

partnership in the business of agriculture "is best assured system which has never failed to receive a good share of agronomists. This is a very ideal system so far as our concerned. In a country of small holdings, cultivated by indigent raiyats depending on private money-lenders and *barga* system is not only inevitable but also wholesome."—*the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 253. Assent by Sir Bejoychand Mahatab and Mr. B. K. Roy

† Ineffectiveness of the Bargadars Act in West Bengal is an eloquent testimony to this fact. It could not bring about any alteration, whatsoever, in the customary system of distribution of the gross output so far between the land-owner and the *bargadar*, though it made an elaborate provision for equitable distribution on the basis of costs to quell the so-called agrarian unrest in West Bengal.

the share-cropper, if originally a landless labourer, finds that his share leaves no surplus over cost and accounts, on the contrary, for a lower level of remuneration for his labour than at the market rate of wages he may prefer to revert to his former status of a hired labourer. In actual practice, however, this change-over does not take place so quickly or at all, as other factors, *viz.*, question of prestige, etc., intervene and keep him going as a share-cropper. But the case of a share-cropper who is also partly an owner-cultivator is a bit different. He may still find it convenient, however, to continue this practice of share-cropping as a matter of self-sufficiency or as a family farming proposition rather than commercial farming, even though it may prove systematically unremunerative according to commercial principles.

APPENDIX

The economic hypothesis as enunciated above is presented in an algebraical form :

Let A denote the acreage.
c „ the operational cost per acre (c is assumed to be the same whether it is the land-owner or the share-cropper who cultivates the land).
y „ the yield per acre.
p „ the price per unit production.

Then Ac=the total cost (including, of course, the cost of management).
Ay=the total output.
Ayp=the total gross receipts.

When the land-owner himself cultivates,
his net profit=Ayp—Ac, or
= x (say)

Under the *barga* system,

the land-owner's share $= \frac{Ayp}{2}$

the share-cropper's share $= \frac{Ayp}{2}$

The land-owner's expectation is that $\frac{Ayp}{2}$ will n

less than Ayp—Ac, or x. $\frac{Ayp}{2}$ must be =

not more.

The share-cropper's expectation is that $\frac{Ayp}{2}$ =

some surplus as a reward for uncertainty-b
It is to the interest of the share-cropper to
only so much capital and labour as will giv
returns more than twice enough (*i.e.*, more

2Ac) to repay himself. Cost of production =

and supply price $= \frac{Ac}{Ay}$ + some profit.

If share-rent be included in the cost then

$Ac + \frac{Ayp}{2}$ = the total cost of the share-cr

And the supply price (or cost of p

tion) $= \frac{Ac + \frac{Ayp}{2}}{Ay}$ (+ some profit).

———:O:———

THE DOLLAR TANGLE

BY ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

THE much-discussed topic of the day in economics is the problem of dollar shortage. Since the advent of the U.S.A. as a first class creditor nation in the commercial world dollar has taken the place of gold, and one who can secure a handful of dollars now-a-days can send his purchase orders to any part of the globe without worrying about the availability of the foreign exchange because his dollars will be in demand everywhere. This unique postion of dollars in the world of to-day has placed the U.S.A. in a position of vantage over other nations and has given her a status equal to that enjoyed by Great Britain in the 19th century. But it has worked equally to the disadvantage of the debtor countries who have to depend upon American imports. These countries find it a hard job to secure the necessary foreign exchange in dollars to pay for their imports, and are thus compelled under the force of circumstances to restrict their imports. The only other way in which they can solve the problem is to increase their exports *to the dollar area thereby adding to their dollar earnings. But this policy can* succeed only if the creditor countries like the U.S.A. agree to import which the latter hardly do lest greater imports harm their indigenous industry and trade. This sighted policy on the part of the creditor nation contributed no less to the scarcity of dollars and ha responsible for placing undue barriers to the smoot of international trade and commerce. In the fol paragraphs an attempt has been made to analy problem of foreign exchange in its historical se as it arose both under the Gold Standard and and a way has been suggested as to how to get the difficulty.

OBJECTIVE OF MONETARY POLICY

During the 19th century it was thought th objective of monetary policy was the attainment stability of exchange because it helped to promo development of trade and commerce between n and the Gold Standard under which the value of th of national currency is fixed in terms of gol universally respected because it guaranteed ex stability. But after the War of 1914-18 it was no

that exchange stability was the sole objective, ver ideas were gaining currency. Price stability, of income, production and employment were g men's minds. This change in outlook was le in the altered circumstances in the post-war Due to the growing strength of trade unions wage n was not so easy as it was before the war. As of the growing stickiness of the wage element ticity of the cost structure which made possible oth functioning of the Gold Standard in the 19th was gone.

ides the changes in the objective factors, there n equally important and vital change on the ve side. The question of exchange stability n all previous monetary discussions held the of the stage was now relegated to a subordinate . It was now thought that the question of of national income, production and employment far greater importance from the point of view of s interests as a whole than exchange stability enefited only those engaged in import and export . The breakdown of the Gold Standard in and the terrible depression that overtook the n the 1930's confirmed men's doubts about the ty of the Gold Standard and led to the search ew formula. The enormous wastage, and loss of income due to idle man-power and equipment by the Great Depression imparted a new nce to the phenomenon of trade cycle, and turned inds towards devising ways and means to control

The Mode of Settling Inter-national Indebtedness under the Gold Standard

der the Gold Standard the value of the national y was fixed in terms of gold, and the Central as under the obligation to sell and purchase this fixed rate. A net surplus or deficit in the of payment of a country was settled by shipment . The shortcoming of the system was that when ntry's balance of payment continued to be rable for a number of years, there was a ous outflow of gold, and the deficit country was ith the danger of exhaustion of its gold reserves. rd againt such a possibility certain rules of the ere framed. The rule of the Gold Standard game t when gold flowed out of a country, goods would after it and bring the gold back again. In the from which there was an efflux of gold the deficit balance of payment was corrected by screwing up k rate. A stringency in the money market was to force down prices and thus to secure an excess rts over imports. The opposite policy was followed country where there was an influx of gold. In a deficit country was saved from gold exhaustion, problem of foreign exchange was solved. As ue of national currency was pegged to gold, the also gave stability of exchange. But it did not for a country stability of price, production and employment within the domestic sphere and as such it was abandoned. In order to maintain the rigid gold parity the Central Bank could not follow a monetary policy according to the internal needs of the country. Thus when there was an outflow of gold depression would be forced down upon the country to stop the drain of gold, and when gold flowed into a country prosperity would be a compelling necessity to be brought about by easy money conditions although such a policy might lead to an unhealthy boom and spell disaster to the internal economy. This policy proved successful in the 19th century because of the flexibility of the wage-cost structure which made possible smooth adjustment and did not lead to wide-spread unemployment. But after the War of 1914-18 due to the strengthening of the position of trade unions wages proved to be rigid as a result of which maladjustment was created between cost and price structure by a deflationery policy leading to depression and unemployment. To maintain the level of production and employment it was necessary to keep the volume of spending and investment on a high keel and create easy money conditions in the market, but this was not possible when there was an efflux of gold since it meant an infringement of the code of behaviour prescribed under the Gold Standard.

To escape from this dilemma countries under the Gold Standard had to adopt escapist devices, such as off-setting and sterilisation policy. A country with a favourable balance of trade had to sterilise the gold flowing into it to prevent it from producing an inflationary effect on prices. Similarly, a country suffering from an unfavonrable balance of trade had to follow an off-setting policy to prevent the outflow from producing a deflationary effect on prices, production and employment. Thus in the post-war period the philosophy of the Gold Standard was undergoing a striking change, and this was inevitable in the light of the difficulties experienced in working the standard smoothly. Great Britain returned to the Gold Standard in 1925, but had to abandon it soon to save the country from gold bankruptcy, and other countries in the gold block had to follow suit. Since then there has been a definite swing in favour of a policy of maintaining internal economic stability. It was found that a rigid parity as prescribed under the Gold Standard would no longer meet the requirements of the changed world, and that a new monetary policy would be necessary for any world. It was pointed out long before by the late Lord Keynes that a more flexible mechanism in which there would be some place for the deserted shrine of the Gold Standard should be devised to impart elasticity to our monetary system.

The Bretton Woods Agreement and the Establishment of the I. M. F.

On the termination of the World War II a conference was held at the Bretton Woods to find a new formula in place of the old Gold Standard which would secure exchange stability, and at the same time allow sufficient

autonomy to each country to follow a monetary and fiscal policy that would promote stability of price, production and employment in the domestic sector. As a result of the Bretton Woods Agreement the I. M. F. was formed by the United Nations in 1944, and started operations in 1946. Each country becoming a member of the I. M. F. was given the option to adopt a defacto parity linking the value of its national currency to dollar. The parity could be changed within certain limits to remove a permanent disequilibrium in the balance of payment, and the I. M. F. undertook the responsibility to supply scarce currency to a country to enable it to tide over a temporary deficit in the balance of payment.

Although the disadvantage under the old Gold Standard arising from an unalterable parity has been removed and some flexibility has been introduced into the system, the old difficulty remains, namely, if a debtor country continues to have unfavourable balance of trade for years and devaluation does not improve its balance of payment, the I. M. F. will be faced with the problem of supplying scarce currency without limit which it cannot do. To prevent such a contingency the deficit country will be required to take measures to restrict its imports. England, for example, has been continually suffering from the problem of chronic dollar shortage, and the adoption of anti-inflationary and austerity measures has, to some extent, eased the situation. Since the inauguration of the I. M. F. much hope was entertained that the problem of securing exchange stability and stability of employment and income would be satisfactorily solved. Unfortunately, however, that hope has not been fulfilled. Making a critical survey of the world economic situation, the seventh annual report of the I. M. F. states :

> "It is a melancholy fact that seven years after the end of the war there has been little secure or sustained progress towards multilateral trade and convertibility."

The Factors Responsible for Dollar Shortage

It is, therefore, necessary to go deeper into the problem to see what is the cause of the malaise and how to cure it.

The War left a legacy of inflation in all countries and an ceonomy completely shattered by its ruthless shocks in the war-devastated regions. Because of the terrible wreck caused by the destruction of War the countries directly affected found their productive machinery completely out of gear, and had to import machineries and other productive equipment as also foodstuffs from the less affected countries like the U. S. A. which caused a heavy deficit in their balance of payment. As a result of this these countries have become debtor countries, and the settlement of the adverse balance has presented an acute problem.

A second factor that has contributed to dollar *deficiency is the* policy of deficit financing pursued in *a number of countries. It is a proved fact* that there is a danger of potential inflation in a policy of deficit financing beyond a certain degree. Such a policy may be a boon in a depressed economy, but not so when the economy is passing through a phase of inflation. So the policy of deficit financing is to be proceeded with in a spirit of caution so that it may not aggravate an already inflationary situation. How to effect cuts in the volume of community spending on consumption and investment to stop the inflationary gap is to-day the essential anti-inflationary problem.

Thirdly, the problem of dollar shortage has been aggravated by the propensity towards international hoarding on the part of the creditor nations of the world and the placing of barriers to international trade. Thus the seventh report of the I. M. F. states that :

> "Protective policies manitained in the United States despite its great competitive power also continues to embarrass other countries," and expresses its earnest convicition that "all countries in a strong balance of payment position should take all practicable means of reducing barriers to international trade."

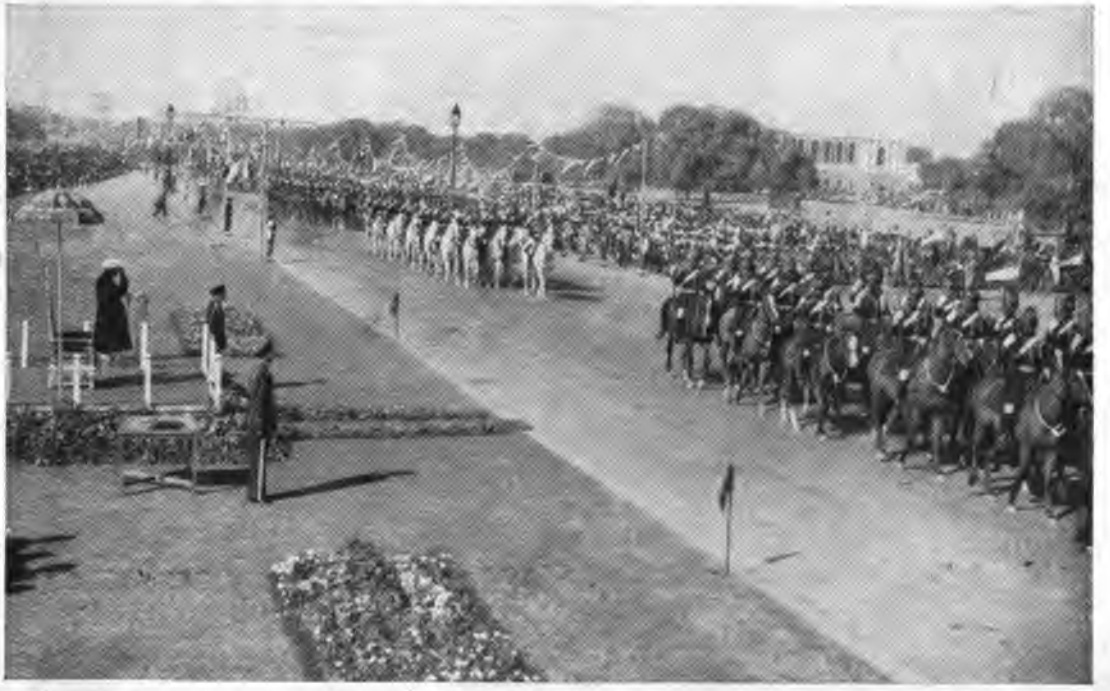
The most potent cause of declining income, production and employment in a country is the lack of adequate spending by the community on consumption and investment which ensures an effective demand for goods and service. Hoarding of one's income is to-day treated as an anti-social act in a depressed economy because it produces a deflationary effect on prices and production. The same principle also holds good in the international sphere. As in the domestic sphere hoarding deprives somebody of his income inasmuch as the part of the income now saved, if expended, on consumption or investment would have gone to somebody's pocket and augmented his income, so also in the international sector hoarding by the creditor nations (*i.e.*, accumulation of their credit balances brought about by an excess of export over import) depresses the economy of the debtor countries. If the oreditor countries like the U. S. A. liberalise their policy in regard to purchase and importation of goods from other countries, it will give stimulus to the industries in these countries which will export the goods. The debtor countries thus will have increased dollar earnings, and the problem of dollar shortage will not appear in its present acute form. Prof. Dudley Dillard in his recent book *The Economics of J. M. Keynes* writes thus :

> "The failure of strong exporting unions, *e.g.*, U. S. A. to make use of its balance represents a fall in effective demand in world trade. It represents sales which are not followed by purchases."

The I. C. U. Plan

To mitigate the international hoarding Keynes suggested his International Clearing Union Plan which was not accepted at the Bretton Woods Conference. Under the I. C. U. Plan the pounds paid by British buyers of American cotton would be converted into an international form of maney known as "Bancor" and credited to the account of U.S.A. which could then

The citizens of Delhi in their lakhs witnessed the Republic Day Parade. This tableau contributed by the Delhi State depicts the Five-Year Plan in a nutshell



Gwalior Lancers marching past the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, during the Republic Day Parade in New Delhi on January 26

President Eisenhower with his Cabinet members and other top aides

A class of trainees in the Artisan Workshop at the Machine-Tool Prototype Factory at Ambarnath, near Bombay

spend it for goods and services anywhere in the world. Every nation would have an account in bancor which would be debited or credited whenever purchases or sales were made in international trade. Keynes belived that one of the spectacular features of his plan was its attempt to prevent international hoarding, to liberate in the international field the effective demand which tended to get frozen in buried gold. As Prof. Dillard writes:

> "Under the I. C. U. Plan a nation exporting more goods and services than its imports could use its balance only to purchase goods from some other countries. Its balance could not be converted into gold for hoarding. Nations which sold and refused to buy would find themselves with growing idle balances of bancor which they could not withdraw or convert into gold under the rules of the I. C. U. They would be exposed to the world and to themselves as guilty for anti-social behaviour and as breaking the rules of the road."

To relieve the situation the necessity for a more liberal policy in regard to imports on the part of the creditor countries has becomes imperative. All import restrictions, tariffs, quotas and other restrictive measures which hamper the free flow of international trade should be removed, and a more liberal investment policy in under-developed and debtor countries should be followed. This is the only way to avoid the depression that would otherwise make its appearance even in the creditor countries as a sequel to a policy of import restriction, and would ultimately result in a sizeable diminution in the volume of international trade.

———:O:———

INDIA AND TIBET

By Prof. N. B. ROY, *Visva-Bharati*

Beyond the snow-covered Himalayan ranges lies the mysterious land of Tibet, with a strange people living a sheltered existence in desolate wastes and blooming valleys, swept by icy winds in most parts of the year.

The first important fact about it is that it is unlike any other country in the world. It is governed by a theocracy, a God-king, or Chen-ri-zi, the Tibetan counterpart of the Indian Buddha, incarnated in the person of the Dalai Lama. In the natural course of human evolution, the rule of the heavenly Vice-gerent has ceased to exist all over the globe. The Caliphate is no more; the Pope exists, but his authority is limited to the Vatican. But here in Tibet, the Dalai Lama's authority is co-existent with the whole of this mountain-state and he conducts the government by a bureaucracy, composed mainly of monks.

The monk is the indispensable guide, friend and philosopher of the Tibetan common man. He inscribes the formula of prayer on the prayer-wheels, flags, chortens and mendangs and also performs the routine duties done by the priests all the world over, casting horoscopes, fixing the days for journey and protecting him from the genii, evil spirits and furies. Hence monks form the most powerful institution in the land. The three monasteries around Lhasa, Ganden, Sera and Depung contain twenty thousand monks and surpass in wealth and influence any of the medieval monasteries of Europe. In 1920 they challenged the power of Dalai Lama himself by marching to his headquarters and again by threatening to attack Lhasa.

The other important feature is that the Tibetan social system is composed of only two classes—the clergy and the laity which are convertible terms for the nobility and the commons, without any chasm as in feudal Europe.

This political and social organisation, so strongly at divergence with the rest of the world, does not necessarily imply a low order of civilization. If by it is meant a capacity for hurling destruction upon man or dumping industrial products on unwarlike people under the friendly guise of economic aid, then of course, Tibet falls low. If on the other hand, civilization means a training of the man's mind, refinement of his sensibilities, development of an attitude of tolerance for others and a catholicity of spirit, then Tibet would assuredly take an honoured place among the nations. Search for knowledge or enlightenment of the mind is the one resonant cry that fills the air of Tibet, enshrined in the words, "Om Mani Padme Hum, Hail to the Jewel in the Lotus." Hence Manjusri, the God of enlightenment, rather than Mammon or the god of wealth is the deity adored by every Tibetan. These monasteries are therefore the repositories of learning, Universities in the true sense of the term, where teachers expound simple and subtle truths in close intimate talk to their pupils living inside the same monastery.

Books are here held sacred and their preservation a paramount task. They pursued this vocation with so much ardour that a Chinese emperor once spoke of them as having become like a body bereft of vigour. For, said he, "The people of Central Tibet, abandoning military pursuits, devote themselves solely to literature." In the middle of the 11th Century Atish found in the monastery of Sam-ye more books than existed collectively in the three monasteries of Buddha Gaya, Vikram Sila and Uddantpuri Vihar, while in recent times an English

Civilian Sir Charles Bell saw ten to twelve thousand volumes in the burnt library of Ta-lung monastery, encased in beautifully carved and gilt-wooden covers. The sculptures and mural decorations of the land testify to the Tibetan ardour for enlightenment. Sympathetic foreign observers have found alike in the calm and serene lotus-enthroned Buddha and in the skull-decked awe-inspiring deities, either trampling on prostrate bodies or whirling in cosmic dance clasping their female energies, the perfection of the Baroque decorative ideal.

It is admitted universally that in the making of this fabric of civilization the Tibetans borrowed impulses primarily from India : their debt to the Chinese was only in respect to the material things of life : Tea, universally drunk here, is an importation from China.

Tradition assigns the earliest Indo-Tibetan contact to the 4th Century A.D., but the known historical connexion dates from the middle of the 7th Century under the ageis of Srong-Tsan Gampo who deputed a mission headed by his minister Thon-mi-Sambhota to study and transcribe Buddhist texts. Thonmi thus not only introduced Buddhism into Tibet but evolved the Tibetan characters after the model of the Indian alphabet. Nearly a century after this event Ti-Song-De Tsen invited the famous Abbot Santa Rakshita to Tibet. He was followed by the still more famous Padma Sambhava (Lotus-born), who founded the *Nying-Pa* or *Red Cap* order of the Buddhist monks, and the monastery at Sam-Ye after the Uddantpuri Vihar in 749 A.D.

After Santa Rakshita and Padma Sambhava laid down their early remains in Tibet, their doctrines, were challenged by a group of Chinese monks when another great Indian teacher Kamalasila set them at rest by worsting them in a debate held in the Tibetan royal court.

In the 9th Century, King Ral Pa-Chean standardised Tibetan weights and measures after the Indian pattern and gave a great impulse to the Buddhist faith by patronising the monks of the Sarvasta-vadin school. The most important land-mark in the history of Tibetan Buddhism is the ministry of Atisa-Dipankar-Sri-Jnana who introduced the tenets of the Kalachakra Jana and having harmonised them with some of the elements of the old Bon religion, founded the *Ka-dam-pa* sect which was transformed by Tsong-Kha-pa (1358-1419), the great Reformer into the *Ge-luk-pa*, the predoninant sect of Tibet. This Indo-Tibetan intercourse was not a one-way-traffic, for Tibetan scholars streamed into India, after Thon-mi-Sambhota's mission. Names are many, the most important being that of Mar-pa, who was initiated by the Indian teachers Naropa, and founded the *Ka-gyu* sect and the monastery at Sakya which played such an important part in the conversion of the Mongol emperors of China, Kubilai Khan, Altan Khagan, Tohan, Timur in the 13th and 14th Centuries.

The destruction of monasteries and temples in India by the Turkish invaders caused an exodus of many Indian teachers, including Hindu Yogis into Tibet, and Lhasa turned into a metropolis for the diffusion of the Buddhist faith into Mongolia, Burma and parts of China. Lhasa's spiritual authority extended therefore beyond its borders: and her scholars in that dark age of India's cultural life, I mean, the 13th and 14th Centuries, surpassed the Indians in the exposition of the Buddhist texts. In the succeeding centuries references to Tibetan scholars visiting India are not uncommon. One such was sent by the 5th Dalai Lama in the 17th Century to learn Panini's grammar from a Brahmin named Balabhadra of Kurukshetra.

In the 18th Century, a class of Indian warrior-monks of the *Dasnami* order opened again the closed route to Tibet by carrying there Indian wares and communications from Indian chiefs. The most remarkable among them was Purangiri Gosain who came with a letter from the Panchen Lama to Warren Hastings for the grant of land to erect a temple on the bank of the Ganges. That temple which now stands in Bhot Bagan, Howrah, remains a testimony to friendly Indo-Tibetan collaboration. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, father of Modern India, claimed to have visited Tibet and stayed there three years in his early youth. But the Indian who revived the old cultural bond between these two countries by collecting manuscripts and valuable geographical data in recent times was Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das who paid two visits to that country in 1879 to 1882 and founded the *Buddhist Text Society of India* for the promotion of closer ties with the Buddhist countries including Tibet.

May India and Tibet stand together on the side of peace, remembering the lines of the *Dhammapada;* "Enmity never comes to an end through enmity here below; it comes to an end by non-enmity; this has been the rule from all eternity."*

* Substance of a talk delivered over the All-India Radio, Calcutta Station, February, 1952.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

By Miss BANI BOSE, B.A., Dip. Lib.,
Assistant, National Library

II

Imperial Library

Imperial Library was formed in 1891 from
rent Departmental Libraries of the Govern-
was located in the Civil Secretariat Build-
Calcutta. Under the initiative of Lord
the amalgamation of the Calcutta Public
and the Imperial Library took place. Met-
ll was acquired by the Government of India
joint occupants in December 1901. The
ation of the books of the two Libraries,
arrangement and in part their recataloguing,
ted in 1902. The arrangements were confirmed
lated by the Imperial Library Act 1902. It
vided with Reading Rooms, public and
as at the British Museum and Bodleian
Oxford. It was intended that it should be a
f reference, a working place for students,
epository for material for the future histo-
India, in which so far as possible, every
tten about India at any time could be seen
l. This intention was clearly stated in
n Nos. 201-207, dated January 30, 1903.
control of the Library remained with the
ent of India but its internal management
gated to a Council with the Librarian as its
. The following were the first members of
ncil :

man : T. Raleigh.

bers : Justice Gooroodas Banerjee ; Risley,
to the Government of India, Home Depart-
M. Finucane, Commissioner, Presidency

first Librarian, J. Macfarlane, was brought
gland. Justice Gooroodas Banerjee resigned
M. Finucane left India in April. The vacancy
by C. E. Buckland.

Library was opened to the public on
0, 1903. Lord Curzon delivered the inaugural
in which he said :

t seems to me an obvious duty to work for
sort of amalgamation and thereby to give
lcutta, what the chief duty of a great
ce with a population of a million people
also, the capital of the British Empire in
ought most certainly to possess, namely, a
worth of the name."

ohn Woodburn helped Curzon in this work.
Curzon intended that the Library should
more by the serious readers. He said :

It has never been my object to create a
y of fiction in Calcutta. Such a Library
tends to provide a desultory pastime rather than
a serious incentive and helpmate. I should not
have thought myself justified in spending the
money of Government on the maintenance of an
institution for the propagation of that form of
literature exclusively or in the main. It was
desired that people would resort to the Library to
pursue their studies under agreeable conditions
with every assistance that pleasant surroundings
and a polite and competent staff can place at
their disposal."

The Calcutta Public Library contributed a great quantity of fiction, which, so far as they did not relate to India, was discarded. Only those duplicates that related to India were retained. The greater part of non-Asian theology and law were also discarded. The books on India in the Calcutta Public Library was a most valuable collection.

The collections of the Imperial Library was of a heterogeneous character. The departmental Libraries supplied a large collection of books (specially official) relating to India and standard general works on history, administration and geography. Technical and scientific works came mainly from the Departments of Public Works, Revenue and Agriculture, but were not numerous.

In 1903, an arrangement was made with the Government of Bengal whereby the Librarian was permitted to select for the Imperial Library from among the books accumulated by that Government since 1867, through the operation of the Press Act of that year. The working of the Press Act was irregular but the additions to the Library from this source was very numerous. The most considerable collection came from the Home Department, which contained a large number of books previously kept in the Library of the East India College, Fort William and in the Library of the East India Board in London.

The Imperial Library started issuing permanent Readers' Tickets. During the period January 31 to December 31, 1903, 2,121 tickets were issued to the public. Most of the visitors were students, reading for examinations or persons requiring to look up casual references. But there were among the readers a small band of earnest and capable students and several books, besides articles in more serious reviews in 1903, had been the fruit of their labour in the Library. The Librarian having occasionally translated passages from French and German books relating to India a demand had sprung up for instructions in

those languages and a select few consisting chiefly of Pandits and holders of Government scholarships, met for instruction in the Librarian's room and made good progress. They were all Hindus.*

The Librarian secured all the new books published in Europe on India and the neighbouring countries. The Librarian stated in the *Annual Report* for 1904 that there was another function of an Imperial Library, namely, collection of best books published all over India. He wrote :

> "At present this is only done for Bengal, a selection from the books received under Registration Act 1867 being sent here when the Bengal Librarian has written his reports on them. Similar collections ought to be made from other Provinces, comprising at least books in English, in classical languages (Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian) and in Urdu and Hindi. To collect other vernaculars might require a special staff."

Inter-Library Borrowing

John Macfarlane took the following measures to increase the usefulness and popularity of the Library :

(1) Training of cataloguers in the Imperial Library for work in other Libraries ;
(2) Establishment of reciprocal borrowing system amongst different Libraries ; and
(3) Compilation of a subject index of the contents of other Libraries.

He gave effect to the first two measures. The Asiatic Society of Bengal gave permission on November 24, 1903 for books and MSS. to be lent from their library for perusal in the Imperial Library. The Board of Examiners had a good Library. They also granted permission for lending their books for use in the Imperial Library in March, 1904. By 1914 the Asiatic Society discontinued this facility and they had strong ground for the action they had taken. The Board of Examiners' Library continued to lend books.

Chapman reported on inter-borrowing in the *Annual Report* for 1919-23 :

> "It has not been found possible to do anything. The time is not ripe : there is no country of the size of India that is so backward in the matter of libraries ; but then there may be no country with so small a revenue in proportion to her population."

Catalogue

The preparation of the catalogue was taken in hand immediately after the formation of the Library. The catalogue of the Library when complete was intended to comprise :

(1) A General Author Catalogue of printed books in European languages ;
(2) A Subject Index ;
(3) An Author Catalogue of Books in Oriental language with indexes of subjects and titles of books ;
(4) Catalogue of "Books that are no Books" such as Administration Reports, furnished with an author index as far as possible ; and
(5) Catalogue of Oriental MSS.

A Reading Room Catalogue and Index was completed in 1903. Two hundred copies were printed of which 156 were distributed among local libraries and institutions. Only one copy was sold.

The first volume of the *General Author Catalogue*, from A to L was published in March 1904. Two thousand copies of the catalogue were printed of which 1,108 were distributed in India, 212 sent to other parts of the world and 6 copies were sold.

In 1904, sanction was obtained for purchase of two Cabinets to contain a Card Catalogue of additions to the Author Catalogue arranged in a single alphabet. The Card Catalogue was completed in 1905. The *Catalogue of Indian Official Publication*, Vol. I, was printed in 1909. The *Subject Index to the Author Catalogue* was published in 1910.

Preparation of the new revised catalogue was undertaken in 1943. It remained in abeyance due to the war. It has now been taken up for completion.

The shelf-listing of books in European languages began in 1930.

A new cataloguing scheme for compiling and bringing up to date of the various catalogues was sanctioned by the Government of India in 1946-47. In 1950, the task of compiling the bibliography of Indology was undertaken. In 1951, a *Catalogue of Printed Books* in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Vol. I, was published.

Numbering and Marking of the Books

The greater portion of the Library is arranged on the shelves on the system commonly known as "relative location." In this system the distinguishing marks of each book are derived not from the shelf on which it happens to be, but from the class to which it has been assigned and its ordinal number in that class, and any book or group of books may be moved backward or forward to make room for the expansion of a neighbouring group. It will be obvious that for the proper working of this system the shelves over which these movements are effected must all be tall enough to admit the tallest book in the collection. To obviate waste of space, therefore, some preliminary sorting by size is necessary. In this Library all books over 14 inches in height have been put in a class by themselves, and arranged on the system of "fixed location" described below. The remainders are divided into two classes according as they are or are not over 14 inches in height. In assigning to each book its ordinal number in its class, which as above explained, forms the last of its distinguishing marks, the odd numbers go to the smaller and the even numbers to the larger-sized division.

An example may serve to make this clearer. If books on the United States of America form class No. 99 and those on the Northern States class 99B,

* *Annual Report of the Imperial Library*, 1903, p. 2.

then the books in the latter subject that are not over 10 inches in height will be marked 99B 1, 99B 3, etc., and those over that height 99B 2, 99B 4, etc. These marks show at a glance whether the book required is to be looked for on the 'small' or the 'large' shelves.

Librarians of the Imperial Library

John Macfarlane—1902 to May 13, 1906
D. Silva (Offg.)—May 14, 1906 to Feb. 21, 1907
Harinath De—Feb. 22, 1907 to Jan. 20, 1911
J. A. Chapman—Jan. 25, 1911 to Nov. 30, 1930
E. W. Madge (Offg.)—May 20 to June 18, 1912
A. F. M. Abdul Ali (Offg.)—March 10, 1924 to January 30, 1925
S. Kumar (Offg.)—May 25, 1928 to June 19, 1928; January 2, 1929 to February 11, 1929; October 27 to November 17, 1931 ; February 25 to August 14, 1937 ; December 18, 1937 to March 17, 1939
K. M. Asadullah—Feb. 11, 1929 to July 19, 1947
Y. M. Mulay (Offg.)—July 20, 1947 to March 31, 1948
B. S. Kesavan—March 31, 1948—

Popularity of the Library

The popularity of the Library can be realised from the following annual number of readers visiting the place :

1903	15,093	1930	44,798
1910	38,955	1940	71,324
1920	38,660		

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee became President of the Council of the Library in 1912-13. Among persons who took active interest in the affairs of the Library during this period were Sir Dennison Ross, N. Annandale, Dr. D. N. Mallik, Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis, Mm. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, Principal Heramba Maitra, Dr. U. N. Brahmachari, W. K. Firminger, Dr. Urquhart, H. G. Rawlinson, R. B. Ramsbotham, etc.

Preservation of Books

As a prevention against white ants, the feet of book-cases were placed in pans, filled with a solution of phenyle and kerosene oil, and books were frequently dusted. There was no damage to books in the Metcalfe Hall. In the Imperial Secretariat Buildings however, several Parliamentary papers were destroyed by white ants.

About 1920, two alternative proposals for preservation of books were suggested :

(*a*) To remove all valuable books in any one Presidency to a library located in some Hill station where climate was temperate. It was ascertained that paper did not decay in India at an altitude of 5000 ft. and upward.

(*b*) To place such books in a library situated in the chief town of the Presidency and to equip the library with air-conditioning plant.

The second alternative was supported as having been practicable and desirable : Government were approached. No reply to this proposal, however, was received.

Richey Committee

The Government of India in December, 1926, appointed a small Committee of Enquiry to report into the affairs of the Imperial Library. It consisted of :

J. A. Richey, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Chairman ;
R. B. Ramsbotham, Member of the Imperial Library Council ;
J. H. Lindsay, Educational Secretary, Government of Bengal : and
J. G. Bhandari, Accountant-General, Bengal, Secretary.

The Committee assembled in Calcutta on December 13, 1926, and continued the work on three subsequent days. They thoroughly discussed all matters concerning the future finance, location and administration of the Library. Their main recommendations may be summarised as follows :

Functions : (*i*) The Imperial Library should be a library of reference, a working place for students and a repository of material for the future historians of India, in which, so far as possible, every book written about India at any time can be seen and read. (*ii*) The Imperial Libarry should be a Copyright Library. (*iii*) The Imperial Library should be a Central Lending Library from which books should be available to persons engaged in any special study, in all parts of India.

Location : The Library should continue to be located in Calcutta.

Management : The old Council should be replaced by a new Council. The actual administration to vest in a small committee of management.

Finance : The cost of running the Library to be met entirely from Central Revenue except for the amount required for the maintenance of the Reading Rooms, which should be met from Provincial revenues.

The Committee visited the Library, inspected the work of the Library staff and examined the Librarian and the staff. Their finding was that the Library was in a most unsatisfactory condition. The defects discovered may be classified as :

(*a*) Defects due to imperfect or incorrect organisation.
(*b*) Defects due to negligence or incompetence on the part of the staff.

Under (*a*), the Committee drew attention to such matters as the—

(*i*) unsatisfactory character of the classification scheme followed in the Library ;
(*ii*) non-publication of catalogues ;
(*iii*) absence of regular weeding of books ;
(*iv*) uneconomical arrangements for purchase of books ;

(*v*) delay in cataloguing new books ;
(*vi*) uneven distribution of work among clerks ;
(*vii*) non-employment of labour-saving devices.

The defects pointed out under (*b*), concern the staff, arrears in work, etc.

Bohar Library

Syed Suderuddin Ahmad ul-Musawy, Zemindar of Bohar (Burdwan), presented to the Government of India his Library containing about 1,500 volumes of printed books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and a collection of 950 Arabic and Persian manuscripts. The Library was transferred to the Matcalfe Hall. One of the conditions of the Bohar Library was that it would not be removed from Bengal.

The Library secured the following other collections :

Donors	*No. of books*
Ramdas collection 1950	4,000
Hyderabad Residency Library	,,
Asutosh collection 1949	80,000
Chinese collection	18,000

Rare Books

The following list will give only an indication of the rare books, maps, etc., in the Library :

(1) An extremely fine book of native illuminated drawings done in Ceylon about 1800.
(2) The MS. letter book of Richard Barwell, the friend and colleague of Warren Hastings, containing numerous references to the trial of Nanda Kumar.
(3) Three contemporary legal works on the trial of Dupleix.
(4) A Portuguese MS. on the trade of India written about 1790.
(5) Eleven engraved maps of India in 17th and 18th century.
(6) MS. letters of Sir Thomas Munro.
(7) A portrait of Shuja-ud-Doula, Vizier of the Moghul Empire.
(8) MS. maps of parts of India and plans of ports executed about 1760-1770 ; most of them, believed to be Major Rennell's work, some done in his own hand. Most of the maps believed to be unpublished.
(9) Lord Chesterfield's *The Economy of Human Life*, 1798 edition. British Museum has over 30 copies of this work, but not a copy of the 1798 edition.
(10) Old Javanese versions of portions of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

With the growth of the Library, the Metcalfe Hall was considered too small. The noise due to the two tramway lines and the railway line adjacent to the Library made it difficult for deep study. Lord Curzon thought that the Town Hall would be a better place for the Library. He inspected it personally but rejected the idea on ground of insecurity. Finally the *Government building* at 6 Esplanade was selected and the Library was shifted there in 1923. During the period of shifting, Chapman went on leave and Abdul Ali officiated in his place. In order to help the officiating Librarian in the arduous task of shifting, K. M. Asadullah was brought from Simla. During the war, the Library was shifted to 35 Chittaranjan Avenue and remained there till 1948, after which it came back to the Esplanade premises. Towards the end of 1948 shifting of the Library to Belvedere was started and has now been completed.

The National Library

Under Act 51 of 1948, the name of the Imperial Library was changed to National Library. Shortage of accommodation at the Esplanade Building was being acutely felt. On the one hand, with the growth of the activities of the Government, demand for more space was being made by them and on the other, the stock of the Library was steadily increasing. Maintenance of books in good condition in a very short space became an acute problem. There were also talks of removing the Library to Delhi. It was at this juncture that the present Librarian, Sree B. S. Kesavan asserted himself and succeeded in securing the Belvedere House for the Library. This is a stately and spacious building with large adjoining grounds which would make future extension of the Library in the same compound possible.

The reorganisation of the Library on functional basis and the compilation of the Bibliography of Indology has been undertaken. The number of books in the Library is now about seven and a half lakhs.

The Reading Rooms are now being kept open from 7 A.M. to 10 P.M. which has been very much appreciated by the scholars coming to the Library for Research work.

The present Librarian has undertaken to secure systematic and regular accessions of official and institutional publications. He undertook a tour of South India in 1951 for this purpose. In 1952, he visited the U.S.A. as a guest of that Government under the Leader Exchange Programme to see the working of the Libraries of that country. Since his visit, the Library is getting free supply of valuable publications from many American Institutions of high repute. The National Library has been made a depository of all publications of the United Nations. After long and arduous efforts made in vain by other Librarians, the present Librarian has succeeded in settling the Copyright question. Government of India have agreed to make the National Library a Copyright Library. Relevant legislation is under preparation.*

(Concluded)

* This article has been prepared from materials contained in the *Annual Reports* of the Calcutta Public Library and the Imperial Library.

REVIEW OF THE ACADEMY EXHIBITION : CALCUTTA

By Prof O. C. GANGOLY

nter a youngman's fancy lightly turns to thoughts Indeed the cold weather in Calcutta ushers in a picture shows, which culminate in the come Exhibition orgnized by the Academy of Fine December every year. This is undoubtedly one ost comprehensive Exhibitions held in any city making a systematic attempt to represent all f contemporary art and to exhibit the best works of almost all the well-known artists workl parts of India. So that the Academy Exhibir no means a local show but a happy represenhe whole of India. This year's show has valiantly to uphold its reputation as a glance ıtalogue will show, including, as it does, such Ara and Ahivasi, Nalakrishnan and Bengegal, ar and Hebbar, Govindraj and Gana-yutham, and Pannikar, Tyagaraja and Srinivasalu. It ry crowd and a mosaic of many telents brought from different parts of the Indian Union. And pected to provide a shining nose-gay of the best of the year's harvest. It has been freely that this year's show has surely shagged and ttained a high standard. The few good has been by the mediocre and the bad, and the appear to have been faced with the "Horror t Spaces" compelled to include such unhappy as Kamal Thakur's 'Umar Prasadhan' and Banerjee's five pieces of futilities (20-25) which ing but their dimensions in yards to recommend Yet the selecting and the judging Committee blamed for the generally low level of the hey cannot make bricks without straw and had heir show with the materials actually available. ld not forget that the Academy had to assemtober last a collection of pictures which had to o America for exhibition on a short notice. naturally shortened the bank balance of the nings in art. But if there are not many items the critical connoisseurs and the great highere are enough materials to educate the un to please the common people and to awaken of beauty in those in which the God-given still sleeping or undeveloped. Even mediocre ave their uses as they help to pick out the by comparison and contrast. They help nd educate one's power of judging by assesalues of the mediocre pictures by emphasizing igh qualities of a masterpiece placed in juxtaposition. In this way, even an une is made to respond to the caressing call of Sri Gopal Ghose in a series of excellent landscapes in their bold bid for colour effects, in the magic glory of their highly skilful brushwork, and in their startling compositions which give you kicks as well as caresses. The artist's series of eight landscapes each a shining gem rise far about the level of topographical photographs and present eternal values which make us forget that one is snatched from the Puri or the Gopalpur Beach, one from the Chilka Lake or the Diamond Harbour. The vital, forceful and the emphatic manners of the landscapes of Gopal Ghose can be easily contrasted with the thin, picturesque presentations of nature scenes of which there are in the exhibition many captivating ones, superficial in their skin-deep beauties which the common man will adore and which the connoisseur will ignore. Yet these worshippers of the superficial and picturesque have useful lessons to impart to those who take their first steps to the gates of beauty. And it would be a great help to art-education if a collection of alluring landscapes and typical scenes of Bengal villages could be circulated in our schools and colleges as a First Book of Reading for learning the Beauties of Nature directly through the visual path, which they are now made to learn laboriously through the printed books and poetical compositions. It is also desirable to build a collection of the best masterpieces depicting Bengal village scenes, of which there are one or two of good qualities. If one or two of the best village landscapes could be acquired every year an interesting gallery could be built up to represent the glory of our dying villages.

In the large section devoted to oil paintings there are very few to attract the eye. Pannikar's "Cartmen," Ramen Chakravorty's "Bathing Ghat" and Chinchalkar's "Ferry Ghat" are undoubtedly outstanding examples. Anil Bhattacharyya happily maintains his facility in handling oils in his "Nocturne," a harmonious study in blue and grey. Satis Chandra Sinha's homely study of a "Bengali Lady," lit up by the sun streaming through the window in an early piece which he has not surpassed in his later oils. In portraits the show is very weak, and, only saved by Jagadish Roy's "Red Rope" and the powerful presentation of a "Nobleman" by B. Gangooly.

But the most talkative sections of the show are the eloquent pieces in modernistic manners which force on your attention by sheer power of loquacity and emphasis. They are an intrusion in Indian art from contemporary trends in Europe, now over-flowing all over the world, though very much misunderstood and abused. The common man, not posted in the mysteries of the pictur-

rial techniques, conventions of stylistic grammar and rhetoric, is unable to comprehend the Moderns or to interpret their aims and ideals. The common man, tied to the practice of enjoying the beauties of imitation and accurate representation. is unable to respond to beauties in which recognizable likeness or picturesque elements have no place.

He chastizes in the words of Sir Walter Raleigh :

"The artist uses honest paint
To represent things as they a'int
And then asks money for the time
It took to perpetrate the crime."

The common man with no technical training makes the common mistake of assuming that people who paint in a manner not readily comprehensible to those who apply picture post-card Realism to what they see, are too lazy or too incompetent to draw or paint realistically, not understanding that many great men in this century have put aside Realism, as adults put away toys. Most of our Moderns have discarded cheap imitations in search for a new language of distortion, emphasis, exaggeration and eloquence. Unfortunately, Rathin Maitra's five modernistic pieces do not offer illustrations of the best phases of the new manner, though his "Praying Figure" with its emphatic exaggeration and harmonious curves is easily one of the best pictures in the show. But the conventional critic will legitimately find fault with their utter lack of spiritual or emotional content. If a "Praying Figure" aspiring in its exaggerated height to reach the heavens, has any manner of spiritual appeal, the ugly day-dreamer in an idle "Reverie" posed in a pair of blue pants has nothing elevating in its subject-matter and does not help you to meditate on the higher things of life, such as indicated by even the prosaic presentation of the gates of a temple, or even a mechanical presentation of a Mother and Child of which there are a few good examples in the exhibition. The intellectual jig-saws of the intriguing geometrical compositions of the Cubists of which Shanu Lahiri offers a typical exemple in a "Still Life" (339) cannot pretend to provide any manner of *rasa*, or emotive essence that even the most mediocre or fantastic compositions of the typically Indian school provide in abundance.

Unfortunately, for the last few years the interpreters of the new Indian school have not progressed on the path that Acharya Abanindra Nath Tagore had shown in his numerous masterpieces for which the present generation has shown no respect or reverence. And though the Academy has generously provided a special room for pictures in the Indian manner, the so-called Indian pictures do not achieve a very high level. Of this group Dhirendra Bramha's "Destined Parents" (68) and Samar Ghosh's "Grihasthali" creditably maintain the ideals of Indian pictorial art which cannot be confused with any of manifestations in Western manner. High praise is due to the excellent series of imaginative compositions of Gopen Ray illustrating well-known "Silver Tales," the *Rupa-Katha* of Indian folk-tales. They show a powerful faculty of invention, notwithstanding the derivation of their meterials and modes from old Indian masterpieces.

There are a few other outstanding pieces in the exhibition which deserve special mention. These are three tiny pieces, contributed by Probodhendu Nath Tagore. They are summary impromptu sketches revealing the hand of a real master.

Though not designed as murals Dipen Ray's "New Crop" (66), Gopen Roy's "Vasanta Utsab" and Subal Saha's "Bratachari" offer very happy suggestions for wall-decorations.

In the black and white sections there are many pieces which will repay repeated attention. In the wood-cuts, etchings and aqua-tints, we come across a group of talented artists, Nanda Kundu, Namita Mitra and the accomplished Haren Das whose skill and talents should be used everyday by our magazine-editors and newspapermen, who are committed to the pernicious practice of high-lighting the outstanding news of the day through hazy and obscure half-tone blocks which could be easily replaced by sparkling wood-blocks and etchings with their clear-cut images of men and things.

The Sculpture section does not offer very many exhibits. But Sunil Pal's "Michael Madhusudan" and Satis Chakravorty's "Bhaja-Hari" are outstanding pieces which easily hold our attention.

In a city of bankers, company directors, manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen, and workmen, engaged in the utilitarian pursuit of earning money, works of art as such have no money values, though pictures cannot be purchased without paying for the wages of the art-workers and the craftsmen. That pictures have priceless human and spiritual values is proved by the collections which hard-boiled businessmen have built in the Municipal Art Galleries of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. And one is tempted to remind our great citizens of Calcutta that a Municipal Art Gallery for this city is long overdue.

Pictures placed on the walls of galleries bring, indeed, no dividends to investors of money, except dividends of highly spiritual delights and interests in the shape of beauty conveyed to all and sundry, to the rich and the poor. It has been well said that "There is nothing beautiful except the useless" (Theophile Gautier). But in a siginificant sense, the useless concoctions in colour and form are some of the richest treasures of this earth.

By the courtesy of All-India Radio

DEVAPALA AND THE PANDYAS OF THE SOUTH

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE, M A.

There is a good deal of controversy regarding Devapala's contact with the contemporary rulers in the South and other relevant issues involved in the consideration of this subject. The evidence bearing on this topic may be briefly considered in an attempt to form an accurate judgement on its highly complicated character.

There is a verse in the Badal Pillar inscription[1] of the reign of Narayanapala which runs thus :

Utkilitot kalakulam hrita-Hunagarvam
Kharvikrita Dravida-Gurjara-natha darpam

This verse refers to several achievements of Devapala, the third king of the Pala dynasty, including his success over the lord or the lords of the Dravidas. It may be mentioned here that Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri reads "Dravida"[2] in the above passage, which is not quite correct. The reference to the Dravidas in the verse quoted above, has been the subject of a long controversy among the scholars. R. D. Banerjee remarks :

> "The invasion of Utkala is a new point, but the fight with the Hunas perhaps is the same as that with the Kambojas referred to in the Monghyr grant. We know from an independent source that there was a war with the Dravidas, *i.e.*, the Rashtrakutas."[3]

By "independent source" he seems to mean the Sirur Grant of Amoghavarsha[4] which refers to the contact of the Rashtrakutas with the Palas in the time of Amoghavarsha who was a contemporary of Devapala. It is clear, therefore, that the lord of the Dravidas was, according to him, the Rashtrakuta contemporary of Devapala. P. L. Paul also takes Dravidanatha to refer to the Rashtrakuta lord.[5]

But Dr. B. C. Sen refers to Dravida kings mentioned in the Sanjan Grant of Amoghavarsha I,[6] who were the same as the Kerala and Pandya kings mentioned in a subsequent passage in the same inscription.[7] Dr. Raichaudhuri also does not agree with R. D. Banerjee as the former has mentioned that

> "That expression Dravidanatha cannot have sole reference to the contemporary Rashtrakuta emperor as has been suggested by scholars. It may refer to some Tamil potentate as well."[8]

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proceeds on this line and concludes :

> "It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Dravida ruler defeated by Devapala . . . was most probably his contemporary Pandya king, Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha."[9]

Dr. Majumdar who supplements Dr. Raichaudhuri's view, bases his arguments on (1) Sinnamanur Plates and (2) Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan.

We shall now try to show that their identification of the Dravida-king with the Pandya king, can be objected to on some serious considerations.

The Pandya king, according to Sinnamanur Plates, claims success over the Magadhas along with Kalinga, etc. Now, as Magadha in the opinion of the two scholars must have been under the Palas, the reference in the inscription to the Magadhas must be taken as applicable to the Pala contemporaries of this Pandya king. The passage in which this success is claimed has been thus translated by H. Krishna Sastri :

> "Who (Parachakrakolahala) shining with the prowess of the sun and shooting from his bow-string sharp and deadly arrows on Ganga, Pallava, Chola, Kalinga, Magadha and other (kings) that came to give battle and opposed (him) at Kudamukkil of fragrant and blooming flower gardens and made them bathe in a big river of blood."[10]

Assuming that the Magadhas mean the Palas, it is to be noted that while the Sinnamanur Plates show that Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha defeated the Magadhas, the Badal Pillar inscription, quoted above, claims that Devapala defeated the lord of the Dravidas, identified with the Pandyas by Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Raichaudhuri. This is a discrepancy for which no clear explanation has been offered. Dr. Majumdar suggests that

> "It is just possible that there were other episodes in connection with this campaign which were less favourable to him (the Pandya king)."[11]

But this is a vague statement since nothing has been said about what these other episodes were. No evidence has been quoted to explain these supposed other episodes.

So far as the evidence of the Sinnamanur Plates is concerned, the peoples defeated by Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha did not fight against the Rashtrakutas, but against the Pandya king. Consequently, it is beyond the point to argue on the evidence of this inscription, that a confederacy consisting of these peoples had been organised to fight against the Rashtrakutas.

The date of the Pandya king Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha is from 815 A.D. to 862 A.D. as Dr. Raichaudhuri and Dr. Majumdar mention. According to

1. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 160-167.
2. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp. 198.
3. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 56.
4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 218.
5. *The Early History of Bengal* by P. L. Paul, Vol. I, pp. 43.
6. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 246.
7. *Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal* by Dr. B. C. Sen, p. 344.
8. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp. 199.
9. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 121.
10. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 461.
11. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 128.

Dr. Majumdar himself however, Devapala reigned upto 850 A.D. Assuming that Dr. Majumdar's date of Devapala is correct, it may be asked how he can definitely say that this conflict supposed to have taken place between the Palas and the Pandyas, occurred before 850 A.D. and not at some date between 850 and 861 A.D. If it occurred after 850 A.D. then certainly Devapala was not defeated by the Pandya king.

Moreover, to prove that Devapala's conflict with the far south (*i.e.* the Pandya kingdom as mentioned by Dr. Majumdar) was quite probable, Dr. Raichaudhuri has referred to the verse

"*A Gangagama-mahitat sapatna-sunyam*
a-setoh prathita-dasasyaketukirteh
Urvima-Varunaniketanacca Sindhor
a Lakshmikulabhavanacca yo bubhoja."

of Monghyr Grant of Devapala[12] which claims that Devapala's sway extended from the Himalayas to the Adam's Bridge. Such vague praises are very often found in ancient Indian records when they magnify the achievements of kings and princes. Where definite corroborative evidences are lacking, such statements are not generally accepted as bearing any historical significance and are discarded as mere exaggerations. As for example, Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty, has been described as having conquered the whole earth extended up to the sea.[13] This is surely a clear case of exaggeration if the text is to be taken in its literal sense. If the verse of the Monghyr Grant is to be accepted as furnishing an indisputable proof showing the extent of Devapala's empire, the evidence of the Sinnamanur Plates claiming success of the Pandya king against the Magadhas, will be in conflict with what the verse claims on behalf of Devapala. Then again, the exaggerated character of the statement made in the Monghyr Grant is shown by the Badal Pillar inscription which gives a relatively limited estimate of his power. The verse in this inscription is as follows :

A-setu-janakanmatangaja-madastimyacchika samhater
a-gauripatvisaravindu kiranah-pushyat-sitimno girch."[14]

The verse shows that Devapala's power extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas. There is another verse in the Monghyr Grant itself[15] which refers to Devapala's activity in the Vindhya region.

In support of their contention Dr. Raichaudhuri and Dr. Majumdar have referred to the Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan, issued in the third year of his reign.[16] Before considering the value of the evidence contained in this grant, we should mention that the above grant is dated about 769—770 A.D. Thus the date of this inscription is very much earlier than the time of Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha (815—862 A.D.) of Sinnamanur Plate. The Velvikudi Grant mentions that

> "Marangari, the crest-jewel of the Vaidyaka family . . . whose army fought powerfully like a thunderbolt, in battles where machines shaped like wild hogs killed (the enemies) in (close) fight with (drawn) swords when the kings of the east possessing clamourous battalions of fighting men rose up and put to fight with (great) loss in an infantry attack at Venbai . . . on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gangaraja was secured and offered to Kongarkon (*i.e.*, the Pandya king)"[17]

From this it has been concluded that there was an alliance between the "Eastern king" and the Gangas and the Pandyas. Analysing the evidence it may be found that the Gangas supposed to have been a member of this confederacy did not take part in this fight. This tends to show that a definite organisation may not have been formed as suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Dr. Majumdar does not give any history of this confederacy during the period intervening between the time of Velvikudi grant and the time of Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha of Sinnamanur Plate, extending over fifty years or more.

It is necessary to point out in this connection that after referring to Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha and his fight against Magadha etc., Dr. Majumdar immediately refers to the Velvikudi Grant and says that

> "The Pandya king was at one time a member of a similar confederacy of Eastern kings which defeated the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I at Venbai."[18]

This may prove to be a source of confusion because the impression may be produced that the Velvikudi Grant may refer to Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha who came at least fifty years after the date of Velvikudi Grant. Therefore, obviously the reference of the Velvikudi Grant in connection with Devepala's reign is of no historical value. It cannot be used to prove that formerly there was a confederacy which comprises the eastern kings, the Pandya kings etc., from which Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha withdrew and himself fought against those who were his associates before.

It may be pointed out in this connection, that while the Velvikudi Grant refers to the fight of the Rashtrakutas against some powers, the Sinnamanur Plates refer to Sri Mara's achievements which took place after a period extending 50-100 years. It needs considerable evidence to establish any connection

12. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, pp. 254-57.
13. Cf. *Vaiyyaghrajaladher Varaadharam*. Monghyr Grant of Devapala.
14. Badal Pillar Inscription, Verse No. 5.
15. Cf.: *Bhramyadbhir-Vijayakramena Karibhih-manera Vindhyatamin sthitvo-'ramana-Varyaryasa-drishah punarbandhakah*, Verse No. 11.
16. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291-309.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 308-309.
18. History of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 128.

between the two records so as to reconstruct a consistent history of the policy and activities of a confederacy whose existence is taken for granted. Most of the necessary links required to establish such a connection are absent in the present case.

Again, it is very doubtful if the reference to the "Purvarajar" occurring in the Velvikudi Grant, applies to the Palas. It has been remarked by Dr. Raichaudhuri that

> "The expression 'Purvarajar' reminds us of the epithet 'Purvakshitidhara' of the Pala records and may have been used to denote the Pala rulers of Eastern India together with their feudatories."[19]

It may be noted in this connection that the expression actually found in Pala inscriptions is not "Purvakshitidhara" as mentioned by Dr. Raichaudhuri, but "Purvakshitidhra." The passage in question runs thus :

'Tasmat purvakshitidhrannidhiriva mahasam Rashtrakutanvayendostungsyottunga maule dulutari janayo Bhagyadevyam prasuta."[20]

The same passage is found in the Amgachi Grant of Vigrahapala III[21] and in the Manhali Grant of Madanapala.[22] As regards the interpretation of the passage, scholars differ. Keilhorn translates :

> "As the store of light proceeds from the eastern mountain so sprang from that king of East, a son born from Bhagyadevi, a daughter of the high-crowned Tunga, the moon of the Rashtrakuta family."

A. K. Maitreya, the editor of *Gaudalekhamala,* gives a different translation. He does not want the term "Purvakshitidhra" to refer to any king of the East. His interpretation rendered into English, runs thus :

> "A son as great as the sun rising in the east was born unto him and his wife Bhagyadevi, the daughter of the proud-headed Tungadeva, the moon of the Rashtrakuta family."[23]

So the term "Purvakshitidhra" may be a case of pure *upama* meaning the eastern mountain and it may not indicate the eastern king. Obviously, the similarity is between the sun and Gopala II and it may be probable that this author of this inscription was probably attempting to suggest that with the accession of Gopala II, the fortunes of Pala dynasty may have shone more brightly than before as with the rise of the sun darkness vanishes. The idea that the sun rises on the eastern mountain is a very familiar one with the poets of Ancient India. One may, for instance, refer to the following verse in the Mandasore Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman :

Yah pratyaham pratibhati udayachalendravistirnna-tunga-sikhara-skhalitamsu-jalah.[24]

If the expression "Purvakshitidhra" at all means an eastern king, it applies to Rajyapala only. There is nothing in the whole range of Pala inscriptions that the predecessors of Rajyapala have been described in similar fashion. The use of the expression "Purvakshitidhra" as applying to Pala rulers in the sense that they were eastern kings so that they may be identified with the "Purvarajar" mentioned in the Velvikudi Grant was never a current and well-established introduction for the Pala rulers, at least before Rajyapala. Its use in that sense at the time of Velvikudi Grant (769—770 A.D.) is not supported by any independent evidence, and to say that the expression was used in that sense is a mere assumption.

Moreover, it may be doubted if at all the Palas fought against the Rashtrakutas in the time of Krishna I. The Velvikudi Grant has been taken to refer to a conflict between the Palas and the army of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I.[25]

Krishna I succeeded his nephew Dantidurga, according to Dr. Altekar, in about 756 A.D.[26] and his death "must have taken place sometime between the 23rd of June, 772 A.D., when the Talegaon plates were issued and October, 775 A.D., when the Pimperi plates[27] were issued by his son Dhruva, which do not refer to Krishna I as living or ruling."[28] But it should be noted that the available Rashtrakuta inscriptions do not refer to any episode connecting the Palas with the Rashtrakutas before the time of Dhruva. Even at the time of Dhruva's invasion, the identification of the Gauda king who was pursued by Dhruva in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab has not been definitely ascertained although it may seem that he was probably a Pala king. During the time of Krishna I, if the Palas had already established their dynasty, there is nothing to show that the first king Gopala could have ventured to go against the Rashtrakutas and fight them at Venbai in South India. As a matter of fact, the first and second kings of the Pala dynasty, Gopala and Dharmapala respectively, must have been very busy in consolidating their position at home and building up a hegemony in North India which Dharmapala succeeded in achieving.[29] On the other hand, what we know about the relation between the Rashtrakutas and Dharmapala clearly shows that it was the Rashtrakutas who had invaded the north and came into contact with the

19. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume,* 1936, pp. 199.
20. "Bangadh Grant of Mahipala I," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LXI, pp. 77-87.
21. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXI, p. 100.
22. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LXIX, p. 69.
23. *Gaudalekhamala,* p. 99.
24. Fleet : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III, p. 81.
25. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume,* 1936, p. 198.
26. *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times* by Dr. A. S. Altekar, p. 44.
27. *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. X, p. 81.
28. *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times* by Dr. A. S. Altekar, p. 45.
29. Cf.: *"Bhojairmatsyaihsamadraih Kuru Yadu Yavanasantigandhara kiraih,"* Khalimpore Inscription of Dharmapala : Epigraphica Indica, Vol. IV, p. 248.

Gurjaras and the Palas. There is no incontestable evidence to show that Dharmapala planned any campaign in the south. In this connection, however, a reference to his Gokarna victory[30] has been made which is sometimes located in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. But the identification of Gokarna has not yet been definitely settled. In fact, there may be a good deal of truth in the theory which places Gokarna in Nepal.

We have tried to show that it is not possible to support the view that Devapala was defeated by a Pandya king or he defeated a Pandya king. The inclusion of Magadha in the list of names given in the Sinnamanur Inscriptions may not signify the king of Magadha as Dr. Raichaudhuri himself seems to doubt his own interpretation when he says :

> "This document (the Sinnamanur Plates) clearly establishes the presence in the Tamil country, in the ninth century A.D. of warriors from Magadha."[31]

The presence of men of Magadha who offered their services as soldiers in any part of India, may have been quite possible. If a powerful ruler like Devapala had been actually defeated by the Pandya king, there is no reason why his name should have been omitted in this record. The Sanjan Grant of Amoghavarsha refers to Dharma, *i.e.*, Dharmapala by name.[32] It is necessary to doubt the historical value of many records which simply refer to names of territories in a vague manner without giving specific detail. By his defeat of the king of Utkal, Devapala entered into a new phase of historical activity and this is quite probable that this move on the part of Devapala may have been viewed with misgivings by the rulers of the Deccan and the far south. The passage in the Badal Pillar to which we have already referred contains a very cautious statement. It does not actually say that a Dravida king was defeated in a military engagement. What Devapala actually claims is that he reduced (*kharvikrita*) the pride of the Dravida king. This may have been achieved by the establishment of Devapala's influence in Kalinga and also his friendly relations with the ruling family of Java and Sumatra. If the expression "Dravida-natha" is taken to mean one who was a king of the Dravidas who need not have been a Dravida himself (Dravidanam nathah), it may have been applied to the Rashtrakutas who were attempting to spread their power in the Tamil country.

30. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, pp. 245-257.
31. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 199.
32. Cf : "Svayamevopagatan ca Yasya mahatastan Dharmacakrayudhan," *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 253

———:O:———

A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

II

1929 : A very well-printed and well-produced Journal of Art (timed to appear on the 15th June) began its career about July 1929 (though the actual date of its publication was nowhere printed in any issue, with characteristic self-forgetfulness), under the title *Shilpi*, an illustrated Journal of Fine Arts, edited by H. Mazumdar and A. C. Mookerjee and published by the Indian Academy of Art from 62-5, Beadon Street, Calcutta, with the annual subscription of Rs. 12, each issue being priced at Rs. 2-8 per copy. There is no indication if it was a monthly or a quarterly, but the three issues available are headed *Grishma, Varsha* and *Sarat*. Possibly, a fourth issue was issued for Winter (*Sita*) but we have been unable to trace it, as the expensive venture does not appear to have survived for more than a year—a very sad commentary on the meagre support that Art Journals receive from the educated and cultured section of the Indian public. The journal was issued in a very handy format (11 inches by 8 inches) and very tastefully produced and printed.

In the first issue (Vol. I, No. I) as many as 13 large-size reproductions (three in colour) of various modern artists were provided, three of which represented *the works of H. Mazumdar. It was* indeed a brave venture on the part of an artist, with no journalistic experience or any literary equipment. The editorials and comments in the first number probably came from Sri A. C. Mookerjee, the joint-editor. A third editor appears to have collaborated whose untimely death appears to have delayed the appearance of the first issue. The letter-press (48 pages in the first issue) is made up of contributions of several well-known writers, Messrs Sisir Coomar Maitra, Srish Chatterjee, J. Chowdhury and Arun Sen (with a translation of Vidyapati). The aims and aspirations of the journal are clearly set forth in an opening editorial :

> "Besides being profusely illustrated with beautiful reproductions in colour and monochrome of the representative works of our (?) leading artists, *Shilpi* will contain a judicious selection of articles, criticisms and reviews relating to the fine arts by eminent contributors, who have already made their mark in the field. It will also include editorial comments on current events that might naturally come within the purview of a journal like this. And in dealing with the subjects of painting, sculpture, music, etc., that is to say, with the fine arts generally, *Shilpi* will always try to cultivate a thoroughly human and modern outlook on these subjects free from the bias of hoary traditions or pseudo-archaism of any kind and endeavour to inculcate such an outlook

the readers without fear or favour. In the
n of art and aesthetics, *Shilpi* does not believe in
esoteric standard of values. This is a frank
ession of faith only, in modern forms of Art, and
pudiation of the study of the old Indian master-
s."

spite of such repudiation of "esoteric standard
s," the editor published in the first number a
article from the pen of Sri Sisir Coomar Maitra,
known scholar of philosophy, an article on the
phy of Indian Art," an able exposition of the
principles, underlying the expressions of old
ieces of Indian Art. The letter-press covering 48
ncluded two more serious articles; "Claims of
Archiecture" by Sri Srish Chatterjee and a good
n the history of "Bengali Theatre" by J. Chowdhury.
interesting article by Mr. Ramlal Bajpai on
l Art in New York," describing the famous
mek Collection of old Indian masterpieces,
with a report of a lecture on the topic by Mr.
K. Coomaraswamy, contradicted the avowed
the journal to present modern phases of art, of
everal examples were reproduced in the number.
econd number of the journal, entitled the *Barsha*,
r Season,—the letter-press (48 pages) included a
ticle on the "Significance of Indian Aesthetics,"
the esoteric standard of values, repudiated by the
the concluding portion of the article "Bengali
" by J. Chowdhury, "Renaissance of Indian
by Amiya Sanyal, and a short article on the
the Posters" by Sri Kusal Mookerjee. One
the editor to publish the reactions of the
the first number and to record the opinions of
f the quality of the journal. But this was
But one can glean the nature of public re-
n a revealing article from the pen of H. Mazumdar
le and Beauty." The editor naively quoted the
inion of a critic on his nude paintings.

On a certain occasion, a respected kinsman of
was rather perturbed on seeing one of my
es. With a tinge of sorrow not unmixed with
he said, 'Look, here, why do you paint your
es with such a low idea? The work of a true
must be absolutely free from all taint of pas-
If your pictures are not worthy enough to be
ed by the nation what good are they to the
r at large?' And so on and so forth. From an
l stand-point the words are perhaps unexcep-
le: but viewed in the light of the creation of
they certainly betray a want of completeness in
perspectives."

ow, the perspective of the editor, almost
y confined to the presentation of the nude
a indecent form—of low vulgar taste—does not
have earned any popularity for the journal in
its low popular appeal. Another fly in the
was the unsound policy to reproduce mostly
painted by the editor himself. Though a few
by other artists were included, *e.g.*, "Siva" by
Choudhury, "Spirit of the Woods" by Purna
Chakravorty, "Radha and Krishna" (colour) by M. V.
Dhurandhar, "Ever Green" (colour) by Ghose Dastidar,
unfortunately the prominence given was on the paintings
of the editor himself of which several were reproduced
in the first number and eight in the second number (two
in colour). The wholesome rule that an editor's own
productions should not dominate his own journals was
flagrantly violated and the fact that the productions of
the modern school of painting founded by Abanindra
Nath Tagore were studiously avoided proved that the
journal was presenting only the works of the editor and
his coterie and this policy spelled the ruin of a laudable
venture started with good financial resources but
handicapped by a policy of narrow selfish ends, ignoring
the claims of other contemporary artists of genuine
artistic merits and of broad national outlook, based on
age-old aesthetic traditions. We are at some pains to
analyze the mistakes of policy and outlook in a public
Journal of Art in order to demonstrate how the best of
efforts in this phase of journalistic venture come to grief
for want of a sound editorial policy, so that in future
we may avoid such pitfalls. If the *Shilpi* had only
followed the precedent of the London *Studio*, which
liberally covers all phases of modern art, both in England
and in the Continent, and if the late Mr. H. Mazumdar
could inspire trained specialists in Art to write serious
articles on the many problems of modern art, his excellently
produced journal would not come to an untimely end.
Both the choice of paintings for reproduction and the
poor and sometimes amateurish quality of the letter-
press hastened the end of a journal produced with huge
expenses with a lot of care and immaculate taste in
production both in printing and in good blocks. The
poverty of the articles was attempted to be redeemed in
the third number reprinting from the pages of the
Visva-Bharati Quarterly the famous article of Rabindra-
nath Tagore on "The Meaning of Art" which again
contradicted the editorial policy of repudiating the
esoteric standard of values. The other serious article
in the third number was the sound reflections of Prof.
Dhurjati P. Mookerjee recording his reactions to the
study of R. S. Wilenski's "The Modern Movement in
Art," that was just published. The editor published
this article with many passages which condemned the
aims of the editor's own productions and their imitators.

> "To bring the so-called Indian Art into line with European Art of the last three centuries on the ground of universal principles is un-historical. Besides, it is illogical, for the artist's main concern is to draw and paint the generic, formal and colour relation as understood by him. It is no argument to say that the human body is the same all the world over. The artist who would paint the human body only and not its form and relation, inward and outward, caters either for the magazine reader or for the romanticist, each a useful citizen in his way but an enemy to art."

But the unkindest cut in Prof. Dhurjati Mookerjee's
thoughtful article was against the style of paintings which
the late Hemen Mazumdar paraded in his own journal.

"Recently there has been an awakening in India. I wish I could say, that it was an art awakening. I do not know whether it is the awakening of an old man or that of a child. The signs that are noticed might as well be the mumblings of an old man or the prattlings of a baby. In any case, sugar-candy is being demanded with some insistence. And I have a suspicion that in painting, the artist has been catering certain addlepated venalities in response to the insistent demand. He is a pseudo-artist who flatters the sick, the old man and the child or the romantic youth. *Art photography is passing for art.* It is the duty of *Shilpi* to stop the process of degeneration and vulgarization. If it succeeds it will have performed a task indeed."

There could not have been more frank, ruthless protest against the style of art, which the editor of *Shilpi* zealously supported. As no rejoinder was published to this criticism one may legitimately conclude that the editor probably accepted the criticism and the journal committed "suicide" by stopping its publication. It was indeed a great pity that such a brave and valiant attempt to run an Art Journal (never supported by the cultured public) should have terminated its career in one short-lived year of existence. The third number also committed the indiscretion of publishing three colour plates of the artist's own pictures, although accompanied by two good pictures, one by P. Chakravorty's "Sleeping Princess" and "Day Labourers" by Biren Bhowmik.

An effort should be made to find out the fourth number of *Shilpi* if ever published and the copies should be preserved in the National Library,—if not as the record of a first-class Journal of Art, but as a model of what to avoid in conducting a Journal of Art in India. It is sad to reflect that so much money, enthusiasm, and sincere work should have been wasted in pursuit of a narrow and ill-designed plan and policy.

But failures are but pillars of success and our future editors with ambition to present the best claims of modern artists and to foster the growth of modern art should avoid the pitfalls, in which *Shilpi* found its grave. There is room for a well-conducted journal to be edited by a well-equipped connoisseur of art to present all phases of Modern Indian Art, that are growing up in different parts of the Indian Union, as indicated by numerous Exhibitions in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras and in other provincial cities. If we had a journal with the scope and policy of the London *Studio* and it was liberally supported by all sections of the cultured public, that would be a great service to the critical understanding of all contemporay movements in National Art.

1929: In January 1929, appeared the first number of a new Art Journal in a formidable format (15 inches by 10 inches) under the title *Roopa-Lekha*, an illustrated Quarterly Journal of Indian arts and crafts, published from 287, Esplanade Road, Delhi, India. It started with an editorial board of six editors, K. H. Vakil (Bombay), Ajit Ghose (Calcutta), Mrs. Alice E. Adair *(Madras), Mrs.* Kamala Devi • Chattopadhaya *(Mangalore), G. Venkatachalam* (Bangalore), Mukandi Lal (Lucknow), and Baroda Ukil (Delhi), with an annual subscription of Rs. 16, single copy Rs. 5.

In the first number, the aim and scope of the journal are indicated in rather vague editorial musings:

"Many chapters in the history of Indian Art still await elucidation. But the story of its continued growth survives vividly in the imperfect outline traced by the historian. The *Roopa-Lekha* recognizes the magnitude and importance of nation-wide efforts for reconstruction in art and it therefore aspires to work for the conditions which would ensure the continuation in art, the emergence of the manifold diversity justified by its past and demanded by its future. It will thus be both inter-provincial and inter-national in its outlook."

This was a suggestion that the journal would devote itself to the elucidation of the past history of Indian Art but it did not overlook the claims of modern movements and it was stated:

"In its information, review, and examination of current activities and tendencies it will remain free from rigid creeds which limit the artist's freedom and creative range. Incalculable harm has been done by the isolation which at present exists between the artists and the intelligentsia in the different provinces in the country. The *Roopa-Lekha* will, by publishing constantly, information about their art activities, endeavour to minimise that isolation and facilitate the interchange and elucidation of ideas and ideals which alone can guarantee a steady evolution of Indian Art."

That both the ancient schools of art and their modern manifestations were intended to be served is proved by the contents of the first number. The opening article was a thin and discursive "Essay on Hindi Painting" from the pen of N. C. Mehta, with references to the poetry of Tulasidas, the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, and the vigour of early Moghul portraits. The second article was from the pen of James H. Cousins on "European Appreciation of Indian Painting," relating the author's travels with a collection of sixty modern Indian paintings and their exhibition in Geneva, Brussels, Holland and in London. The other contributions included comments of Mr. Anu Ghose on a "Jaina Madonna" in his collection, and, a paper by Bireswar Sen on "Craft Design" covered by the demand of foreign tourists and Indian connoisseurs. But the most serious contribution to the first number was the beginning of a serial by Mr. Mukandi Lal on "The Pahari (Himalayan) School of Indian Painting and Molaram's Place in it." Modern Art was represented by an anonymous and amateurish study of "Abanindranath Tagore and the Renaissance of Indian Painting" by A.B. The illustrations, reproduced on a generous scale, included four colour plates, tastefully mounted on thick cartons, reproducing "An Old Kangra Painting," Tagore's "Queen Tishyarakshita," Saroda Ukil's "Tune of Eternity," "Reverie" by Chughtai and "Toy" by Tagore. The first number did not succeed in making any impression and did not reflect any credit on the formidable board of editors who appear to have left matters to the discretion of the Delhi editor. The

ıber, appearing in April, 1929, did not raising the standard of the journal, a mis- assorted matters with no definite editorial published five articles: "Fins et Erigo" by en,. "Theatre for Tomorrow" by K. H. ıdian Women and Art" by Srimati Lilavati, ›ar as a Painter" by Anu Ghose, the best being an article on "The Schools of Raj- ga" by Ajit Ghose, which was deservedly place of honour. The six colour plates in representing three old masterpieces, Ghose's ;ini" (a great masterpiece of the primitive kbar" (late Moghul), and a Tibetan Tanka and three moderns, "Omar Khyyam" by r, "Ambapali" by Promode Chatterjee, by Surendra Nath Ganguly, maintained an :e of editorial leaning between the Old and The first numbers of 1939, though poor in and lack of definite editorial principles, by lack of literary equipments, specialized reproductions with generous presentations of ve plates, with commendable enterprize. ı and understanding of Indian Art have ing to want of good reproductions of paint- iri. Baroda Ukil paid serious attention to aking the colour plates the most important his journal which somewhat compensated of the letter-press.

ne unknown reasons, the journal, begun with se, at least in providing adequate colour ıs in accurate facsimiles, appears to have :rground and did not appear to put in before July, 1939. This time it appeared ustrated Bi-Annual Art-Journal" making a ıs Volume I, Serial No. I, under an editorial ısisting of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Dr. Cousins, Mr. Ajit Ghose, Mr. Karl Khandel- t-Law. Mr. G. Venkatachalam, and Mr. kil. Unfortunately, the accession of the ›ard by including Dr. Coomaraswamy, did ıen the editorial policy, which wandered aim- a ship without a rudder, as will be evident of the articles in this new number: (1) :rsities and the Fine Arts" (J. H. Cousins), erism and Tradition" (Bireswar Sen), (3) ›n the Wall" (R. V. Leyden), (4) "Three n Sir C. Jahangir Collection" (K. Khandel- "Nritya Niranjan" (Prof. V. N. Bhusan), Plea for Art Education in our Universities" Haldar), (7) "An Outsider Looks at the lia" (G. F. Martyn, F. Inst. P). The le editorial leaning for Modern Art became the four colour plates in this number devoted paintings: "Filled Pitcher" (Mukul Roy), Irls" (A. K. Roy Chowdhury), "The Tune Saroda Ukil), "Sri Krishna and Vidur" (B. the two first being excellent representatives tendencies of Modern Indian Painting.

Roopa-Lekha could have rendered signal service to modern movements, if it had confined its scope to the presentation and critical appraisement of various regional phases of modern painting on the excellent precedent of the London *Studio*, but the editors divided their loyalty between both the old and new masters serving neither with success nor distinction.

The second volume in the new series (1940) opened with a higher standard of editing, particularly in publishing solid, scholarly articles on the old Indian schools, beginning with a series describing the Collection of Mr. A. C. Ardeshir of Poona, which brought to light many hitherto unknown documents of Moghul painting. It is necessary to protest against the pernicious editorial practice to permit owners of paintings to describe and critically appraise and date their own collections, which prevent a just and independent estimate of their intrinsic values. This undesirable practice has arisen out of the incompetence of some of our art-editors and the reluctance of collectors to permit an independent appraisal of their collections by un-biased testimony of acknowledged experts. There is a Bengali proverb that the "producers of the curds never admit that their own products are sour." And most private collectors of old Indian masterpieces love to exaggerate the merits of their own collections and ascribe as much earlier dates as possible to their own pictures or sculptures. Very frequently collectors of South Indian Bronzes have dogmatically claimed each and every of their pieces as "Chola masterpieces." The most honourable exception is the case of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy who dated the examples of masterpieces collected by him with scrupulous accuracy without any bias for exaggeration or over-statement.

The *Roopa-Lekha* has with commendable zeal continued its career of usefulness for an unbroken series of more than ten years without very much public support, sometimes figuring as a quarterly and sometimes as a bi-annual. That the editors find it inconvenient or too expensive to issue 4 numbers of an Art Journal in India in a year is a sad commentary on the public interest in Art. In England, not to speak of other countries, several *monthly* journals of Art are enthusiastically supported by a large number of subscribers, while, in India an Art Journal has to carry on an anxious and precarious existence even as a "Twice a Year" publication. This is largely due to the neglect of the study of the Indian Fine Arts in the Indian Universities. Our graduates, masters of arts, and doctors of literature seldom develop live interest in Art, ancient or modern, and their pretensions for culture are narrowly confined to the spheres of literature and music and it is rare to find amongst our educated brethren any critical knowledge of Indian Art. Considering the amount of money and enterprise lavished by Sri Baroda Ukil in keeping alive his journal in sumptuously illustrated and finely printed editions of his issues, the response to this valuable cultural national cause on the part of the educated population has been very disappointing, particularly in the capital city of

India, with its secretariat crowded with fat-salaried officers and educated high-brows and its social events and official functions sparkling with colourful *saries* and dazzling diamonds against the pageants of shining automobiles. Money flows freely to provide for all manner of luxurious vanities, except the essential spiritual necessity for Art, which is neglected and starved out of existence. Art, the finest flower of Indian culture and civilization, is therefore crying in the wilderness. The popularity of Art Journals is indeed one of the *acid tests* of the state of culture of independent citizens in independent India. *(To be continued)*

———:O:———

CULTURAL BASIS OF WORLD BROTHERHOOD

By. Dr. SATIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE,
Visiting Professor, University of Hawaii

William James, a great American philosopher, once compared man to a plastic material. By education, training and culture we can make him just the type of being we would have him. This is the reason why men born and brought up in different cultural environments, exhibit different mental dispositions, different attitudes of life, and different social and moral outlooks. What we call "World Brotherhood" is that attitude of life in which we look upon and behave with all fellow men as we would to our own brothers. Of the different types of culture which we find in the world, some seem to be inherently opposed to it, while others are more or less conducive to it.

Broadly speaking, there may be three chief types of culture, namely, materialistic, humanistic, and spiritualistic. By a materalistic culture is meant that form of human civilization which is based upon a materialistic theory of the world and a hedonistic view of morality. In it men are regarded as social animals who have been thrown up by the activities of unconscious matter and have to seek the greatest amount of sensual pleasure, each for himself and with certain adjustments to other selves living in the same society. Such a culture is inherently opposed to World Brotherhood. If every man is to seek his own pleasure and the greatest amount of it, we do not see how there can be order and peace in any society. Rather, every man will be at constant war with every other man and try to have as much pleasure for himself as possible even at the cost of other men. Of course, the laws of the society and the State impose certain limitations on the selfish activities of every individual of the society. But so long as the individuals live and breathe in the atmosphere of a materialistic culture they will not feel an inner urge in themselves to sacrifice their pleasures for the sake of others. On the other hand, they will always have the tendency to deprive and exploit other people for their personal gains and will try by all means to evade the clutches of the State laws. And however much the State may be armed with penal laws, the number of crimes and criminals will be enormous. Hence a society or country which has a materialistic culture cannot expect to develop a sincere sense of fellow-feeling and real brotherhood in all its members and citizens. Far less can there be any attitude of world brotherhood in the life of the people of such a society or country. Even if it can develop some sort of community feeling among all its members, it will maintain an attitude of hatred and jealousy, of opposition and enmity towards other societies and countries having a different culture and a different polity. In support of this view of a materialistic culture I may refer to the history of Communist Russia with its Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism.

A humanistic culture fares better than the materialistic when judged by the ideal of world brotherhood. It is a culture which recognises man as the crown of creation but does not admit a creator or God, and emphasizes most the dignity of man, and makes service to humanity the highest duty. A society which lives on this faith and moulds the life of its members on this ideal, is decidedly better than the one we have previously dealt with. It also helps create an atmosphere which is more favourable for the development of the attitude of world brotherhood in us. But it suffers from one great defect in so far as it stops short with man as the highest value, the highest truth and the highest reality. It does not admit any higher moral order than the human nor seek any deeper ground of unity among men than their fellow-feeling. But while fellow-feeling is a noble sentiment which we should always have, it is neither a justification of itself nor a sufficient motive of equally noble actions in our life. Fellow-feeling we may always have, but the sacrifices dictated by it we do not always make. A man cannot be expected to make these sacrifices unless he is convinced of a higher moral order that governs the life and destiny of man, and finds some real bond of unity between himself and his fellow-beings. But without such sacrifices for our fellow men, we cannot speak of a real brotherhood of man. So humanism also does not seem to be a sufficient basis for world brotherhood, although it takes us nearer that goal.

The last type of human culture which we find in some countries of the world may be called spiritualistic. It is generally free from the evil influences of a materialistic culture and the imperfections of a humanistic one. It is a culture which derives its inspiration and sustenance from spiritualism and has an irresistible appeal to the human mind. "Spiritualism," says William

, "means the affirmation of an eternal moral order he letting loose of hope." It is the faith in a sal spiritual power that makes for regularity and ousness, and works in the gods, the heavenly bodies, ll creatures. It is the conviction that there is a ne power over man and nature who governs the y of mankind, and that this power makes ousness the law of life, and vice and sin the ays to death. Therefore, we must shun unright- ess in all forms—hatred, jealousy, injustice, sion, and exploitation. This we must do, if we live and prosper in the world, either as individuals nations. Nay, more, we should love our neighbours rselves, and all nations and peoples are our neigh-

We live in a world which is one in respect of gin, one in its ultimate physical and moral laws, ne in its ultimate destiny. If one part of it be ed, degraded and destitute, the whole of it is d to death and destruction. This is the law of God, the eternal moral law. Short-sighted people may e it, but some men of farsight and insight have often proclaimed it. The world, however, has not yet fully responded to it.

The spiritualistic culture, briefly indicated here, is to be found in some form in certain Eastern countries and some Christian Western countries. But the spiritualistic faith has not yet been able to assert itself as an active force in the life of the people in general and shape their national and international policies in any large part of the world. In modern times one of the world's greatest men—Mahatma Gandhi—made an honest and serious attempt in this direction. If the leaders of human thought and action in different countries of the world make a similar effort and help establish a new order of society and polity on a full-fledged spiritualistic culture, we will have world brotherhood as our natural attitude and see the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.*

* This article is based on a talk given at the opening session of the Conference on Human Relations and Law Enforcement, jointly sponsored by the World Brotherhood Committee on Community Organisations, Honolulu Police Department, and Hawaiian Armed Services Police, and held at Honolulu on Wednesday, the 14th January, 1953.

———:O:———

THE TANJORE TEMPLE

By. V. R. RAMANI, B.A.

xtent to which the glory of the ancient Chola kings ed is well depicted in the grandeur and structure great temple at Tanjore, dedicated to Lord eswar. Not only the temple but ry air of the town still sends a aroma of antiquity. For one this is because Tanjore had he seat of not only the Chola but the later Marhatta dynasty ver there. The famous Marhatta Sarfoji has great claims to make at he had done to glorify e. The relics of the far and past have therefore made e a royal city.

gh Woriyur was the permanent of the Cholas, yet Tanjore lso their royal city for various s. Their fortress was built here e remanants of this can be seen round the temple. But we can the reason for the building of mple to the wish of the Great Raja who might have thought orshipping God far from the s of war and other duties. g now remains except the Temple and surrounding ations to depict the Chola reign. he legacy left to posterity by the Chole kings is both great and small. Small in number but great in merit. There can be nothing to equal the temple in size and grandeur. The broad-mindedness and the pious and magnanimous nature of Raja Raja have been responsible for the structure of the temple. He thought he would build the greatest temple in his

A view of the Big Tower and the steps leading to the Sanctorum. The Temple was built in the 10th century in the reign of Raja Raja, the greatest of all Chola kings

kingdom, and he did that. All the engineering skill and masonry have gone into the buliding of the temple, which is, as the famous historian Vincent Smith puts it, "the greatest of all Dravidian architecture."

Sri Subramaniya Temple inside the Big Temple. The elaborate carvings on the sides of the Temple are superbly beautiful

The temple is unique in its style and differs vastly from other temples in all its usual structure. The big tower is built directly on the sanctorum instead of it being the entrance as can be seen in other temples.

Another view of the Temple from the road, with fortifications around it and deep ditches surrounding the fortifications

(Small towers form also the entrance here). The height of this tower is 265 feet, and the peculiar feautre is that it is equal-sided—square and conical. High up the sixteen storeys is the great mass of circular stone weighing about 80 tons. We cannot quite understand *how such a weight had been lifted* up in those days. The story, how a platform four miles diagonally was built to lift this stone, is still prevalent. However incredible it may be, yet to the witnessing eye everything is perplexing. Besides this there is the carved face of a foreigner with a hat, on the northern side of the gopuram, which appears to be a riddle still to be solved.* Did they visualise the future of our country or could they have met such a person in their days? But history never proves such a possibility, yet the face is there. Some of the best mural paintings and sculpture can be seen in the temple. The paintings are on the roof panel of the sanctorum, in colours which have not lost their glory in spite of age. The temple abounds in architectural designs, and whenever we find such architecture one thing flashes in our mind that the ancient people were magnanious and aimed at perinanence. In these days such thoughts offer a sort of solace when the whole world is at the mercy of destruction.

The mangnanimiy of intention cannot be depicted more effcetively than the Bull or Nandi in the temple. To many the word Tanjore will immediately bring the thought of Nandi, it has become so famous and proverbial. Carved out of a single stone, it is sixteen

The Nandi at the Temple

feet high with life-like features. There is a legend to the effect how the bull had been growing enormously and how the perturbed people solved the problem by

* Many put the theory that it is a later addition.

driving a nail on the head. Some say the nail can be seen.

A view of the Tower with a big circular stone on the top, which weighs 80 tons. The Tower is pyramidal—a unique feature in Dravidian architecture

Another pillar near the Nandi with a life-size statue carved on it

Perhaps more things will appear to the seeing eye than can be described by words. The greatness of the temple can be sincerely understood not by means of words but by seeing it only. To those who come to see it two things will become apparent, the ancient

A pillar near the Nandi with exquisitely beautiful sculpture, carved out of a single slab

A magnificent carving on one of the steps leading to the Sri Subramania Temple inside the Big Temple

glory of the temple and the present indifference of the people, who have reduced not only this temple but also many other sacred structures to the mere abode of rats and bats.

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM, RANCHI

By Principal SUPRABHA CHOUDHURY, M.A.,
Victoria Institution, Calcutta

Visitors to Ranchi, who go there for sight-seeing or for a change of air, take particular pains to visit the traditional beauty-spots far and near—the Ranchi and the Morabadi hills, the water-falls at Hudroo and Jonha, the temple at Jagannathganj and so on. The Mental Hospital at Kanke also has its attraction. But while enjoying a drive or a walk along the beautiful roads and inhaling the crisp air that gives a keen edge to our appetite, most of us do not even know that there is such a lovely place among the untrodden ways with tall *sal* trees all around only a few miles off Ranchi.

Inside view of the General Ward

About eight miles from Ranchi to the east of the Ranchi-Chaibasha Road, the Ramakrishna Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Doongri was opened by Dr. Anugraha Narayan Sinha, Finance-Minister to the Government of Bihar, on 27th January, 1951. The scheme was formulated as far back as 1939, when a plot of land measuring 240 acres was taken on permanent lease from the local Zemindars. But the second World War came and the general economic depression in its wake, that caused a great set-back and the work of construction could not be started until 1948. Even then the progress was slow and limited due to the paucity of funds and there we have only the nucleus of an institution now which promises to be one of the largest and best of its kind in our country. This should be possible with our economic recovery when necessary funds from the Government and the general public will *be forthcoming for the full* utilisation of the resources *available there.*

Tuberculosis is a dreadful scourge and it is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of this undertaking at a time when millions of precious lives are its unfortunate victims. At present we have not enough hospitals and sanatoria for sheltering and nursing the poor sufferers and anything done about it earns our spontaneous gratitude. If only the official estimate of 500,000 annual deaths from the fell disease is accepted, we have to make an all-out effort to fight this dreadful malady, and the lead given in this direction by the sponsors of the Sanatorium at Doongri is beyond all praise. The contribution of the Ramakrishna Mission in the sphere of social service is incalulable and the T.B. Hospital at Doongri is another landmark in its glorious history.

As I was walking round the Hospital set up in one of the loveliest corners of the earh, I could not help feeling that the forest beauty had assumed a special significance for the service it was rendering to suffering mankind. It had an overpowering effect on me and I had a quick realisation that here nature and man had joined hands in the service of the distressed and waged war against an enemy that threatened life and spelt utter ruin for our race. Our modern civilisation has involved us in the destuction of many beautiful forest lands but here man intends to preserve them and save human life with their life-giving qualities. It is not a cruel conquest of nature with a view to converting her into an arid city of bricks and mortar, it is a retreat into her loving arms flying from a deadly enemy. To rest in the quiet and placid beauty of nature, to draw nourishment from her sap and reurn to life and light from the impending darkness of the grave, man has at last turned to her and she is smiling at him in full assurance.

The sight and surroundings are ideal for a T.B. Sanatorium. The extensive grounds form a small plateau kept dry the whole year long by natural drainage. Its beauty is picturesque. As far as the eye can see there are huge *sal* trees raising their heads like tall sentinels and big boulders here and there standing like the carcases of pre-historic animals and witnesses of a terrible shock that once rocked the earth.

A small rivulet forms the southern boundary of the Sanatorium. There was a scheme for raising a Masonry Dam across it at an estimated cost of Rs. 12,000 that could solve the problem of water-supply. The scheme,

The General Ward

A Special Ward

Cottages. The Ramakrishna Mission T. B. Sanatorium

A dam under construction

when completed. would help irrigate the adjoining corn-fields belonging to the Asram and the local cultivators but the Government changed its decision having once sanctioned the project and assured financial help so that the work remains unfinished. I was glad to know that the Government was reconsidering the proposal and let us hope they will do everything for the promotion of this humanitarian enterprise. The Asramites, however, are growing their own crops in the fields by hard labour and cultivating flowers, fruits and vegetables in the gardens but this is not enough for the patients and those who run the institution there. When the Dam is raised and more agricultural lands in the neighobourhood are acquired the Sanatorium may easily be self-sufficient so far as food-crops and green vegetables are concerned and this will do the patients immense good as fresh and unadulterated food is not less important than A.P., P.P., Streptomycin and all that.

Swami Vedantanandaji, Secretary of the Hospital, said that they had plans for starting dairy, poultry and agricultural farms there to meet the growing needs of the Hospital. This would solve the problem of food and at the same time give useful occupations to the patients who get cured and who will want means of livelihood as soon as they are discharged. This will also lead to the establishment of a Colony for discharged patients, not far off, who will have the good of the institution at heart and shall work whole-heartedly for it. On the industrial side it may be possible to start a polytechnic there on a modest scale, where training to the cured in different small crafts will be given. So the Sanatorium in its present size is only the seed from which the tree is to grow, spread its branches and reach its full stature. At present there are only 40 beds and few of them are free though some concession is given to very deserving cases. Treatment of T.B., as we all is a costly affair and it is not in the means authorities to give better facilities to the needy p though their object is to maintain fifty per cent General Ward beds free of all charges. But th depend on Government's ability to help an response from the generous public.

But nothing can really defeat us if we are i by a genuine spirit of service and are ready f amount of work and sacrifice. Swami Vivekanan illustrious founder of the Mission and one of the of modern India, took it upon him to make man himself, realise his greatness and use it to th advantage for the welfare of mankind. Love o fellow creatures is the emancipating principle on all saints and sages have laid special stress and Vivekananda no less.

> "All expansion is life, all contraction is all love is expansion, all selfishness is contr Love is, therefore, the only law of life," t what he said.

If the sponsors of the Sanatorium are i only by a portion of the high courage and lofty i of the great master, nothing can stand in thei And for us we can emulate the example of M Gandhi, co-operating with any endeavour ignorance, disease and death. We cannot forget

The pretty buildings of the Sanatorium in the General Ward, the Special Wards, quarters doctors and the nurses and a few cottages loo little pictures from a distance and as the evenin and the electric lights glow through the woods p the encompassing darkness, the litttle Colony tal a magic beauty. The whole landscape is a symb it were, of the triumph of light over darkness, over death, of the return to light and laughter unfortunate sufferers now under the shadow of

——:O:——

YOSEMITE VALLEY

The Heart of an American National Park

To 99 per cent of the 750,000 visitors to the region each year, Yosemite Valley represents the entire Yosemite National Park in the Pacific Coast State of California—so great is the impact upon its viewers of the valley's extraordinary geologic formations and the enchanting loveliness of its woods and flowering meadows.

Actually, Yosemite Valley is scarcely seven miles in length and a mile wide—a very small part of the 1,187-square-mile area of Yosemite National Park. Beyond the valley's confines lies the grandeur of the peaks of the High Sierra Mountains, the swales and wooded uplands which include such natural reaches as *the watersheds* of the Merced and Tuolumne Rivers, *and such breathless sights as the soaring* peak of Mount Lytell rising 13,000 feet into the sky. Within the the highest free-jetting waterfall in the nation 1,430 feet in one white-gauze jump ; and within stands. Mount El Capitan, probably one of the single rock masses in the world.

Millions of years ago, some geologists estim much as 64,000,000, Yosemite Valley was a green vale containing a reasonably placid river. vulsions within the volatile core of the earth u the raw rock, raised the granite walls which becar Sierra Nevada Mountains, and quickened the flo the river which cut a deep "V" in the valley. times in those years long past, glaciers invad valley, pouring frozen rivers—some as deep as

ugh the feeder valleys of Little Yosemite and anyon, to form a great trunk glacier which lower valley with a grinding mass of ice. The ut away valley walls, scoured the "V" shape der "U" shape and laid a smooth valley floor nd gravel for the river. Streams shot out from ed-off cliffsides from lesser canyons left hang- ice and became the waterfalls: the Upper and

Dome, a mountain towering 4,850 ft. at the head of Yosemite Valley
Courtesy: Union Pacific Railroad Company

semite Falls, Vernal, Bridalveil, Ribbon, and ll of which still thunder in the park.

han a hundredth part of the Yosemite National extraordinary geologic formations and the woods and flowering meadows of Yosemite ke an indelible impression upon the hundreds ds who visit there annually.

ee different park areas, Nature gave life to sequoia tree, said to be the world's oldest, and ng entity. Of the three sequoia groves—Mari- ed, and Tuolumne—probably the most visited riposa, about 35 miles from the valley's

ite Valley is named for the American Indians originally there. Yosemite became a national 90, and since then the features of the valley ne familiar to millions. From the valley's rtal the cliff profile of Mount El Capitan st in a straight line, 3,000 feet from the . Opposite it, on the other side of the valley, three Cathedral Rocks, forming a promontory Bridalveil Falls spills like wet lace, 620 feet into its rock basin. Beyond Mount El Capitan where the valley widens are the mountain peaks called the Three Brothers, the rock shafts known as the Cathedral Spires, and opposite them, Sentinel Rock.

Farther up the valley, beyond Yosemite Village with its U.S. Government buildings, museum, and post office, and the scattered structures which offer tourist comforts, are the Yosemite Falls—the Upper Yosemite Falls making its unbroken drop of 1,430 feet, the Lower Yosemite Falls tumbling in a 320-foot descent. Still farther to the north are the Royal Arches, an inclined rock wall, with the giant pillar of Washington Column flanking them, and, above them, the clean granite curve of North Dome. At the head of the valley stands Half Dome, a monumental mound towering 4,850 feet, which has seemingly been split in two, smoothly rounded on three sides, and slashed sheer on the fourth side—how, geologists have yet to determine.

To the right of the humped bulk of Half Dome lies the twisted slash of the Little Yosemite Valley, a canyon left hanging 2,000 feet above the main gorge by the glaciers, and from it the Merced River descends in two hurtling cataracts—Nevada Falls, 594 feet, and Vernal Falls, crashing 317 feet to shroud the rock below with rainbow blurs of mist. On the north side of Half Dome

Upper and Lower Yosemite Falls in the Yosemite National Park

is the forested gash of Tenaya Canyon, while immediately below Half Dome lie the placid waters of Mirror Lake. Practically all the park's visitors see these features, and the sweeping reach of the valley itself, from Glacier Point, on the rim of the gorge.

Giant sequoia trees dwarf visitors to the Yosemite National Park. These trees are in the Mariposa Grove in Yosemite Valley

Yosemite is a year-round park, but the greatest number of its visitors are those who enter it during May (when the waterfalls are at their best), June, July, and August. The valley lures many of these visitors to penetrate more and more of the 1,000 square miles of untouched country beyond. This is wilderness which is usually visited only during the summer, when a circle of camps in the High Sierra Mountains, most of them located roughly at 10-mile intervals, offers a satisfying form of outdoor comfort.

Probably because Yosemite Valley is one of the oldest areas of preserved ground in the U.S. National Park system, its public camping facilities and accommodations are more varied than those in some of the newer parks. Yosemite Valley, which lies approximately 200 miles from the large Pacific Coast City of San Francisco, is accessible by modern highways both from the West and East.

While most of Yosemite's visitors go to enjoy its scenic marvels, there are swimming pools and tennis courts for those who want those resort pleasures—a desire frowned upon by the proponents of wilderness inviolate. But whether visitors realize it or not, few people can enter Yosemite without sooner or later discovering a fact that the American naturalist John Muir wrote long ago: "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home....."—From *Holiday*.

——:O:——

SINCLAIR LEWIS

America's First Nobel Laureate in Literature

To Sinclair Lewis belongs the honour of being the first American to be awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. The award was made to him in recognition of his work *Babbitt*. December 10, 1952 commemorates the 22nd year of his receiving the international blue riband.

Literary history finds a place for Lewis in the naturalistic school of writing and places him along with the critics and satirists—Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and Sherwood Anderson. This group was determined to write of "life as it is," bared of all sentimentality and void of any reticence. These novelists' works have been freely translated into innumerable foreign languages, with the result that to foreigners they represent a set of significant developments in American literature.

Lewis has been the object of both adverse as well as laudatory criticism. Opinion has been sharply divided on the worth of his works. But despite all criticism, it is impossible to deny him his importance in contemporary writing.

Almost all Lewis' characters are from the Mid-*west. This Midwest* is a more sophisticated one than *that of the early authors like* Willa Cather: the *characters are not of the heroic type of* pioneers. In Lewis they have come to town; they represent the citizens of the small town, with all the drawbacks of complacency, meanness and boasting—with the resultant cheapening of their way of life. It was against what he saw as a decadence of spirit, against hypocrisy of morals in the midst of abounding energy where Lewis was provoked to anger and distress.

Lewis did not herald a new type of literature. He was primarily a satirist who felt himself to be a part of a mature society. This society he castigated with no more intent to destroy than if he had been criticising himself. He was a crusader against the advertised ideals of the 19th century. A typical American reformer at heart, the world that he dreamed of can be conceived by the literary works that he places in the hands of his characters. Carol Kennicott, in *Main Street*, reads the works of Romain Rolland, Anatole France, Veblen and Nexo—all socialists of one type or another, who were devoted to the building of a world of the future—and tries to convert the little town of Gopher Prairie into an ideal one. He modelled his world around the utopia of Wells and on the kind of enlightened society that Shaw dreamed of.

The Midwest that plays so important a part in

orks betray, in a way, Lewis' own origin. Born in at Sauk Center, Minnesota, he was educated at where he was termed a brilliant misfit. He red much from men and books, from an environ- easy for conformists, yet tolerant of cranks, wild and geniuses.

n his earlier days he showed no more promise a gift for clever and accurate journalism—the trait being consistently exhibited in all his later

His early years were spent as a publisher's assist- His works of this period seem to have been n more for moving pictures. *The Trail of the* , with adventure as its basic idea shows the ntic theme of an aviator who covers most of ountry. But this is preceded by a satire on the n denominational college, which foreshadows ewis of later years.

With the publication of *Main Street,* however, arrived. Previously many novelists had written the main street of a small town. But Lewis Gopher Prairie, a town of three thousand in- nts, a symbol of a national disease, the small mind. He describes it as :

"Unimaginatively standardized . . . a rigid ling of the spirit by the desire to appear res- ctable. It is negation canonized as the one sitive virtue. It is a prohibition of happiness. It dullness made God."

This book stirred America from coast to coast ne inescapable truth and remarkable intimacy of icture of American behaviour. It tells the story promising girl, Carol Kennicott, who is caught e cramping environment of the small town, er Prairie. Her attempts to improve the tone of own also betrays Lewis' own desire for a general ovement of the small western towns.

1922 his prize-winning work *Babbitt* was published. elected a town of three hundred thousand in- ants somewhere in the Midwest and called it h. But the central figure in the story, George F. itt, is no contrast to the city. On the other hand, the personification of its most tiresome qualities. ersonifies in himself the qualities of the "booster," not very secure in his social vision tries to climb- gh his activity in matters of club and church, of rsity-alumni relations, and of any avenue to pro- nce. Babbitt has now come to be a symbol of all the character represents in the novel.

Lewis' next major effort was in *Arrowsmith*. The pts of a young scientist to pursue pure research is trials and tribulations are graphically illustrated is work. And for the first time in Lewis' works finds that the story revolves round a person and n a place or a set of ideas. The same is true of *worth*. Therein one finds that Dodsworth after g sold his automobile business goes to Europe to enjoy the leisure he has earned and to please his wife. *Dodsworth* was the last of Lewis' major works. He wrote other works like *Ann Vickers, It Can't Happen Here, Cass Timberlane,* and *Elmer Gantry.*

One of the criticisms levelled at Lewis is that much as his satire and criticisms are justified, the absence of a central figure (except in *Arrowsmith* and *Dodsworth*) around whom the story could revolve, detracts some of the greatness of his works, thereby the whole story lacking cohesion and forming a loosely knit work of

Sinclair Lewis

mere incidents. While to a certain extent this charge is justified, it is imperative to remember that Lewis' main idea in writing his works was to expose the actual values which guided the lives of many Americans, whose lives he felt, though outwardly successful, rang hollow and who were wrecked in emotional crisis or personal disasters.

Most of Lewis' characters have a crusading spirit in common. In their intergrity, in their contempt for all forms of quackery, greed and fraud, they represent Lewis himself and for all that he desired and stood for.

Another criticism levelled at Lewis is that he introduced a sort of super-journalism while writing his novels. It has been said of his works that they are a set of reports put together and presented in the form of a novel. However, as in the case of his elder contemporary H. G. Wells, the period in which he was

writing, with a society transforming under the influences of science and industrialism, called for a fresh type of reporting. The style that he has adopted is capable of great beauty. It is a style of sharp-pointed descriptions of the gadgets of the new materialism, and of most skilful dialogue and monologue, which often carry the story and reveal the characters with a push now and then by the author. His style of revealing the people by the rhythm and emphasis of their conversation has been compared to that of Petronius Arbiter and Stendhal and Mark Twain at their best.

Though Lewis did not possess the power of Dreisier, nor the mellowness of Ellen Glasgow, nor the evocative quality of perfected art in which Cather revelled, he has been considered as the powerful novelist of the decade when America tion in general matured in scope and art.

Lewis lived to be 65, when he died in a n home near Rome on January 10, 1951, of paraly the heart.

The novels of Lewis are considered the social history of the white collar class of the U States at the high tide of its success. His worl considered a mirror held up to a whole society. though not considered the greatest artist or pr of them all, he ranks as one of the greatest historians.—*USIS.*

———:O:———

ALL-INDIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT TRIVANDRUM

By SURESH PRASAD NIYOGI, F.R.Econ.S. (Lond.),
Member, Indian Economic Association

With a number of problems of urgent economic importance baffling our attention such as, planning, decontrol of food, incidence of taxation, and productivity of Indian industries, etc., the recent session of the All-India Economic Conference held at Trivandrum, the queen of cities, on 22nd to the 24th December last, gave a practical lead to the country.

Eminent professors, high government officials, journalists, from almost all quarters of India numbering about 75, attended the conference. Prominent amongst the delegates were Mr. Hilary Marquand, M.P., and a former Minister in the Labour Government of Britain, Prof. C. N. Vakil, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Prof. K. T. Merchant, Prof. D. G. Karve (Planning Commission), Prof. J. J. Anjaria, the Planning Chief, Dr. Natarajan (Madras Government), Dr. R. V. Rao (Hyderabad), and Dr. Lakdwalla (Bombay School).

The Conference was opened by His Highness the Rajpramukh of Travancore-Cochin, at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, before a large and distinguished gathering. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University and Chairman, Reception Committee, welcomed His Highness and the gathering. Prof. P. A. Wadia presided.

Welcome Address

Welcoming the gathering, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar drew attention of the gathering to the Introductory Chapter of the Five-Year Plan which laid that planning in a democratic country had certain limitations and had to satisfy certain conditions. The pace of progress, the method of planning, the methods by which co-operation could be secured, what the common man was expected to do under the Plan, in fact, the amount of coercion that could be applied had to be decided under the Five-Year Plan Ten-Year Plan that a democratic government down. He took it that the Planning Commissio Pandit Nehru in particular had the type of dem in mind that existed in the 19th and early part 20th century in Great Britain. He also recalled the Planning Commission desired to pursue the of increasing production, improving standards of and bringing about a social structure where con equality of opportunity was given to everybod nothing else was done the valleys and peaks mig suitably adjusted so that disparities might be abolished. That was the aim of the Planning mission.

In conclusion, he said that while avoidin clap-trap of Capitalist society they should no into the clap-trap of Socialist economy.

Inaugural Address : Role of Economists

The Rajpramukh of the Travancore-C inaugurating the conference said that the gatheri experts would be able to pool their knowledge experience and to give a right lead to our co With the advent of freedom, the role of the econ in India has come to assume a new significance time has come for constructive thinking. India, the rest of the world, is striving towards a pl economy and our plans are taking shape. Ther growing recognition of the importance of a sci approach to economic problems. This has cre demand for trained economists. He said that wit opportunities come new responsibilities. If econ should be an aid to policy, it cannot be di from the social background on which the eco

ure is built. He opined that the basic condition
lia should be re-examined and a reorientation of
mic doctrines was necessary. It is highly essential
rfect the technique of analysis, it will be a self-
ing process if the ends in view were lost sight of
work of the economist will be judged by the
on man by his capacity to promote the well-
of the community. Throughout the course of
y, India had been reputed to be a land of plenty,
ıe position today appeared to be otherwise. The
ıas, therefore, devolved on the economists of
to plan for the proper utilisation of our resources,
t the standard of living of our people and conse-
y their welfare may be raised to the maximum
le.

r. R. Balakrishna, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) of the
s University, thanked the Rajpramukh for the
s and said that this kind gesture of His Highness
ırther evidence of the patronage bestowed on
of letters by the Royal family of that historic

Presidential Address : Five-Year Plan
ted Economy Backed by Planning Advocated

of. Wadia in his address said that planning for
er life in terms of economic standards would be
strous failure if it was not accompanied by
ng in terms of a fuller and richer life for the
lual. He said :

"Planning in terms of our economic life, we
re naturally to adjust ourselves to the new
ld order that has been inaugurated by the
ances of scientific discoveries, to a world of gas
electricity, hydro-electric schemes and large-
e production of cheap and standardised goods."

of. Wadia was against depersonalisation or
anisation of the individual, degradation of human
to units in statistical law and degrading labour
condition of a numerical label shorn of all claims
ıan personality and reckoning it as a commodity
s buying and selling price to be adjusted in case
ute by Arbitration Courts and Judicial Tribunals
huge production enterprises of modern times.
: said that the problems to initiate a mixed
ıy were fundamentally different from Great
ı. They all militate against the successful
ıentation of the not over-ambitious proposals
Five-Year Plan. Mixed economy was possible
at Britain by an educated electorate with a civic
ready to co-operate with the Government and
availability of trained personnel. So what "may
een possible in Great Britain with its advanced
ıic structure is not necessarily possible in a
y like ours." Planning of any kind involves the
t to regulate the total production of a country
view to the fullest possible utilisation of its
le resources. It further involves the deter-
ın of priorities—the allocation of these resources
to alternate uses, the production of capital goods and
that of consumers goods, but through the agents of
Government or through public bodies responsible to
the Government.

In other words, planning of any kind implies centralisation of control. Unfortunately in India, lack of co-operation between the Central and State Governments affects the prospects of successful planning in agricultural development. He also drew attention to the lack of co-operation between the mass and the Government. He therefore urged that sincere and honest men who can win the hearts of the rural population should be placed at the helm of affairs.

Referring to the extent of co-operation of industrialists and big business with the Government on the one hand and with the millions whose needs they supplied on the other, Prof. Wadia asked what good can come to a country where essentials of life for the millions, like cloth and sugar, can be regarded by those responsible for their supply as instruments of profiteering, where every channel of supply is checked by the filth of black-marketing transactions, where the arts of deception and evasion and dodging are carried almost to a stage of perfection ?

In conclusion, he appealed to the younger generation to line up with "our good-intentioned reformers and planners" but to have no illusions about achieving results.

Welfare Economics : First Time Discussed by Indian Economists

The second half of the first day was devoted to the discussion of the Theories of Welfare Economics. Altogether six papers were accepted on the subject and Prof. Malkani, Reddy and Joseph read their papers and many others took part in discussion.

Before going into the details of the conference perhaps it will be of interest to give an idea of the Theories of Welfare Economics.

The gleamings of economic welfare illuminated the horizon of economic science throughout the rythmical sequence of its historical evolution. Against the kaleidoscopic changes of empirical background economic propositions and policy recommendations reflect the perennial spirit of augmenting social welfare even to the present day. But what do we mean when we say that such and such steps will increase the welfare of a society ? What are the determinants of changes of the welfare of a society ? These fundamental questions in the study of welfare economics are extremely difficult to answer.

From Adam Smith to the present-day economists everybody has tried to answer these vital questions of Economics. But their approaches are far from satisfactory. For, serious difficulties connected with optimum conditions or situational comparison embarrassed the attempts of welfare economists at policy recommendations ; just as the problems of inter-personal

comparisons puzzled the utilitarians or the problems of external value judgements regarding the distributional aspect puzzled the New Welfare economists so also the problems of objective basis for social preference create a lot of difficulties for the Social Welfare approach. A close scrutiny reveals that the champions of scoial welfare function do not stand on a perfectly scientific foundation since their prescriptions concern the psychological difficulties attached to social preference. The problem would have been much easier if social preferences were simply an aggregation of individual preferences. Herein lies the crux of the problem, solution of which requires some constructive study. Only in recent years Dr. Little has indicated the path but not surely led us to the desideratum of universally valid criterion or judgement.

These are the issues dealt with very nicely in the papers read and discussed.

Productivity of Indian Industries and Incidence of Taxation in India

Various papers were also read on the subject of productivity of Indian industries. The names of Dr. Balakrishna and Dr. R. V. Rao may be mentioned.

The general opinion on the subject of Incidence of Taxation was that it was too high in India, particularly, on the weaker section of the community. Some challenged the view of the Planning Commission that there was further scope for fresh taxation, for the per capita incidence was very low compared to other countries. They said :

> "It is, however, misleading to compare the ratios of taxation to national income of different countries without taking into account the mode and nature of taxation, and the national savings. Comparisons of ratio of taxation to national savings alone is valid, for savings are the mainspring of economic activity."

Moreover, the relative pressure of taxation in different countries cannot be considered apart from the nature of the services rendered by the State to the people in return for the taxes it levies and the standard of living of the people. Viewed in this point of view, the incidence of taxation seems to be heavy especially on the middle and low income groups in the cities and all other classes except big landlords in rural areas.

Control and Planning

On the last day of the conference there was a discussion on food decontrol under planned economy. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Dr. Wantwalla, Dr. Mathur, Dr. Natarajan, Prof. Merchant, Prof. J. J. Anjaria, Dantah, etc., took part in the discussion.

The general trend of opinion was in favour of retaining the controls on foodgrains keeping in view the need for thorough revitalisation of the machinery for implementing them. A large section of the speakers was of the view that the general situation in the country now should not be compared to that of 1947, in which the decontrol experimental was tried with disastrous consequences. Today, the country as a whole, was committed to a planned economy and, in that context the weight of opinion had to be in favour of a policy of controls. A planned economic programme, it was pointed out, would necessitate the maintenance of a stable price level, strict control on import and export and subsidisation of certain industries. All this would be possible only if the Government were the masters of the situation. In financing of the Five-Year Plan, deficit financing was expected to play a significnat role and if the consequences of the same were to be kept in check, there should be controls on the production, consumption and distribution of certain important commodities.

Some speakers were sceptical about the food statistics provided by the various agencies of the Governments. It was pointed out that the statistics of food production were inaccurate and hence no definite conclusion could be arrived at on their basis. But it was generally agreed that India today was in deficit with regard to food and a policy of control was, therefore, necessary for assuring an equitable supply of food.

Another point on which there was general agreement was that there should be a unified policy for the whole of India so far as food was concerned. Deficits and surpluses should be treated on an equal-equal footing.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao was of the opinion that controls on food had to continue. At the time of decontrol in 1947, there was no question of planning and there was no Planning Commission nor the Five-Year Plan. The integrated economy had been accepted by the Central Government as also by the National Development Council. If there was decontrol in 1952, the consequences would be different from those of what they were in 1947. The population of India was fast increasing. The rate of increase was much higher among urban population than among the rural population. Apart from the increase in population as a whole, there had been an increase in the number of consumers and non-producers in the urban areas. Today there was a shortage of food materials in this country. Therefore, decontrol would lead to rise in prices. For the success of the Five-Year Plan, controls on certain essential commodities could not be avoided. There should be strategic controls, confined to the utmost minimum.

Dr. Natarajan and Prof. Merchant spoke in favour of lifting the controls.

Prof. Wadia in his concluding remarks drew attention to the fact that if there was planning, one could not dispense with controls. If controls could

be carried out, it was not possible to secure a
d policy on account of the psychological atti-
that each State had assumed. When they thought
ified policy, they could not, at the same time,
provincial autonomy.

The chairman and delegates were entertained at
a party by the Reception Committee and by
ancore-Cochin Bankers' Association. The dele-
also witnessed *Kathakali* performance. Some of
them also went to the Cape on the 25th December to enjoy the beauty.

Prof. S. Kesava Iyenger has been elected President, and Prof. C. N. Vakil and Dr. Balakrishna were elected Editor and Associate Editor respectively, for editorial work.

The venue of the next conference has been fixed at Jaipur, and will be held under the auspices of the University of Rajputana.

——:O:——

T. S. ELIOT AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

By Dr. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.

redemption of man in and through grace is a very
ogma in any religion. Mr. T. S. Eliot assures us
man's redemption has already taken place; but he
d have the sense to recognise it and utilise it. That
man weakness or evil lies in the egocentric will. This
n will needs to be controlled and regulated properly.
egulate it well one must needs know himself. And
Eliot devotes a greater part of his poetry towards
nalysis of the human mind and soul, much in the
er of Donne and Robert Browning. In "Prufrock
ther Poems," he employs the free association of ideas
e manner of Browning to reveal and lay bare the
rumblings in the soul. The various incidents of
ast are brought together as converging on the pre-
thus comprehending the dynamics of time into a
and reposeful here and now. Thus the analysis
e workings of the human soul leads Eliot to an
sis of time and to a translation of time into the
age of eternity. The timeless is to be experienced
ne for the present comprehends all time.

n *The Waste Land*, human society is seen to be
pted at the very springs of life since the spirit is no
r alive to its purpose. Here we have a concentrated
e of the cumulative effect of the past on the present.
poem is an interpretation of the modern life in the
of the past Kultus. Man is fallen: society is crumb-
and is rotten at the core; the pleasures of man are
pt; and man's spirit is dead. These facts reveal
the modern man is in need of a spiritual rebirth.
ll this, Eliot employs the legend of the Grail:

"Of the Fisher King who is sick of the dolorous
und, whose land is waste and sterile, and who will
t be cured nor the land made fertile till the Grail
brought to him."

ttis and Adonis are to symbolise the Fisher King.
e delineation of this idea we come across rituals to
the dying year come back to life and give fertility.
nodern world is the waste land and it requires the
erating waters of the spirit. It is a varying land-
of desolation reminding us of the Valley of Bones
ekiel:

"What are the roots that clutch, what branches
grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of Man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket
no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water."

Here is a rich suggestion of the decay of old religions and of classical culture. It is a veritable Inferno, an "unreal city"—

"Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
I had not thought death had undone so many."

The heart of this culture is rotten and love has been rendered hopeless. The lovers too are waiting for a return of the spirit that gives life.

The fertility of the soil is related to the fertility of the human family in the primitive mind. But today sex is debased and hopeless, and its aim is inverted. There is an infertility ritual going on today;

"It's them pills I took, to bring it off, she said.
(She's had five already, and nearly died of young
George).
The chemist said it would be alright, but I've
never been the same.
You are a proper fool, I said.
Well, if Albert won't leave you alone, there it
is, I said,
What you get married for if you don't want
children?"

The public house is itself on the borders of hell, and the barman reminds one of the inevitable passing of time, which is linked with the barrenness around. Barren love crops up once again in the story of the typist and the "small house-agent's clerk":

"Her brain allows one half-formed thought to
pass:
'Well now that's done: and I'm glad it's over'".

In the middle part of the poem the imagery of the Waste Land comes from modern industrial civilization which revolution is an indication of the fact that the waters of the Spirit are polluted. We have:

"A rat crept slowly through the vegetation
Dragging its slimy belly on the bank
While I was fishing in the dull canal
On a winter evening round behind the gashouse."

The world as it is, is undergoing an infernal experience and it stands in need of a purgatory. The unstilled world whirls against the Word, "about the centre of the silent Word," says Eliot in *Ash Wednesday*. There is the cry, Redeem the time. And Eliot relates the purgatorial theme to that of penitence.

In *Sweeny Agonistes* we have again the light of the past focussed on the present. The conspiracy in the cafe is pictured in relation to the murder of Agamemnon :

"The host with someone indistinct
Converses at the door apart,
The nightingales are singing near
The Convent of the Sacred Heart,
And sang within the bloody wood
When Agamemnon cried aloud,
And let their liquid siftings fall
To stain the stiff dishonoured shroud."

This again takes us into the heart of the modern civilization where barren love reigns supreme. The speakers are Sweeny, Klipstein, Krumpacker, Doris, Dusty and the like who move in the suburbs of the Waste Land. The things that bore us here in this modern world are only three and they are "birth, copulation, and death." These sum up the crumbling heart and soul of the modern man. In this dissolution the major burden falls on the egocentric will of man. It is a will that asserts a full independence. Until the will of man is made subservient to a will higher than man, there is no hope of redemption. Thus he writes in the *Murder in the Cathedral* :

"A martyrdom is always the design of God, for his love of men, to warn them and to lead them, to bring them back to his ways. It is never the design of man : for the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, and who no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of being a martyr."

This state of existence demands of the soul to divest itself of the love of created things or beings, so that it can descend only "into the world of perpetual solitude." It is a solitude which is the mainspring of all action, change, or movement ; but here the wheel may turn, and yet it is forever still. It is a serene mood that tells us that time itself is the offspring or only an appearance of eternity. Thus in the early lines of the *Burnt Norton* we read :

"Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past."

This picture of time gives rise to the concept of the eternal present which is the one thing that we have in solitude ; and solitude accordingly is imaged in this poem as a dance :

"*At the still point* of the turning world. Neither
flesh nor fleshless ;
Neither from nor towards ; at the still point,
there the dance is,
But neither arrest nor movement .....
Except for the point, the still point,
There would be no dance, and there is only the
dance."

The nearest approach to this is the mystic's idea of a cosmic dance which bridges space and time and peers into the world of eternity. But that world cannot be described adequately in language since all language is matter-moulded. We can only speak of it in a negative way.

Eliot's negative way takes the problems of sin and death as indentical. It is always the quest for the experience of the timeless in time that determines the worth of human life and of the possibilities and capacities of man. We have "to apprehend the point of intersection of the timeless with time" and this is only "an occupation for the saint." Apart from the ascetic's way there is also the poet's way to experience the timeless in that mood of inspiration.

"..... the unattended
Moment, the moment in and out of time,
The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight,
The wild thyme unseen, or the winterlightning
On the waterfall, or music heard so deeply
That it is not heard at all."

In *The Family Reunion*, Agatha speaks of these two ways clearly thus :

"There are hours where there seems to be no
past or future,
Only a present moment of [illegible] light
When you want to burn. When you stretch out
your hand
To the flames. Then only come once,
Thank God, that kind. Perhaps there is another
kind,
I believe, across a whole Thibet of broken stones
That lie, fang up, a life-time's march."

These two ways are interrelated so well that a poet needs be a saint and that a saint should be a poet. The illumination that dawns is the fire of purgatory whence arise prayer, observance, discipline, thought and action ; and—

".... the worship in the desert, the thirst and
deprivation,
A stony sanctuary and a primitive altar,
The heat of the sun and the icy vigil,
A care over the lives of humble people,
The lesson of ignorance, of incurable diseases."

There is the motto of Mary Queen of Scots, "In my beginning is my end." Eliot weaves his *East Coker* around this motto. The poem ends with the thought, "In my end is my beginning." The world is a hospital in which "to be restored, our sickness must grow worse." To put it paradoxically, we can arrive at what we do not know only through the way of ignorance. We can possess what we do not possess only by the way of dispossession. We can arrive at what we are not by going through the way in which we are not. What we do not know is the only thing we know. What we own is what

we do not own. What we are is what we are not. These paradoxes are metaphysical truths which any mystical experience involves. And precisely from this standpoint we are told that the suffering of man is linked with the redemptive suffering of Christ :

"If to be warmed, then I must freeze
And quake in frigid purgatorial fires
Of which the flame is roses, and the smoke is briars."

This Rose-like Flame is the soul purged away of all its limitations and imperfections of the temporal universe, a universe which is the same as the briars.

On the other hand the self-centred soul needs annihilation, and annihilation is the dark night of the soul :

"I said to my soul, be still, and let the dark
come upon you
Which shall be the darkness of God."

It is an annihilation which sets the soul in true perspective by removing the superfluous appendages and vanities that gall it ; and "so the darkness shall be the light, and the stillness the dancing." There is light at the very heart of darkness. We hear that we can arrive at that which we do not know only in and through the path of ignorance. All the while faith, love and hope are in the waiting ; and we have to realise them in the concrete actual present.

In *The Dry Salvages* we come across a prayer to the Blessed Virgin who made possible the temporal expression of the timeless. As the sound of the Angelus rings, we are reminded of the "unprayable prayer at the calamitous annunciation" ; of the "sound of the sea bell's perpetual angelus" ; and of the "undeniable clamour of the bell of the last annunciation." The annunciation is a missive from the timeless to our empirical world ; and the sea stands for the "deserts of vast eternity." The angelus is message and the "clangs" constitute the warning bell. The bell suggests the passing of time and of life as well. And it is said :

"The tolling bell
Measures time not our time, rung by the
unhurried
Ground swell, a time
Older than the time of the chronometers."

Thus we become intensely aware of time only by experiencing the timeless.

The *Little Gidding* commemorates the motto that the end is where we start from ; for the end of all our exploring is to arrive at the place from where we started. This poem presents the same problem of the negation of the time-process. Here we have a small country-church of the seventeenth century. A figure from beyond time utters and advises penitence which alone brings self-knowledge :

"And last, the rending pain of re-enactment
Of all that you have done, and been ; the shame
Of motives late revealed. and the awareness
Of things ill-done and done to other's harm
Which once you took for exercise of virtue.
Then fool's approval stings, and honour stains.
From wrong to wrong the exasperated spirit
Proceeds, unless restored by that refining fire
Where you must move in measure, like a dancer."

The fire of purification is the white heat spoken of in the seventh cornice by Dante in his *Pugatorio*. It is the fire that makes people fair. The souls willingly submit themselves to their ordeals in this Purgatory. And since this alone makes them blessed they seek it out and court it. This fire is the eternal spirit which is expressed in incarnation and in resurrection. In incarnation the impossible union of the spheres of existence is rendered actual, and here the past and the future are reconciled. Hence—

"The only hope, or else despair—
Lies in the choice of pyre or pyre—
To be redeemed from fire by fire."

The Holy Ghost then becomes incarnate in the bodies of the apostles. Within the rhythm of the seasons there is a moment which is eternal and which constitutes the illumination of the poetic experience. Even the communication of the dead is "tongued with fire beyond the language of the living." But it is penitence that the timeless demands of time, whence sin and death become identical :

"The dove descending breaks the air
With flame of incandescent terror
Of which the tongues declare
The one discharge from sin and error."

Sin, Evil, Error, Death and the like are purged away in the eternal Spirit only when the individual willingly and deliberately submits himself to the Inferno and the Purgatorio.

The Eternal, however, is embodied in the spatio-temporal universe. This is what *The Rock* reveals in the beautiful lines :

"Then came, at a predetermined moment, a
moment in time and of time,
A moment not out of time, but in time, in what
we call history ; transecting, bisecting the
world of time, a moment in time but not like
a moment of time,
A moment in time but time was made through
that moment : for without the meaning
there is no time, and that moment of time
gave the meaning."

The spatio-temporal world in which we breathe acquires a meaning, a content and a value precisely because of the Spirit which is in it both as immanent and transcendent. The empirical world of time then is

only an appearance of Reality, of the Spirit. Apart from the Spirit there is no world. The world is in the Spirit. But man does not seem to realise this much. We are "The Hollow Men." There we have only the Fall, the desolation, and there is no hope of the return of the Spirit. People now are hollow, stuffed men. They embody the Limbo in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The Limbo precedes the Inferno which is the Waste Land. The landscape here is depressing :

"This is the dead land
This is the cactus land
Here the stone images
Are raised, here they receive
The supplication of a dead man's hand
Under the twinkle of a fading star."

Then again in the *Triumphal March*, we find a reckless and mixed crowd waiting for their leader, the saviour of the world. They wait in a city which is classical and modern at the same time.

Mr. Eliot emphasises his theory of the Eternal in all his imaginative utterances precisely because the malady of modern civilization lay in man's clinging and cringing outlook. It is an outlook that develops a fascination for the things of the sense, for the material utilities and for the flesh at the expense of the rest. The modern man has been a peculiar victim of the false Values of life. These false values are capable of driving us to the unreal and shadowy world where sin, error, and death keep a trinity of their own. Human happiness lies in overcoming these pestilences. But man can overcome them only by fixing his gaze on the celestial fire which is within him and within the universe in which he lives. This gives rise to the apprehension of the Eternal in and through time. This apprehension takes three forms. The first is the purgation of the will. The second arises when the soul divested itself of the love of created beings, by integrating them to its own existence. The third is the Negative Way and is constituted by the experience of the Divine by the rejection of images. It is the subjugation of the human will to the divine will that enables man to participate in the Universal Spirit. These are the Values that should nourish human life. These values are called Truth, Goodness and Beauty, and they are unalterable and undying. This is the message that Eliot offers in his poetry.

———:O:———

SONG

By F. R. STANLEY

Will o'the wind, Light o'my dream,
Whisper to me the thoughts of my love ;
Day when the sunlight creases the bud,
In the twilight's soft, slate-grey ;
Night when the thin moon flows on the branch,
In the blue-night's rich star-spray ;
Mine be dreams on a myriad wings,
Fly my soul, to hers, away !
Mine be thoughts of Love's nothings,
Mine Love's Yesterday.*

* Translated from the Bengali original of Bina Ganguly.

———:O:———

FRONTISPIECE

King Dushyanta, while visiting Kanva's hermitage, marries Sakuntala, the adopted daughter of the hermit, according to Gandharva rites. Now she leaves her forest home and goes to meet her royal husband in the city. It is a scene from Kalidasa's great drama *Abhijnana-Sakuntalam*.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

IE DEVELOPING UNITY OF ASIA (Rao ır Baburao Dada Kinkhede lectures, 1948): *By ihna Venkatesh Pantambekar, M A. (Oxon), Law, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Professor tical Science, Nagpur University. Published by ıgpur University, Nagpur. 1951. Pp. 496. Price*

is is a highly thought-provoking work. The s aim as he tells us in his Preface (p. vi) is ow how Asian people spread and came in with one another, what ideas and arts and s they spread, what attitudes they adopted s one another, how they mingled and separated, ıey fraternised and quarrelled, and even then ontributed to the developing unity of Asia ı ages." His object, he further tells us, is "to e" all the important contributions of Asian to the growth of human civilisation "in order erstand better the forces of Asian unity and brotherhood today." Striking the key-note of ught in his first Lecture he distinguishes (p. 2) ynamic centres of civilisation in Asia," namely, ı Asia (dominated by China), Southern Asia ated by India), Western Asia (from the of the Sumerians and Babylonians to that of ongols) and Central Asia (dominated by the and Mongols). The author (pp. 20-24) takes ast groups (in modification of Toynbee's and r's theories of civilisation) as constituting for poses a single dynamic unit of civilisation. In ır following Lectures the author rapidly passes ew the history of the growth of civilisation in rn (Lecture II), Eastern (Lecture III), West- ecture IV) and Central as well as Northern re V) Asia from the earliest times to the . The sixth and last lecture deals with the of Western civilisation upon Asia and its reaction in the shape of national awakening Asian peoples and it ends with a valuable ry of the author's conclusions. We take the of quoting some of the author's important ions in his own words as far as possible. The ments of Asia may be classified under the *political, religious, intellectual, moral* and *social, ic* and *racial*. These achievements justify us ng up the Europocentric view of history and an independent and unified view of Asian (*Ibid*, pp. 488-89). In the history of march of civilisations there are three successive stages, , the ancient, the mediaeval and the modern. st stage is that of civilisation when Sumerian bylonian, Iranian and Aryan as well as Chinese tions originated and spread. The second stage of religionism when Christianity and Islam ted and overspread the Asian lands and when Buddhism, the faith of peace and civilisation, received a set-back in Central, Southern and South-Eastern Asia. The third stage is that of nationalism when a territorial unit and a purely secular outlook create an integrating bond among its people, while they divide the world into a number of independent territorial units or Sovereign States. The first stage conceives the world as one, a common theatre of civilisation and contact : the second conceives it to be split into two, one of believers and the other of infidels, always at work with each other : the third conceives it as consisting of a number of worlds or self-governing States following the principle of self-determination. The period of civilisation is always creative, that of religionism is possessive and that of nationalism is partly possessive and partly creative (*Ibid*, pp. 489-91). Only four creative centres of thought and culture are found in Asia, namely, Babylonia, China, India and Iran. Other peoples like the Arabs, Turks and Mongols were culture-borrowing and culture-carrying peoples. Central Asia, North Asia and South-Eastern Asia, have been culture-absorbing areas (p. 495).

In conclusion, the reviewer has to notice a few minor blemishes which do not detract from the high merits of this work. The author (p. 126) surprisingly speaks of the conquest of Ceylon "by Prabhu Ramchandra." On page 128, he observes inaccurately that Buddhagho-ha (*sic.*) established Hinayana Buddhism in Burma from Ceylon in 450 A.D. The same criticism applies to his statement that "the Chola King, Rajendra I, had captured the ancient capital of Pegu and the port of Martaban and annexed the Burmese kingdom to his empire for a time in the 11th century" (p. 129) and that "twelve dynasties of the family of Sri Mara" ruled Champa from the 3rd to the 14th century (p. 137). The author's identification of ancient Pagan with Pegu (p. 130) is a serious geographical blunder.

The work is prefaced with a valuable synopsis and it concludes with a well-chosen select bibliography. The paper, however, leaves much room for improvement.

U. N. GHOSHAL

(1) SUBUKTIGIN : *By Abul Fazlal Al Baihaki. Pp. 144 + v.*

(2) MALFUZAT-I-TIMUR (Auto-biography of Timur). *Pp. 139 + ii.*

(3) SHER SHAH : *By Abbas Khan. Pp. 157 + viii.*

(4) AURANGZIB : *Khafi Khan. Pp. 172 + viii.*

(5) LATER MUGHALS : *Do. Pp. 142+xxiii.*

Published by S. Gupta for Sasil Gupta, (India) Ltd., 35 Central Avenue, Calcutta 13

The medieval epoch or more strictly speaking, the centuries of Turkish rule in India form a stirring period ; for then the ancient Hindus, living a sheltered

and insular life, behind the barrier of mountain ranges and mighty rolling streams were called upon to face the challenge of a world-force represent d by Islam. How this force, galvanised from age to age by influences from outside, penetrated into the life of the people, reacted on their thought and ways of living and how finally it ebbed itself out is a fascinating panorama, glimpses into which are offered by the Persian chronicles.

Foremost among the men who unravelled to us the treasures of the past, locked up in this elegant language, was Sir Henry Miers Elliot (1808—1853) who, in the midst of exacting official work, translated a number of Persian MSS. It is a curious coincidence that the reprints of Sir Henry's works cited above, synchronise with the centenary of his death. Sixteen years after the administrator-scholar's death, his papers were handed to Prof. John Dawson, so that the first edition of some of his volumes made their appearance in 1871. During the last four-score of years Sir Henry's works became completely scarce, jealously watched and guarded, like the miser's hoard, in some public libraries. It is, therefore, a distinct service, which the enterprising publisher has done by bringing out the present edition of some of Sir Henry's important papers. All of them are but the reproductions of the original work without any explanatory or critical comments, excepting Vol. No. III, which appends a few footnotes.

There is now an increasing desire to get at the fountainhead of India's history during the medieval period. There is no doubt that the present edition of the *History of India* as told by its own historians, will satisfy a long and keenly-felt need. The readers' attention may be casually drawn to the scope and functions of history as defined by the Moslem chroniclers. Abu Nasr Muhammad bin Muhammad Al Jabbar-ul-Utbi, author of *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Vol. I, p. 14, wrote, "Books of history operate as a warning to the wise and their perusal inspires even the negligent with subjects of reflection." Abdullah, author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, echoed Dinysius' conception of history summed up in the sentence, "History is philosophy, teaching by example," when he wrote, "History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away, but it is a science which expands the intellect and furnishes the wise with examples." And Muhammad Hashim, well-known as Khwafi Khan laid down the canon which an historian in the present days might do well to remember (*vide*, Preface, Vol. IV). It is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality . . . or animosity, to know no difference between friend and stranger and to write nothing but with sincerity."

N. B. Roy

THE RECONQUEST OF INDIA: *By W. S. Desai. Published by the Rashmi Art Press, 15 Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj, Delhi. Price Rs. 4 nett.*

India's was a name held in high esteem in days gone by when she played the role of a torch-bearer of civilization and enlightenment. Ardent students from distant lands flocked to her seats of learning, sat at the feet of Indian savants and drank deep at the Pierian Spring of Indian culture. But decadence set in and India was in bondage. The Arab Muslims penetrated into Sind, the soft under-belly of India, in the 8th century A.D. Later on, the Afghans and the Turks from beyond the North-western frontiers *poured into the fertile plains* of Hindustan to be *followed by the Mughals from Central Asia*. India lay prostrate at the feet of the followers of the prop of the Desert.

The Muslim rulers of India, almost all of th fanatics, tried to rule India by the sword. There w a few exceptions, of course. The Hindus were degrad and humiliated. But the Hindu root could not destroyed. It lived and lives still. The Hind together with the Jews and the Chinese, it should remembered, constitute the deathless trio that l defied time, conquest, tyranny and massacre.

Several factors were responsible for the downf of India and, in the opinion of the learned auth lack of contact with the outer world is the m important of them all. Hindu-Muslim contest India was a clash between the old and the n between traditionalism and new life and betw self-complacency and spirit of adventure. Hence, rapidity of the progress of Muslim arms in India.

India seemingly submitted to her new mast meekly; but intense heart-searching was going beneath the surface. The endeavour of the medie saints and 'Sufis', who dreamt of a religious synth was in reality a national movement for welding discordant elements of the Indian body-politic i a homogeneous whole. The national empire of Ak in the latter half of the 16th century was one of great results of the movements of the preced century. He wanted to make India one—one po cally and socially. Akbar was in a very real sens child of his age. Before Akbar, Sher Shah Sur risen above narrow sectarianism. He was a t Indian nationalist. But his successors did not co nue his experiment. Hence, India could not be conquered for nationalism.

Long before Sher Shah and Akbar, the vali Rajputs in the North and Vijaynagar in the So had taken pains to organise resistance to servit and oppression. They failed, and "their mantle upon the Jats, the Sikhs and the Marathas," later on laid the foundations of a new Hindoosta

The national empire of Akbar became a Su empire under Aurungzeb. His empire perished. Sikhs and the Marathas dealt the *coup d' grace* came forward as the exponents of a new nationali

The rise of the Sikhs and of the Marathas w "twin manifestations of the Hindu spirit of m reform, social purification, physical culture political regeneration." The Sikhs became a po to reckon with under Ranjit Singh. The sham debacle of Hindu arms in the 11th and 12th centu was avenged "and the age-long violater of Hindu trembled for his own safety in his mountain f nesses." The mighty Lion of the Punjab was wo by crowned heads far and near.

Shiva Chhatrapati breathed new life into dry bones of Maharashtra and the result of his w became clear as the years rolled by. The Mara recovered India from Muslim hands in the century. By 1771-72, every Muhammadan power any importance in the country had been humb Muslim rule in India was at an end; but not be it had done incalculable harm to the Muslims th selves. Pampered by the State for centuries, Mus of the Indian sub-continent could never rise to t full stature and petulantly clamour for special vileges even today.

Personal jealousies and ambitions of the Mar leaders together with the superior diplomacy organisation of the English and their greater loy to their people and government sapped the fou tions of the newly born national State and fu

dia passed into the hands of the English East India ompany.

Mr. W. S. Desai tells the above story and he tells well in the volume under review. *The Reconquest India*, however, is not a history of India, nor one the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rajputs, but a ort account of the recovery of India during the 8th and 19th centuries from alien and communal omination. The learned author must be congratulated r having made it clear that 'Hindu' is not a religious rm and that it connotes a nationality and a social stem. It is only after the Muslim conquest of India at the term began to be used in a religious sense id the word 'Hinduism' was coined under British le to denote a religion. Mr. Desai, however, should ave been more careful about some of his statements. page 7, for example, he observes that India failed produce an all-India ruler for four centuries after e fall of Harsha's empire. But was Harsha an all-dia Emperor? Did not some of the Palas and the atiharas rule over empires, at least, as extensive as arsha's? Unfortunately this is not the only instance misstatement in a work commendable in many spects. We hope these errors would be rectified in e next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

JEAN SYLVAIN BAILLY: REVOLUTIONARY AYOR OF PARIS: *By Gene A. Brucker. Published by the University of Illinois. Pp. 129. Price t mentioned.*

This study forms part of the Social Science eries, published by the Illinois University (U.S.A.). irst published in 1950, we owe its receipt to the urtesy of the U.S.A. Information Service.

The key-note of the study was struck by the editor, Gene A. Brucker, in his Introduction: "It is characteristic of great revolutions that they are initiated by moderate men, who desire only limited reforms and who are most reluctant to resort to violence to obtain their ends. "This historic truth can be understood by Indian readers who knew their history of the builders of the Indian National Congress—men like W. C. Bonnerjee, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Raghunath Rao, (a Deputy Magistrate), Pandit Ajodhyanath, to name only a few among the Indians.

Gandhiji's non-violence does not change this estimate of a general truth. The revolutionary Mayor of Paris was a product of the "Illumination" associated with the names of Rousseau, Voltaire, D'Ambert and Condoreet, amongst others. Bailley was a scholar, regularly attending the French Academy meetings of which he became Chancellor for a while; his special study was Astronomy, ancient and modern. By birth and training, he was unfitted for the revolutionary role he was called upon to play by the uprising of the Paris masses who two years later watched with indifference the reign of the "Terror" initiated by Danton, Marat, Robespiere. The author has devoted a chapter to Bailley's *Political Credo* which, according to him, involved "the maintenance of the political monopoly of the middle classes," who were to be restrained by "their intellectual superiors" (p. 79).

The rest of the book was like watching the various facts that led to the tragedy of the scaffold for Bailley. The story has been brightly told, and the get-up of the book is all that a reader can desire.

S. D.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S WORKS

New Edition! *Just Out!*

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

A collection from the eight volumes of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA which gives a glimpse, at least partially, of the strength and sublimity of the Swami's teachings.

New and enlarged edition. Pages 272. Price Rs. 3.

	Rs.	as.	p.
Vedanta Philosophy—(At the Harvard University) ...	0	10	0
Religion of Love ...	1	4	0
Christ The Messenger ...	0	8	0
Pavhari Baba—the Celebrated Saint of Ghazipur ...	0	4	0
The Science and Philosophy of Religion ...	1	4	0
A Study of Religion ...	1	8	0
Realisation and its Methods ...	1	4	0
Six Lessons on Raja Yoga ...	0	10	0
Thoughts on Vedanta ...	0	14	0
Essentials of Hinduism ...	0	12	0
Swami Vivekananda on India and Her Problems ...	1	8	0
Women of India ...	0	3	0
In Defence of Hinduism ...	0	8	0
Hinduism ...	1	0	0
Education ...	0	12	0
Our Women ...	0	10	0

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

OF GOD, THE DEVIL AND THE JEWS: *By Dagobert D. Runes. Philosophical Library, New York, 1953. Price $3.*

The book is a collection of essays mostly satirical on such varied topics as, The good God and God, The Devil who came to stay, History in full Dress, Glands and the Heaven, Convert Jews and Convex Christians, Proverbs and Profits etc. There is however one central theme round which all these topics move. The inhuman barbarities perpetrated on the Jews throughout the ages, particularly during the last world war have intensely embittered the author and his outraged feelings find almost explosive outburst in these passionately written essays. He has violently rent asunder the masks of civilisation worn by the masses, the leaders and even by the so-called religious men—the priests and the bishops—of the present day and has thoroughly exposed the ugliness—the greed, the lust for power etc—that motivate all their deeds and underlie all their philosophy. The bold and challenging statements almost convince the reader the moment he reads them.

The book is a highly stimulating one and is bound to make every one who goes through it ponder deeply. Some of the particular conceptions laid down by the author may not be accepted but the total effect produced on the mind of the reader is almost like a severe shock from the effects of which one cannot immediately recover. Bold epigrammatic statements are hurled at you; you have to admire the form of these statements though you have to smart under the blow inflicted by them. Evidences are poured down on you from history, from current affairs, from modern social and political theories, in torrential fashion and you feel yourself to be in danger of being swept off your feet.

The only comment that the reviewer would like to make is that some of the essays might have been omitted in order to reduce the total number. There is a saturation point in everything and the reviewer feels that the condemnation has been carried beyond that point. Some of the dazzling flashes are reproduced below but the whole book must be read in order to appreciate the beauty of the style and the language of the author and to assess the depth and the intensity of his emotions.

"Once I even saw him (the Devil) in church in Germany. The Vicar announced from the pulpit that the burning of Jews was all right because the Lord said we should love our neighbours and we should love our enemies. But the Jews, the Vicar said, claimed they were not the enemies of Germany and they certainly were not its neighbours." (p. 56).

"We cannot lead a life of evil and expect good to grow out of its barrenness. Sprinkling knowledge and religious ceremony on the evil will not transform the seed." (p. 81).

"All these newly acquired faiths instigated by glands, salaries, schoolambition, cowardice, avarice, or plain flag-waving are no flowers in the garlands of Heavenly Girls. They are just little stinkweeds."

"A real book is a living thing; it who touches it, touches man himself. And all the other elegantly packaged writings of Hollywood-eyed and Book-Club-eyed typewriter carpet merchants are just a sham and a farce, and an ugly caricature of the first man who ever sat down and put into clay or sand some deep-felt thought or some desperate emotion that he wanted to share with his fellow man. Perhaps some day some Hercules will come and clean the publishers' stables of the hard-boiled plots and the cheese-cake wise-guys and make room for Pegasus."

S. C. MITRA

WISDOM IN HUMOUR: By Swami Shivanan Published by Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, U.P. Pp. 8 Price Rs. 4.

Swami Shivananda is the author of a good numb of books on practical Hinduism and the founder of popular religious movement. Some of his books ha already been rendered into French, Bengali, Hin Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, and Kanarese. His books ha succeeded to a considerable extent in popularisi our philosophy and religion among the reading pub throughout India. The book under review owes origin to the hearty appreciation of Dr. Freder Spiegelberg, Professor of Stanford University, Calif nia who paid a visit to the learned author in 1949 a spent a few days with him. Hearing several humo ous compositions written and read out by the auth the American professor was charmed and observ "Swamiji! This is just the thing wanted by people today. They would love the humour would unconsciously learn the lesson. The impress made by such teaching would be profound and la ing." In this book about a hundred witty humourous utterances of the author are record Indeed they are very interesting and instructive. is regrettable that beauty and worth of this reada book have been definitely lessened by the f appreciative essays on the author, the life-story the author's disciple Dayananda and the ma eulogistic epistles to the author. These are not o superfluous but repulsive to the readers since book itself is enough to advertise and recomme the author to the readers.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANAND

UNITED NATIONS READER: *Pages 1 Price Rs. 2.*

UNITED NATIONS PRIMER: *Pages 40. P twelve annas.*

Both compiled by Prof. B. N. Banerjee, Secret of the Calcutta Association for United Nations a published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co. L 2 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.

The first contains besides a short history of foundation of United Nations, important documer such as the Charter, Statute of the Internatio Court, Declaration of Human Rights, Convention Genocide, North Atlantic Pact, Role of World Hea Organization and some addresses and references.

The second contains besides a short history U. N., specially written for boys, very interest information in regard to the multifarious activit of U. N. and some specialized agencies.

Latest discoveries of science have reduced space and time that separated nations of the wo and the world is going to be 'one.' But science also discovered the weapons of destruction, which, unchecked, will destroy the human race. Now is time for nations to work together and know another and with a view to that end and for comm good U. N. is working. The small books require be very widely read by young men and women to cultivate 'one world' idea for the good of humanity

A. B. DUTT

BENGALI

AMAR GITI: *By Prafulla Kumar Lal 57 Manoharpukur Road, Calcutta. Price not statec*

A small volume of 101 'rubais' of Omar Khay intelligently rendered into Bengali. Some of the pi appear to be very weak imitations from Kanti Chan Ghosh. The booklet has little to commend, either respect of composition or of production.

HERI GATHA (Second Edition: Revised and ged): *By Bhikshu Shila-bhadra. Mahabodhi 'y, 4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12. Re. 1-8.*

'hese songs of Buddhist nuns form an important of the Buddhist religious literature. To the nts of history and poetry as well, they have appeal. The author has taken pains to make his ali rendering clear and lucid, and at the same faithful, as far as possible, to the orig i

A similar volume by the late poet Bijoy dra Mazumdar, has long been out of print. The at work is therefore all the more welcome.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

GRIHA-CHIKITSAK: *Vanasthali Vidyapith, vedic Aushadhalaya, P.O. Vanasthali, Jaipur. 8. Price four annas.*

'his is a brochure, the study of which can help ally in becoming its own doctor and in treating ively with the aid of simple and easily available , (which can be obtained "ready-made" from ublishers in a pocket pharma copia at a moderprice of only Rs. 10) a majority of the common ses. The Vidyapith is to be congratulated on this worthy piece of social service.

G. M.

GUJARATI

'AYANI KELAVANI: *By Gandhiji. Navajiban san Mandir, Ahmedabad. August, 1950. Price -4.*

'he Introduction by Maganbhai Desai explains osition of education in Gandhian programme, specially primary education which is not to be ted even when we think of university educa- Basic education which can fill the soul might nceived only by men like Gandhiji. The pas- selected were written between 1937 and 1949. 39 pieces have been taken from various sources have been classified under (i) the decision for onstruction; (ii) the education directorate at lha; (iii) the application of teaching at- ha; (iv) a few noteworthy projects; and the future programme. Gandhiji's suggestions ave to be worked out and therefore the volume res careful study. The documents retain their ness, and investigations will give, we may be good dividends.

P. R. SEN

'HABARAKIAN NU'N TATTVA DARSHAN: *hirazshah Rustomji Mehta, Karachi, Sind. Print at the Prakash Printing Press, Jamnagar. 1950. : card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 320. Price .*

'ifteen years ago Mr. Mehta had publish'd a called *Chalmakiyo* (Epigrams), a unique work kind in Gujarati. In his book he has gone one further and explained the philosophy, the ry he is, of Epigrams and illustrated the same with illustrations from various languages. The ness continues, but not only full of humour sarcasm at times, but also serious, as it points he basic difference between war and peace. Mr. . Dave, the author of *Jamanadas na Gito*, nt, has contributed a valuable introduction. entering fully into the subscription of the ilation. The book should prove popular.

K. M. J.

Strength to Strength

From height to height and from strength to strength the Hindusthan is making a record of outstanding progress every year. It is an arresting landmark in the onward march of Indian Life Insurance. The 45th Annual Report for 1951 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and distinction which always have been so characteristic of the Society

THE FIGURES THAT TELL

Assurances in Force	**Rs. 81,02,36,164**
Total Assets	**Rs. 19,98,13,853**
Life Fund	**Rs. 17,66,19,628**
Premium Income	**Rs. 3,72,27,528**
Claims Paid	**Rs. 83,57,978**

NEW BUSINESS

16,28,85,800

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE

INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,

4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA

INDIAN PERIODICALS

War And Peace

Neither war nor the preparations for war serve any social purpose. War is an atrocity in itself. R .M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Much of the ineffectiveness of the anti-war movement can be traced back to the emphasis on the horror—rather than the futility—of war. In the intervals between the wars, soldiers and war correspondents have done their best to bring home to us the agony of war. But the psychological effect of this "horror" propaganda is simply to rally most of the people behind the bellicose elements on the assumption (quite a false one) that by so doing they are protecting themselves and their country from all these horrors.

Reginald Thompson in his *Cry Korea* gives a typical example of the kind of "reportage" which sensitive journalists feel impelled to write when they see how war has blasted whole populations. He tells how civilians suffer, how he saw the corpse of a young peasant woman, who had been working in the fields, lying in a ditch while two panic-stricken children clambered over her dead body. He speaks of the blackened ruins and rubble of tens of thousands of homes, the piles of ash smouldering on the hard-baked earth, the corpses rotting in the sodden ditches, strewn over the land like offal rotting in the ruins of dead towns. Death rains out of the skies—indiscriminate death.

This is honest writing which does not romanticize war. Here is the horrific detail. But what exactly do such accounts tell us about modern warfare that we did not already know, unless we are unable to grasp plain facts? Every day we can read of napalm bombs, of flaming petrol jelly poured in streams from the skies. The militarists are proud of their gruesome achievements. The strength of these massed armaments which the world is straining all its resources to produce, is obviously deadly in action. I am surprised that any of the civilians caught between battle lines or in the path of an offensive are left alive. Do we really have to wait for eyewitnesses to assure us that when these terrible weapons are brought into action, death, destruction and agony on a large scale inevitably result?

The gory detail confirm our expectations. Such mighty death-dealing powers in the hands of people trained to kill, who regard any humane sentiment as a sign of military weakness, could hardly have any other consequence. I am a little tired of the war correspondent and the soldier dashing from the battlefield which today is a whole countryside of villages and towns—to break the news that the military machine in action deals out wholesale death and destruction. If there is a single person left alive now who does not realize the awfulness of war it would seem necessary that someone should split his thick skull with a pick-axe and whisper to him before he dies, "Now, do you understand?"

"Patriotism," said the heroic Nurse Cavell, "is not enough." And it is not enough to deal in horrors. Even before 1914 we have many writers who specialized in *demonstrating the horror of war*. The most harrowing book I have read on the subject is Andreeff's *The Red Laugh* treating of the piteous Napoleonic retreat from Moscow. Here is the story of an abandoned army in rags, without food or medical supplies, harassed unceasingly night and day by wild Cossack bands riding through blinding snow-storms, cutting off weary and helpless stragglers. Wounded men were left to freeze; hundreds went mad. This was a wailing army of ghosts. The title of the book is taken from an incident described. A soldier was talking and laughing when suddenly a cannon ball took off his head and the blood, gushing up, formed a ghastly red laugh. One of the survivors, a madman with trembling fingers, sits scrawling unintelligibly in the belief that he is writing a history of the campaign.

Since that time readers have been able to take their pick of war horrors. We may read about war either in the factual accounts of war correspondents, in the usually disappointing memoirs of generals whose swords are mightier than their pens or in some great classic such as Tolstoi's *War and Peace*.

Whatever we choose to read, it is certain that the horrors of war have been fully documented and understood for many years. It is now clear that the purpose of war is to kill or to maim as many enemy soldiers and civilians as possible.

Now that millions of pounds are being spent to utilize scientific knowledge and research to this end, war must be more horrifying than ever.

Possibly the only people who can still see war in a rosy light are the generals, the statesmen and the financiers, for to them war opens up an exciting prospect of manipulating humanity on a world scale, a kind of human chess problem which they find absorbing. And to have such power in their hands must be flattering to their sense of importance. They can easily persuade themselves that they are "saving civilization" by destroying everything that mankind has built up through generations of effort. And if they do see the grim tragedy of war they merely incorporate such knowledge into their recruiting speeches and emotional appeals. The more agonizing the prospect of war appears, the more people they can frighten into accepting their protection and war schemes.

A purely emotional recoil against the horrors of war can never be an effective deterrent. Thought as well as emotion is necessary to build up a movement that will hold firm against the threat of war. One of the deepest thinkers on this subject was the American, Thorstein Veblen, who in his *Nature of Peace* wrote a comprehensive survey. He set out to show the gradual emergence of a point of view in the world representing the interest of the "common man," the ordinary man who is not so much interested in questions of national prestige or domination as in the need of himself and his fellows to achieve a measure of social security and happiness. War constitutes the greatest thereat to this human advance. In the first radiant flush of enthusiasm for peace and democracy after the recent war, there was talk of this being the "Century of the Common Man." Along with this Veblen-que phrascology went the idea of one harmonious world. But soon we were reading of the "American Century" and a world split into two hostile camps. The Veblen idea is that people every-

must make a stand against national ambitions and
es in the interest of social progress.
eblen's *Nature of Peace* is written objectively but
es that the militarist is, in the long run, bound
e his hold because his way of thought no longer
ses the current needs of mankind. All the armies
in fact, become an obstructive force. In peacetime
ost too much. In wartime they are so destructive
he world cannot afford to make good the damage
do. Militarism is an atavistic throw-back to the
when men had not yet emerged into civilization.

lodern arts and crafts, literature and philosophy
ll out of harmony with the kind of world the
ist envisages. He wants to smash things up, not
ate them. Because of this, the military conquerors
otoriously hostile to thought and to books. When they
t burn the books—as Hitler did—they endeavour
ce the writers, the thinkers and the artists along
i of bleak uniformity. It is not the young men who
essed in uniforms and made to bend their arms,
nd heads in the same way. Thought is conscript-
). But by its very nature the free spirit of man
: be contained or constricted. This is the Achilles'
f militarism.

It is not by intoning the slogan "War is
lier than Peace" that people will be induced
rsake the militarists.

he real indictment of war is that its
ness serves no rational end. "But what is your
ative to war?" the militarist wants to know. The
lternative to War is Peace, just as the alternative
ease is health. "Is this practical?" ask those
nen who are proceeding with their plans for atomic
lation which they dare not carry out.

is quite practical. Immediately after the war
my was being demilitarized very rapidly, so rapid-
deed that when the Allies wanted to remilitarize
ermans, they met with widespread opposition from
erman people. If the world was demilitarized in
me way as the Allies began to demilitarize
my, enthusiasm for peace would soon be
ated.

demilitarized world would have millions to spend
cial progress and the nightmare of war would be
ed. People would welcome the change. It is
al to prefer better houses, more food, more leisure
higher standard of life to more atom bombs.
o implement this policy on a world scale we need
back to the concept of "One World"—a world we
share and may enjoy. Nobody with a knowledge
rld forces belives that America is going to dominate
or that Russia will dominate America, though
orld may be laid waste by the warriors before
imple truth is accepted. In Europe the desire
ace is universal. It could not be otherwise when
ars of war are no yet healed. With all this peace
g in the world, India may yet give a powerful
o a real Peace International in which Europe,
and America could join
radually people everywhere are coming to see the
ness of using up most of the national substance
ch country on war preparations and living poorly
the idea that, some day, a great and costly cam-
of total annihilation may be launched. And, as
al conflicts and conquests are always in the mind,
ement to dethrone militarism is on the way. That
ent may be helped by a realization of war
s but it will gain more strength from the knowl-
that the growing powers of destruction make war
futile than ever.

Literature and World Peace

One way of bringing about a radical change for the better in human outlook is re-education for adults and a new type of education for the youth of the future. Dr. A. V. Rao observes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

World peace can be achieved, not through force, not through authority imposed from above—though it is to some extent necessary—but essentially through education. In the new education for world peace, literature has a very important and vital part to play.

Literature is composed of those books primarily which have an abiding and abounding human interest of a general nature, and which delight, move, or instruct us by their form, beauty of expression, and significance. Literature thus grows out of life, out of the experience and awareness of life, or the imagination or emotional response of the writer based on his contact with life. It cannot be divorced from the social environment and it cannot flourish in a vacuum. Whether it arises from the creative instinct or the desire for self-revelation or the study of human motives and actions or the weaving together of reality and imagination, it cannot but be a vital factor in the liberal education of humanity. Prof. Hudson's analysis of the themes of literature is a useful classification that enables us to consider how the study of literaure can be a means of education for the new world order or ideal of peace and progress we plan to achieve. He divides the themes as follows: "The literature of purely personal experience; of the common life of man as man (the great questions of life and death, sin and destiny, God, man's relation with God, the hope of

OUTSTANDING
PRODUCTS OF
HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM : Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course ; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.
OONIM : General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week ; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks ; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM : Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION : An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, iching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL : A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON : The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injuriour, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50 ; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL : The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA : For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM : The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. NOVUM SIMPLEX, Rs. 12-8. NOVUM FORTE, Rs. 50; NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. CIVITA : MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100 ; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO : An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit : Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".
EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE : We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. 'Phone : 242972

the race and hereafter, and the like) ; of the social world, with all its activities and problems; the literature which treats of Nature; and the literature which treats of literature and art (criticism and appreciation)."

It has to be confessed that a good deal of the literary creations of all countries, especially drama and fiction, is *apparently* hardly conducive to the inspiration of a new co-operative existence, of a world of tolerance, sanity, mutual understanding, of international amity, and of the pursuit of peace and progress. The reasons are not far to seek. All the great masterpieces of epic, drama, and fiction are conditioned by the social order of the ages in which they were written and they naturally reflect the ideals and beliefs which are hard to accept today. Thus the glorification of war, the delight in conquest and prowess in the battle-field, the subservience of man to dictatorial authority, the institution of slavery, the feudal order, chauvinisitic patriotism and nationalism, and the assertion of the individual will and power are themes which do not lend themselves to re-education in a world which seeks the social welfare of the masses, a comparative equality of status, tolerance, and brotherhood. Concrete instances can be easily cited : Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Dr. Faustus*, the patriotic address of Henry V, the glorification of England in Shakespeare's dramas, the glorification of war in the great epics of East and West, the apotheosis of imperialism and the white man's burden in Kipling's works, and the cult of hero-worship in Carlyle—would not, rightly speaking, it is argued, be in tune with ideals of the new world. Nor would many characters of some of the great dramas and novels of the world be *apparently* desirable characters to study or emulate. Their morbidity, ambition, jealousy, or fanaticism may be and are objects of study and analysis like clinical cases for the doctor, but they can be hardly held up as examples for emulation and they *may* leave a harmful impression on the mind of the adole-cent. The lives of the Napoleons and Alexanders of history must not be allowed to thrill the minds of the young. So should the Becky Sharps and Emma Bovarys be not permitted to allure and fascinate readers, the more so, when the 'good' characters are often so ineffective-the Colonel Newcomes and the Amelia Osbornes of fiction. I have deliberately used the words 'apparently' and 'may' above, because the danger of young minds being warped is really not so great as puritans may imagine. All that is needed is a shift of emphasis and a better way of reading these masterpieces or revealing their significance to young minds.

The great masterpieces of fiction and drama and biography still give us a clearer understanding of human motives and conduct.

From apparent evil so much real good can be extracted that the study of literature in fact ought to make us under-stand human nature better. Nor should we forget the catharsis at the end of a great tragedy the purging of the emotions of pity and terror that are aroused by the tragic situation—and 'Calm of mind all passions spent.' The epics of Greece and the *Mahabharata* may give accounts of sanguinary battles, but they also inspire men to noble deeds of chivalry, self-sacrifice, and heroism. The themes of Greek classical dramas may at first sight seem full of bloodshed, violence, and even incest, but the noble fortitude of the characters and their loftiness of feeling are unforgettable. In fact, the staging of great dramas of the past and the dramas of modern times, like the plays of Shaw, Ibsen, and Galsworthy or Eugene O'Neill is itself a fine medium of education and a channel for co-operative activity in schools and colleges.

There are, however, other spheres of literature,—poetry, for example, *viz.*, the great poems of Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, Goethe, and Tagore, to take only a few instances,—which express all the idealism, dreams, and aspirations of great minds. Thus the longing for liberty, political and spiritual, for a new world of peace and harmony, for friendship among the nations of the world, find noble expression in the works of Shelley and Tagore. The meditative, thoughtful, and formative books of mystics, saints, and divines are also literature in the real sense of the word, as also devotional songs and lyrics. Thus the New Testament, the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis, the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, the parables and stories and teachings of Christ and Buddha, and of Confucius and Lao-tsze, the *Gita*, the lyrics and songs of Traherne and Blake, of Mirabai, Tulsidas, Tukaram, and Kabir, are as great a heritage as the great dramas and novels of the world. If we laid greater emphasis on these works in our educational institutions than we give at present, a real change can be brought about in the human outlook. The message of tolerance and mutual understanding, of friendship between man and man and race and race, is one that can reach the human heart, easier through the above works than through mere preaching.

The Unesco is doing valuable spadework in attempts to make each nation understand the thoughts, feelings, and ways of living of other nations by getting the masterpieces of literature in each country translated by competent scholars and writers and distributed in other countries to as many education institutions as possible. This is another big step in the direction of international friendship.

The literature of the future, it is hoped, will lay aside the morbid, the unhealthy, the fanatical, and the evil tendencies in man and dwell on all that is sane, co-operative, and healthy and emphasize the liberal and benign tendencies. It must, of course, remain art all the time and not degenerate into mere propaganda. It will lead humanity to peace, cohesion, and tolerance. Chirst's message was 'Peace on earth, goodwill toward men' and the rites of our own religion end with the prayer for peace, 'Om ! Shantih ! Shanti ! Shanti !' May the literature of the world be imbued hereafter with the same longing for love and peace and understanding !

Impact of Western Culture on the Civilizations of India and China

The following is an extract from the address delivered by Dr. D. M. Bose as General President of the 40th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association in Lucknow on January 2, 1953, and as published in *Science and Culture* :

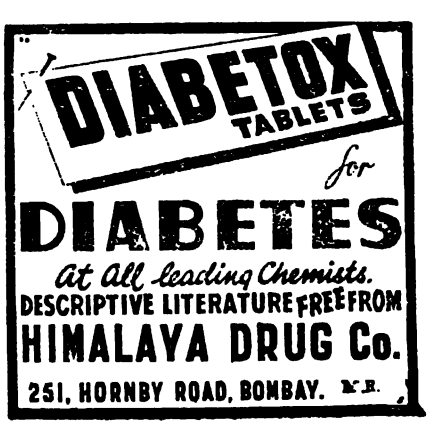
The creative period of Greek natural philosophy, the Helenic age, extended for about 300 years, from the time of Thales of Miletus (600 B.C.) to that of Plato and Aristotle. During this period was developed all the basic concepts of western philosophy, of materialism and idealism, of parliamentary democracy in Athens with Aristotle as its exponent to the Platonic conception of an ideal state whose destiny was to be controlled by certain natural rulers or guardians and which according to some was made a justification for Nazism.

The second, the Hellenistic period, which flourished for another 300 years in Alexandria and was centred round the Museum. During this period the special sciences were created, learning was stabilised, astronomical observations and their interpretation flourished. Many technical inventions were made during this period. The third period, the Graeco-Roman age, which flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era was an age of bilingual culture. There were many new extensions of knowledges, fresh acquisition of skill in exposition, but there was no breaking out of new directions in speculative thinking, or any great application of science to life. Science had ceased or failed to be a real force in the life of the society, but had become a cycle of liberal studies for a privileged minority. This was a period of decay of the old order of society whose economics was based upon slave labour. The belief in the ancient Gods was decaying, and there was a growing division of the society into an exploiting minority ruling over a large exploited majority.

When in the 16th century, after a period of excessive rationalism of the middle ages, scientific thought entered its modern phase, Copernicus, Vesalius, and Gallileo become the continuators of Ptolemy, Galen and Archimedes. The intervening period of over one thousand years known as the Dark and the Medieval Ages was a formative period in the history of western civilization which took a new direction from the time of the Renaissance.

Turning to the Indian scene we find that the great epoch of speculative philosophical thinking, of advances in astronomy, mathematics and medicine, extended from about 700 B.C. to 500 A.D. During the following early medieval period lasting from 500-1100 A.D., there was considerable progress in chemistry, engineering, but already stagnation and fossilisation had begun to set in, aggravated by the Muslim invasion of India. Professor Altekar has expressed the view that the growing veneration for old traditions and scriptural views caused a set-back to the growth of a critical and rational attitude of mind. There was popularisation of the theory that the golden age whose artificiers were divine or God-inspired sages, had passed, followed by the Kalijuga during which people could never equal the achievements of their predecessors; it became the age of commentators and digestors of the writings of their predecessors. Arts and crafts were regarded as plebian. The age countenanced excessive purity: the touch of dead bodies was polluting; and so dissecting for medical studies was impossible. Foreign travel was tabooed and Hindu scholars ceasing to come in contact with their Greek and Arab opposite numbers became narrow and conceited.

This period of stagnation, with the exception of an



all too short period of Akbar's imperial rule, continued for seven centuries. The coming of foreign trading companies, which led to a struggle between competing western powers for supremacy, ended at the close of the 18th century with the consolidation of British power in India. The intrusion of western powers helped to breakdown the isolation of India from contact with the renaissance upsurge of western civilization, as expressed chiefly in the discovery of a new scientific method and its technological applications. A comparison with the similar transformations which took place in Europe during the dark ages will help us to better understand the nature of the changes which have been set in movement in India due to this impact of the west.

(*i*) Following the Graeco-Roman age, a tran-formation of the economic structure in the civilized regions of the west took place which made possible the replacement of slaves by serfs and freemen, was due to a number of inventions resulting in the utilization of new sources of energy in the shape of wind, water, and animal power.

(*ii*) The mental background necessary for the growth of a scientific attitude was provided by a growing convictoin of the existence of an order in Nature, whose secrets could be unravelled by the human intellect. The belief in a rational God as expounded by the medieval scholastic theology was gradually transformed into a belief in the scrutability of nature. Science has remained predominantly anti-rational and empirical, but the basic belief in the capacity of the human intellect to unravel the mysteries of nature is an inheritance from the scholastic age.

The contributions of the practical genius of Rome to the shaping of the western civilization were many. The Roman domination of these countries which made Latin a common language of communication, Roman jurisprudence and the application of Roman law over all the conquered regions, the Roman sense of order and discipline which survived in the Roman Catholic Church when the empire disintegrated, laid the basis of a common European civilizaion when it grew. Whitehead places a great deal of importance to the contributions of men like Pope Gregory and St. Benedict to the recon-truction of Europe when it began in the 6th century. They were practical men with an eye for the importance of ordinary things, and they combined this practical temperament with their religious and cultural activities. The monasteries were homes of practical agriculturists, as well as of saints, artists, and men of learning. The alliance of science with technology, by which learning is kept in contact with irreducible and stubborn facts owes much to the practical bent of the early Benedictines. The Greeks were over-theoretical, for them science was an off-shoot of philosophy. Modern science derives from Rome as well as from Greece, and the Roman strain explains its gain in an energy of thought kept in close contact with the world of facts. These are more of the factors which have contributed to give the new tinge to modern minds, and which according to Whitehead "is a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts."

The similarity between the British rule in India and the Roman domination in Europe was too obvious to escape the attention of commentators. Like the Romans, the British are a race of practical administratorn who improvised their administration to suit varying conditions of the territories which came under their control, *e.g.*, their colonisation of North America proceeded on an entirely different plan to their administration of India, where they ruled over a large population with the help of a very efficient civil service. They surveyed this country for revenue purposes, developed roads, railways and other means of communication, dug canals for irrigations, took measures for conservation of forest resources. They established surveys and scientific services. They condified civil and criminal laws, based largely on British practices. Plantation, mining, engineering and other largescale industries were started by them.

In the early days of the British rules, an intellectual ferment occurred amongst some section of the population. Ram Mohan Roy was a pioneer of this movement which sought to break the intellectual and political torpor of the country by the rejuvenating influence of western philosophy and science. Due to the support received from people like him, that instruction in English and the teaching of science in schools and colleges became possible. From such beginnings grew up movements for the founding of universities, medical, engineering and agricultural colleges, and research institutions. The history of the later period of British rule was a gradually increasing association of the people of the country with the administration, and the introduction of self government based upon a progressively expanding franchise. Finally, after the termination of the World War II the British handed over power to the Indian people in 1947.

—

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum
for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches : College Sq., Cal. *Bankura.*

Chairman : JAGANNATH KOLAY M.P.

PILES
CAN BE TREATED WITH
PILEX PILLS AND OINTMENT
SOLD BY LEADING CHEMISTS
FREE LITERATURE FROM
HIMCO LABORATORIES M.P.
284, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India's Cotton Textile Industry

The paper by Sir Joseph Kay, K.B.E., read at a joint meeting of the Commonwealth Section of the Society and the East India Association, is reproduced in full from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, November 1952, as follows :

The cotton textile industry is one of India's major industries, consisting, as it does, of 415 complete spinning and weaving mills, with 11,243,635 spindles and 201,484 looms installed, a small percentage of which is not actually at work at the present time for various reasons. The paid up capital employed is Rs. 103,88,75,[illegible], which, expressed in terms of sterling, is £77,917,682. The quantity of cotton consumed, in terms of candies of 784 lbs. each, is 1,843,577, whilst the number of hands employed in all shifts is some 722,000. This does not take into account a further 200,000 workers employed outside the mills, in "processing" and other allied subsidiary trades.

The Past

Although the Bombay State is to-day the principal seat of the cotton mill industry in India, the honour of having the first mill in this country goes to Bengal and the credit for starting it belongs to a British subject. In 1818, a mill, called Fort Gloster Mills now known as the Bowreah Cotton Mills, Ltd. was established in the district of Howrah in Bengal for spinning locally grown cotton. This mill seems to have had a prosperous career, but its establishment was not followed by other mills in that State for a very long time. That event, therefore, stands out as an isolated one and cannot be regarded as constituting the foundation of the present-day mill industry. It was the cotton mill that was started in the island of Bombay in 1851 by one Mr. Cowasji Davar that marked the firm beginning of the present-day industry. In that year this enterprising merchant formed a company, by collecting public subscriptions on the lines of to-day's joint-stock company system, for establishing a cotton spinning mill. His project made quick progress and the mill itself went into production in 1854. But soon after it commenced production came the American Civil War, which led to a heavy demand for Indian cotton from the United Kingdom, and, consequently, a sharp rise in price of that commodity. With prices of cotton soaring to unprecedented levels, conditions were not propitious for starting new mills, as it was more profitable to sell cotton than turn it into yarn and cloth, and, therefore there was a lull for some years.

The fabulous profits made in cotton [illegible] found their way into cotton mills and, between 1861 and 1865, as many as 11 mills were erected in Bombay alone. The craze for more mills continued and, by 1875, the number of mills had grown to [illegible]. For a period of 15 years, 1875-90, the mill industry experienced early prosperous conditions, followed by a progressive expansion in the size of the industry. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, the industry passed through a number of vicissitudes on account of strikes, currency and exchange difficulties, and the Labour [illegible] in Bombay in 1897, which necessitated closure of the mills for a prolonged period. The currency and exchange difficulties, following the closure of the mints for free silver coinage, dislocated the trade with China and Japan to such an extent that the profitable export trade in yarn to these countries practically came to a stop. Nevertheless, the erection of more and more mills continued and by 1900 India had 193 mills, with 4,945,783 spindles and 49,124 looms. The extent of development during the last quarter of the past century can be seen from a comparison of these figures with those in 1876, when there were 47 mills, with 1[illegible],112 spindles and 9,139 looms.

In the initial years the industry was predominantly a coarse yarn spinning industry mainly because Bombay had developed a profitable export trade with China and Japan. But in the last decade of the previous century and in the beginning of this century this trade suffered a severe setback, owing to exchange difficulties in the beginning and to the growth of a cotton mill industry in Japan later, which resulted not only in the complete loss of the Japanese market for Indian yarn but also to serious competition in the Chinese markets, and, by the time the First World War broke out, both these markets were practically lost. This brought about a material change in the character of the mills and forced them to develop their own weaving departments. Thus, in 1900, the number of looms in Bombay per 1,000 spindles was only 8.8, but, by 1915, it had risen to 17.3. Thereafter, it steadily advanced to stand at 23.6 in 1932 and 22.3 as at the end of August, 1949. This change in the character of the industry, from mostly a spinning one into a combined spinning and weaving industry, was facilitated by the vast domestic markets, as much of this change took place before 1920, that is during a period when Japanese competition had not yet begun. As subsequent events proved, the loss of the Chinese and the Japanese markets was a blessing in disguise. One can easily imagine what would have happened to India's teeming millions during the Second World War and also in present times if the industry had remained radically unbalanced on the weaving side.

In the next ten years the industry grievously suffered from severe depression, accentuated by powerful competition from Japan, by over-capitalization of the industry on the high cost of production, which deepened and extended into the early thirties. In spite of the expansion on the weaving side, which took place between 1913 and 1925, many of the units still remained unbalanced. Further, the large profits which were earned in the First World War and the subsequent boom had not been husbanded by most of the mills. Consequently, when depression came [illegible] found themselves financially [illegible] weather the blizzard. Further, [illegible] protection granted to the spinning section of the industry in 1927 paved the ways for the establishment and development of spinning industry in Coimbatore and [illegible] which [illegible] gave them very considerable advantages over mills in Bombay. Even when protection was extended [illegible] in 1934, it rather helped establishment of mills in [illegible] States which offered additional advantages [illegible] concessions, partial or complete [illegible] from [illegible]

etc. Moreover, with its political domination over India, Britain endeavoured to regain its pre-war markets in India and so also did Japan, both with some measure of success.

Between 1935 and 1939 the industry began to make some recovery, due partly to the gradual improvement in general economic conditions and partly to the regulation of competition from the United Kingdom and Japan by bilateral trade treaties, not to mention tariff protection, which was first introduced in 1927 and, later, strengthened in two stages, once in 1930 and again in 1933. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War also helped ease the vigour of the Japanese competition. Some signs of depression were, however, noticeable late in 1938 and, just a few weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War, the industry, under the leadership of the Bombay Millowners' Association, was actually planning to curtail production, by mutual agreement. But with the outbreak of the war in September 1939, the situation took a different turn and that for the better.

In the development of the industry, many British firms manfacturing textile machinery—of whom several are still in existence—have played an all-important part, in regard both to the quality of the machinery sent out and to the technical advice so freely given. Some credit and appreciation, too, must be given to those British technicians, such as mill managers, carding and spinning masters, dyeing and bleaching men who, until recent times, have done much in helping to produce marketable cloth and yarn and have so willingly imparted their technical knowledge to Indians of all castes and creeds who sought their careers in textile field, and who to-day, with education and initiative, are now able to run their concerns and factories with success.

The Present

Events recently have moved so rapidly that the last decade, insofar as the Indian cotton textile industry is concerned, might well be regarded as being within the expression "present times." With the beginning of the Second World War, although there was no significant increase in the productive capacity of the industry—as new plant and machinery could not be acquired—production was greatly intensified by the utilization of the installed capacity to its fullest extent. In the calendar year 1944, production touched an all-time record of 4850 million yards of cloth, some of which went to the Defence Department of the Government of India for war purposes at the expense of its curtailment for civilian consumption.

Margins of profit in the early years of the war were "high and healthy" and the mills attained a measure of financial stability, but an "awakening" was manifest in the minds of both masters and men and it was realized that great changes for the better, in respect of both the quality of goods produced and the conditions under which labour toiled, would have to be dealt with if development was not to be retarded; and those enlightened millowners realizing this, introduced improvements in their plants based on scientific modern ideas and practices, whilst labour became unrestful and demanded legislation to protect and develop their ideas of improved conditions in part repayment for their efforts in their everyday toils. Young Indians who had selected the cotton textile industry as their career, sought avenues to improve their knowledge and studied in Europe and America, and brought back with them much enlightenment, which just as soon as the war was over, was given effect to, with the result that the last few years have seen vast improvements in the course of manufacture and in the conditions under which the "artizan" earns his daily bread. Moreover, some of the modern mills erected in India within the last few years can compare very favourably with those in other parts of the world. We have, therefore, at the present time some mills which, for practical reasons, are out of date; some which have been moderately modernized; and quite a number of new mills which are entirely up-to-date.

There is, of course, in all records of progress some "snag" or other and, from the end of the year 1943, difficulties began such as the introduction of rigid price control and distribution, lack of adequate supplies of cotton at economic prices, Government's unrealistic direction and control, labour unrest, high prices of stores and machinery, and the "shyness" of the capital market at a time when more funds were required for financing the rehabilitation of the industry, all of which had the effect of damping the enthusiasm for diligent planning and hard work. Despite all these difficulties, however, the industry may be considered to be in a healthy state, and the calls and demands of labour—with its progressive enlightenment—have been reasonably met.

There seems to be a feeling abroad that Indian labour is cheap and oppressed; but that is not so. Let me enumerate some of the changes introduced in recent times:

(*a*) *The Factories Acts*: These legislate for a 48-hour working week and contain provisions for the health and safety of workers; one compulsory rest day a week; compulsory daily rest intervals; 14 days' holiday per year, with pay; canteens; welfare officers and so on—all modelled on similar legislation in the United Kingdom.

(*b*) *Workmen's Compensation Act* provides for payment to employees of compensation for injury by accident arising out of and in course of their employment, and in the event of death from such injuries the dependants are entitled to compensation.

(*c*) *Indian Trade Union Act* gives the worker the right to organize trade unions.

(*d*) *Industrial Relations Act* provides for conciliation proceedings in the settlement of industrial disputes.

(*e*) *Industrial Disputes Act*: Its main purpose is to protect public utility concerns from being dislocated by trade disputes, but it also provides for any trade dispute in any undertaking to be referred to a Board of Conciliation, a Court of Enquiry or an Industrial Tribunal.

(*f*) *Maternity Benefit Act* in several states confers on women workers benefits in industrial establishments.

(*g*) *The Employees Provident Funds Act.*

(*h*) *The Employees State Insurance Act.* This recently introduced legislation is now being worked in two centres on an experimental basis, designed to re-

the *Workmen's Compensation Act* and the Provin- *Maternity Benefit Act* and secure for the workers, ss, disablement and maternity benefits.

l this is very rapid progress in regard to labour ion, especially when one remembers that even in lustrial country like England it took very many to get such legislation accepted on a sound basis. nust also not forget the great difference in the es of collective bargaining and in trades union pment—in England it came from within the unions n of practical understanding, but, in India, from t by self-styled labour leaders, with little or no dge of the difficulties involved. Again, labour ns had an immediate political flavour, often to triment of the worker.

The Future

ith the rapidly increasing population in India, will mean further demands for cloth, combined the fact that cotton, an alimnt factor in cloth manufacture, will be grown in India, the ts for the future of the industry eedingly bright. According to 51 census, the population of dian Union, excluding Jammu ashmir State, and tribal areas sam, was 356.98 millions of as against 311.83 millions in nd 275.52 millions in 1931 ; so, ate of growth witnessed in the ecade were to continue, then, 6, India's population would be million, which is only about 11 less than the combined total— million—for India and Pakistan l. Now it is estimated that total production by mills at illion yards and by handlooms 0 million yards and allowing llion yards (50.0 million yards nde and 100 million yards hand- for exports, the quantity avail- ves only 13 yards *per capita*. s the consensus of opinion is least a minimum of 15 to 17 *er capita* must be ensured, deciding the quantity which be made available for export, is this potential demand for ding to be met ?

If the present installed mills full capacity on two shifts of ours each for 305 days per year, o the extent of some 4,729 yards should be produced, leav- ncreased "free yard" for the m industry or for export.

Some 19 new mills, with a y of 164,900 spindles and 830 are in course of erection.

Rehabilitation and improvement ts of existing mills which are taking place at present, will in- when prices of machinery re- lower levels, and with resto- tick deliveries by manufacturers.

Improvement and development growth and production of staple ttons in *India*.

(e) The manufacture in India of textile machinery and consumable stores, of which a commencement has already been made.

(f) The erection of further spinning and weaving mills.

The future, too, will see an increasing demand for artificial silk, rayon, and staple fibre goods ; in fact, two mills have recently commenced producing artificial silk yarns on a large basis, with some measure of success, whilst marked improvement are manifest in the approach of the Indian cotton mill owner who is anxious to improve the efficiency of his plant, either by installation of more modern machinery or by introduction of better conditions for his work people, both of which tend towards better and increased output. The new mills recently erected in India are modern to a degree—individual drives, proper spacing of machinery, automatic looms, high-speed warping and winding, scientific lighting, air conditioning, and so on ; in fact, they can

M.B.SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS
BRANCH
HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE
159/1B, Rashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta. Ph. P. K. 4466
167, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA, (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST JUNCTION)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM Phone AVENUE 1761 - Gram. BRILLIANTS

compare favourably with up-to-date plants in any part of the world.

In speaking of the future one cannot be unmindful of a good many matters which only the passing of time can solve. I mean such things as:

(*a*) The removal of government controls, which at present exist on the selling prices, production and distribution of cloth and yarn.

(*b*) The removal of excise duties which weigh heavily especially on the consumer of superfine goods.

(*c*) The nationalization of production.

(*d*) The possibility that 3-shift working might be a practical proposition.

(*e*) The attitude of government and labour towards the industry, which at present leaves much to be desired.

(*f*) Nationalization and the Government's policy regarding it: for, though there has been much talk about this, no authoritative statement has yet been made.

(*g*) The question whether adequate capital for new mills will be available, especially in these days of high taxation. It is estimated that rehabilitation and modernization of the Indian cotton mills will require an investment of about 300 crores of rupees. (£225 million sterling.)

The Handloom Industry

No review of the Indian cotton textile industry—brief though it may be—can omit reference to the handloom industry of India and the great, though often ignored part that it plays as a supplier of cloth of many kinds for domestic use, and taker of the surplus yarn produced by mills. Before the war, it may be noted, it absorbed about one-third of the total yarn produced by the Indian mills. As in other countries, its history takes one back to the days when it supplied most of the needs of the people not only in India, but also in the Middle East; but the opening of the Suez Canal, the invention of the locomotive and the introduction of machine-made cloth, all hastened its decline. Then, in the natural order of progress, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw handloom weavers adapting their looms to the use of mill-spun yarn and on this the industry developed, for, as I have already indicated, the earlier cotton mills were purely spinning mills and so little competition existed between them and the handloom industry. In fact, they were complementary to each other and it is interesting to find, from such records as are available, that in the period 1896-97 to 1900-01 whilst Indian mills used only 85 million lbs. of yarn, the handlooms absorbed as much as 230 million lbs. of yarn. With the advent of more power looms in the Indian mills, however, the scene changed, with the result that the production of handloom cloth declined from 1,093 million yards in 1911-15, to some 5 [illegible] million yards in 1919-24. Other forces were, of course, at work, namely, the introduction of power looms and the material preferences of the people for greater variety and plainness, both of which favoured [illegible] goods, and put a premium on mill-made cloth. [illegible] for ornamental cloth, such as lace and bordered dhoties and chadders, etc., began to wane; an instance of this which might be quoted was the decline in demand for even handwoven turbans which, by the way, has practically disappeared. Recently, efforts have been made by the Government to reserve particular fields of manufacture for hand-loom industry; for instance, the mill industry can no longer produce certain types of dhoties and sarees, lungis and sarongs, chadders, sheets, counterpanes, gauze cloth, bandage cloth, jaconets, dusters, napkins, etc., etc. Special assistance is also given to the handloom industry in the matter of export quotas. Thus there is no export duty on handloom goods, and handloom goods can be freely exported.

But to progress, a Fact Finding Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1941 reported that the number of handlooms, in undivided India in 1940 was about 2,200,000, of which 1,700,000 were active, and that over 1,400,000 looms were engaged in weaving cotton, 99,000 looms on wool, 371,000 on silk, 25,000 on art silk and 103,000 on other textiles, and that these looms were scattered throughout India, the greatest number being in Assam, Madras, and the Punjab. The number of workers engaged in this industry, whole and part-time, is estimated by the Fact Finding Committee to be some 2,300,000 this apart from the great number of people doing auxiliary work.

In the past, the handloom weavers were independent workers but to-day a considerable number of them work for a wage under a master, weaver, or "Mahajan." Nevertheless, the condition of the industry is still greatly unorganized, with most of the weavers working in their homes, and there is no facility for collecting periodical returns.

The purely independent cottage system prevails mainly in outlying districts or undeveloped areas and, owing to lack of finance, centres have developed around many of the larger towns throughout India where output can be marketed by the middleman who also guarantees the weaver a definite wage without his having to take the risk of any fluctuations which might take place in the selling prices for cloth. This dependence on the middleman has serious drawbacks, such as the supplying of yarn of inferior quality, the withholding of the correct market prices for manufacturing goods, and so on, all to the detriment of the weaver, whose poverty and helplessness prevent him from taking such action as will ensure him a proper reward for his toil.

Past governments have made attempts to improve the lot of the handloom weaver, with some measure of success. These included the regularizing of the supply and distribution of yarn at reasonable prices, a limited amount of financial assistance for schemes of development, co-operative organization of weavers and marketing of their goods, special railway concessions and so on. The Planning Commission, in its report published in July, 1951, show great concern for the cottage industries [illegible] the important role the state will have

play in encouraging increased production even to the ent of subsidies. It urged that "for implementing various programmes, it will be necessary for the cen- l government to equip itself with an organization able of handling various questions of policy, assisting drawing up production programmes with sufficient owledge of the economic conditions and problems of tage industries, and of assisting the co-ordinated velopment of research throughout the country."

Indo-China can Affect all East Asia, N. Y. Times Warns

New York, Dec. 1, 1952. Indo-China is a part of the rld battlefront in the struggle aginst Communist perialism, and "what is happening there can have its pact on the whole of East Asia," the *New York Times* clared in an editorial Friday.

Following is the text of the *Times* editorial:

"Indo-China is becoming an even more critical ttleground in the struggle of the free world against edatory Communist imperialism, and what is happening ere can have its impact on the whole of East Asia.

"During this week two significant dispatches have me from the area. In the first it was revealed that bstantial quantities of Russian-made equipment, cluding trucks, had been taken in a French Union raid a Communist supply depot. In the second it was inted out that the Communist Viet Minh is planning e systematic exploitation of the Thai tribesmen in the per Red River Valley in the effort to win their pport.

"These two developments, taken in conjunction, show the scope of Communist planning. Weapons and supplies are being brought into northern Indo-China over a rail line of not less than 7,000 miles.

"Obviously the Kremlin regards the struggle as something more than a guerrilla revolt against the French. The plan to envelop the Thai peoples shows the ultimate direction of the assault. The whole of Southeast Asia is the target.

"The Thai tribesmen form the link from Tonkin to the Associated State of Laos to the south and west. They can provide, also, a bridge to Thailand and a gateway to Burma. These are not the most direct routes to conquest but they can be developed. A group of peoples such as the Thai can be either a barrier or a bridge. Obviously the Communists hope to use them in the latter capacity.

"The Thai (the word means 'free') tribesmen have been loyal to the French and opposed, in general, to the Communist Viet Minh movement. Their loyalty to the Viet Nam government of Bao Dai, however, has been lukewarm, since they are governed primarily by tribal and local considerations rather than by a real concept of nationalism. They are brave men, independent in spirit and devoted to their own religion. Their conquest and use by the Communists would be a spiritual as well as a military tragedy. The danger is real.

"The simple facts of geography make the defence of Indo-China an imperative to the free world. The whole peninsular area of Southeast Asia can be held only if the dike is held in Tonkin. Pressure from the north is strong and with any Communist gain it can be expected to become stronger. The prize is a rich one.

4 FOUR IN ONE

Four beneficial properties are combined in Calchemico's NEEM TOOTH PASTE

(1) It contains all the antiseptic, germicidal and astringent properties of Neem Twig known to the Indians from ancient times.

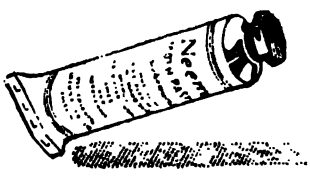
(2) It contains the natural **CHLOROPHYLL** in Neem with all beneficial properties. It neutralises bad odour of the mouth and removes foul breath.

(3) The S. F. (our trade name) in Neem Tooth Paste specially prevents caries and pyorrhoea.

(4) The high grade medicinal precipitated Calcium and Magnesium Carbonate and other pure ingredients used as base, help to remove the acid-forming bacteria, which causes tooth decay. The soap content is minimum and is absolutely free from animal fat.

Neem TOOTH PASTE

Neem Tooth Paste is a class by itself and no other paste can claim to be so much attributive.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD. CALCUTTA-29

"Its most significant element is the fact that the peninsular area, with Indo-China, Thailand and Burma, controls most of the rice for export in Asia. And this is in addition to the significance of Malaya in the production of rubber and tin. The Communists are not playing for small stakes.

"For this reason we will do well to disabuse ourselves of any idea that the battles in Indo-China are little, insignificant skirmishes in which the French are trying to maintain control of part of a colonial empire. This is a world battlefront. The Communists know that it is of major importance and are acting accordingly. We will be wise if we accord it its proper place in the defences of the free world."—*USIS.*

Plague Deaths Now Avoidable

The World Health Organization's Expert Committee on Plague, concluding six days of meetings in Bombay on December 10, 1952, unanimously agreed that deaths from plague could be avoided in the present state of medical knowledge.

Adequate dosages of new antibiotic drugs like streptomycin, they said, could consistently reduce deaths to below 10 per cent. of cases even in the pneumonic and septicaemic varieties of plague, until recently considered to be almost 100 per cent. fatal. In uncomplicated cases of ordinary (bubonic) plague, sulfa drugs used alone gave satisfactory results, the experts agreed.

The Committee emphasised that the most effective and valuable method of preventing plage outbreaks was by improvement of houses so that rats could no longer live in close contact with man. Realising that this was an expensive and long-term objective, the experts reviewed other modern weapons of plague prevention including vaccination, the use of DDT against rat-fleas, and certain basically new rat poisons.

Insecticides like DDT are now proved to be very powerful in destroying the chain of infection between the rat and man. The Committee recommended their use on the largest possible scale particularly for checking the outbreak of epidemics. In non-epidemic periods the wholesale destruction of rats was an important additional measure of protection, the experts said.

The new rat poisons, known as anti-coagulants because they induce internal bleeding in rats by destroying the coagulating properties of their blood, have proved perfectly harmless to human beings and domestic animals if properly administered, the Committee agreed. In this respect the anti-coagulant poisons were recognised to be superior to highly effective poisons like 1080 which were known however to be highly dangerous to use except under very special conditions. The new poisons kill the rat slowly without causing "bait-shyness" and are thus able gradually to wipe out whole rat populations.

After consideration of different kinds of plague vaccines, the experts concluded that all were equally satisfactory in protecting human beings provided that correct doses were given and the inoculation were repeated at suitable intervals depending on the particular vaccine used. —*WHO Press Release*

Mrs. Pandit to Receive 'One World' Award

New York, Dec. 12, 1952. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of India's delegation to the current U.N. General Assembly, will receive a "One World" award early next year in recognition of her work in international statesmanship and humanity.

Announcement of the award was made by the One World Committee at a dinner it held to honour the memory of Alfred Nobel, founder of the Noble Prizes, on the 56th anniversary of his death—*USIS.*

NOTICE!

Purchasers & Local agents of the Modern Review of Delhi and New Delhi area are hereby requested to contact with our Sole Selling Agents :

MESSRS CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY,
12/90, Connaught Circus,
NEW DELHI. (Phone 44762)

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF

Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)

Hony. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad

(with 30 rare Illustrations)

Price: Rs. 5/- only.

(2) India and The Pacific World

The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.

Price: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £ 1 or 5 Dollars.

The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta

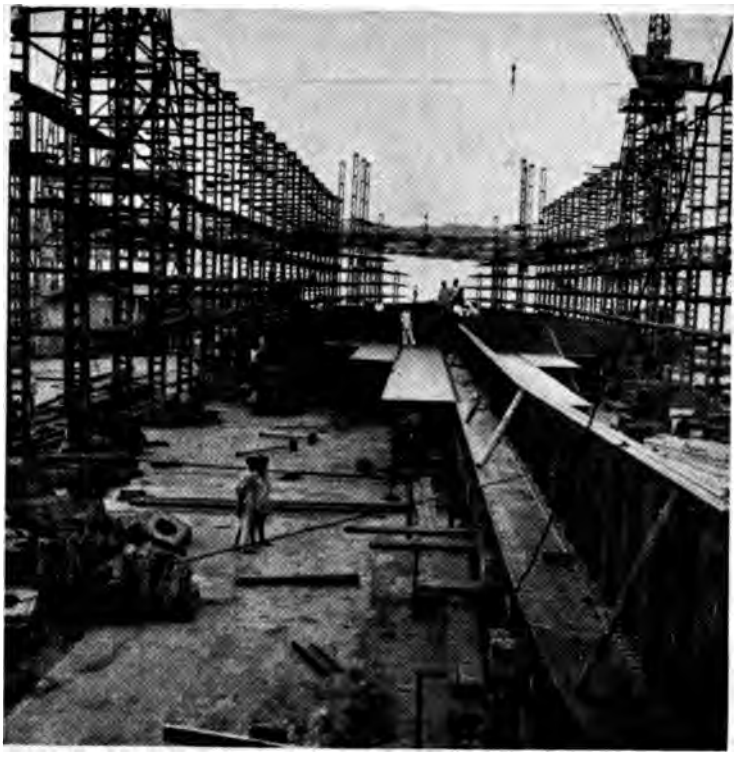
(3) New Asia **Price: Rs. 3/8/-**

To be had of—

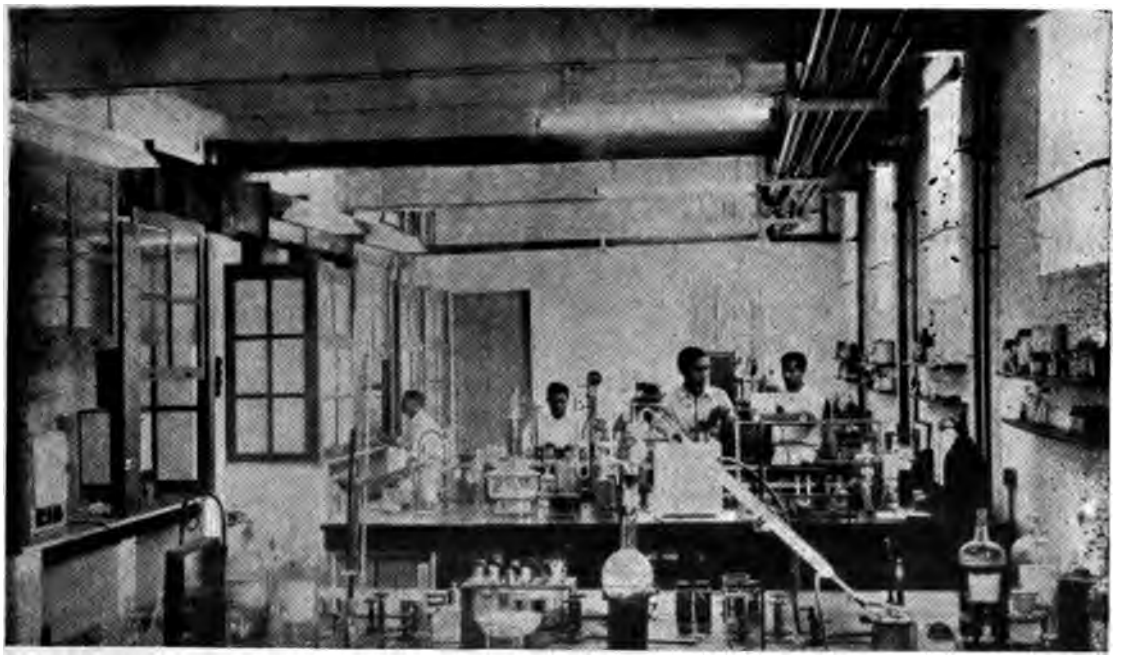
THE AUTHOR,

P-26, Raja Basanta Ray Road, Ballygunj,
CALCUTTA

Printed and published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



One of the berths at the Visakhapattan Ship-building Yard on which keel is laid for one of the two ships under construction



The Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad. Part of the Coal Survey Laboratory for Jharia Coal-fields

REST
By Sudhir Khastgir

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1953

Vol. LXXXXIII, No. 4 Whole No. 556

NOTES

Home and Abroad

World conditions are still awry, but at the time of ing these Notes, some few rays of light have rentarily flashed through the murk of International ilities, strife, and suspicion. With the passing of in there is apparent in Moscow some new depar- s in international practice of the Soviets. Maybe initiative was taken by the great Marshal or again ught be that the new incumbents want to try out w line of action. In any case there has been some t easing of tension, which has further been imbued a tinge of hope at the latest Chinese offer of e talks in Korea.

In some quarters, outside India, it is thought that ia and China have realized their severe loss of tige in Asia and Africa after the rude refusal of a's peace proposals by Vyshinsky, who was briefed loscow no doubt, and the endorsement of the crude s of refusal by the People's Government of China. anomaly of the award of the Stalin Peace prize third class Indian politician, with no record for in the cause of peace and little more for real service in public or national progress, is sought to plained on the basis of that realization.

Indo-Russian and Indo-Chinese relations can never ove until those two countries withdraw their sup- open or covert, from those groups of disrup- sts, who behaved with the utmost of treachery the fighters for freedom during the Second World and who were active protagonists of the partition dia in the fateful days of 1945 and 1946. The dious Puckle Circular, and the release of their rs on the 23th of July, 1942, on the condition dent that they help the British Imperialists st the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi, after the tion of the "Quit India" campaign, are the clearest ations of the character and nature of those parties. record of work—which included spying for the h police, resulting in the arrest of thousands and leath by hanging and shooting of many patriots, campaign of calumny against Netaji Subhas s I.N.A. is black indeed.

But it is wrong to lay all the ills of the world at the doors of Russia and China. The old Colonial powers, France and Britain, are still contributing a fairly heavy quota of material for world unrest. France is still ferociously persecuting the leaders of the Istiqlal independence movement in Morocco, is still quibbling about the granting of rights to the Vietnam peoples, and is behaving in an altogether atrocious fashion in her fragmentary colonies in India.

The British record in Malaya is not quite clean, and the dragooning of the peace-loving peoples in Africa, into which she has been stampeded by the howls of the British planters terrorised by the Mau-Mau, seems to be another chapter in mediæval barbarism, similar to their record during the Indian struggle for freedom movements. The *impasse* in Egypt has shown some signs of improvement however.

French opinion, as reflected in the Socialist *Le Populaire* and the *Ce Matin Le Pays*, construes the outbreak of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism of the Soviets, as evinced in the diplomatic rupture with Israel and the trial of Rudolf Slansky and other prominent Jews in the Soviets domains, as an attempt to gain a foothold in the Middle East Arab States and thus to capitalize Arab unrest.

At home, the situation shows no relief. Is this Independence, for which millions made untold sacrifices, going to turn to ashes like a Dead-sea apple? The Free India dreamt of and fought for by Tilak and Surendranath* is now a vivisected and troubled reality. Violence, attended with loot, arson, rape and murder, has broken out in Pakistan, while on this side of the border a weak and inefficient government seems to be unable to give relief to its suffering nationals. Issues

* In this connection we like to mention a letter written by Sri D. V. Divekar, the editor of the *Maratha*. He challenges the statement by the late Surendranath in his *A Nation in Making* where he claims to have been the first Indian of his generation to suffer imprisonment in the discharge of public duty. Sri Divekar states, after paying tribute to the memory of Surendranath, that while Surendranath was imprisoned on the 5th of May, 1883, Tilak and Agarkar suffered imprisonment on 17th July, 1882 and so the honour was theirs by rights.

like linguistic States, about which we have published an article and a large extract in this issue, are being shelved on flimsy grounds. In passing we would state that we most emphatically do not agree with either of them, both with regard to argument as well as to conclusions. A detailed criticism would be out of place here but we would say that Sri Agarwal's plea for shelving issues is not borne out by force of arguments and with regard to Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's article, we would respectfully say that he has not gone into the issues and implications fully or else he would have arrived at a different conclusion. The term Balkanisation also has been used very loosely in connection with this problem.

Failure of Congress-P.S.P. Talks

The talks between Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, and Sri Jaiprakash Narain, the Praja-Socialist leader, about which there had been much speculation, have ended in futility. The talks were held on the initiative of Sri Nehru who had sent invitations to the P.S.P. leader.

Sri Narain put forward a 14-point programme on which he wanted an agreement before they could proceed further; because he felt that co-operation without agreement on specific issues, which could be placed before the people, would do harm. The draft programme was as follows:

1. Constitutional amendment:
   (a) To remove obstacles in the way of social change,
   (b) Abolition of constitutional guarantees to Princes, and civil servants, etc.,
   (c) Abolition of second chambers.
2. (a) Administrative reforms at all levels, including decentralisation of political powers and administrative authority,
   (b) Reform of law and legal procedure,
   (c) Summary and effective machinery to deal with corruption.
3. (a) Redrawing the administrative map of India on the basis of linguistic, economic and administrative considerations. Appointment of a commission by the Parliament to work out the details on the basis of the above-mentioned principles,
   (b) Reduction of the administrative costs by having regional (multi-State) Governors, High Courts, and other top-level tribunals and Public Services Commission.
4. (a) Redistribution of land to remove economic inequality and exploitation. Preference to be given in all such schemes to landless labour and poor peasants,
   (b) Immediate stoppoge of all evictions,
   (c) Suitable legislation to prevent fragmentation, bring about consolidation of holdings,
   (d) Abolition of the remaining forms of landlordism,
   (e) The rural economy to be transformed into a co-operative economy through compulsory multi-purpose societies,
   (f) State assistance in providing credit and other facilities to agriculturists; such assistance to be given through multi-purpose societies,
   (g) The state, as far as possible, to deal not with individual peasants but through a group of them organised in a co-operative or panchayat. This to include collection of land revenue, a part of which to remain with the village as organised in the multi-purpose society or panchayat.
5. Reclamation of waste land and settlement of landless labour on them through village collectives. No waste lands to be allotted for capitalist farmings.
6. Nationalisation of banks and insurance companies.
7. Progressive development of state trading.
8. Selected number of plants in different industries to be owned and run by the state or co-operatives or autonomous corporations or workers' councils; fostering organizations of technicians and managers to provide expert advice and administrative personnel for state enterprises.
9. Unified trade union (T.U.) movement organised on the basis of the union shop. This will enable the unions to become socially responsible agencies.
10. Nationalisation of coal and other mines producing important minerals.
11. Association of workers in the management of state enterprises.
12. Demarcation of spheres of large and small-scale industries, and establishing, encouraging and protecting small-scale industries.
13. As a first step towards achieving economic equality in the country, higher salaries and emoluments in government services shall be scaled down.
14. The spirit of Swadeshi to be promoted and made to pervade all walks of life.

In a covering letter Sri Narain stated that a sense of urgency was lacking in the country which he considered as essential for the advancement of the country. Though a good deal could be said "for caution and fearing to create too many upsets," he thought that one must act boldly towards one's goals. He considered a move to be essential and in his view "that move must be rapid and drastic in the beginning, when a new departure has to be made, rather than in the middle or at the end of the process. The move, further, must be such that the mass of the people are able to appreciate and understand and realize that they are on the move." Many reforms were already overdue and present conditions demanded a thorough administrative overhauling. Agrarian and legal reforms should immediately be put into effect. The letter says: "The reform must be drastic and must affect all levels. We should also make up our minds as to what kind of political system we want

ralisation of power and authority would be rous." Sri Narain expressed his apprehension at endency evident in the official circles towards me centralization of power in the name of effi- y. The P.S.P. leader wrote that they had sug- d "nationalisation in two spheres, (a) Banking and ance, and (b) Mining." They agreed with the e Minister's view that only strategic industries d be nationalized. Sri Narain considered that "one e most strategic points" in the national economy banking and insurance. "As regards mining, the for its nationalization was unanswerable."

n view of the fact that the Congress party stood o need of coalition with other parties and the that nor were the P.S.P. a power in the legis- es, he appreciated the Prime Minister's boldness ıviting them for co-operation and regarded Sri u's proposals not as a move for "parliamentary ion in the accepted sense of the term but a joint to build the new India."

He expressed his concern that if India failed to ent anything but a pale picture of a welfare state, ppeal of China would become irresistible and that d affect the lives of millions and change the course story disastrously." He also wanted to point out to Nehru that undue importance should not be hed to the "chits that foreigners have given your rnment."

Explaining the programme to a Press Conference ew Delhi on March 19, Sri Narain said : "It will rong to say that the talks have broken down. The have ended, but the idea is still there. It seems time is not yet ripe." He added that the end of talks did not preclude his party's joining hands the Congress in Madras or Andhra. He would like iscuss with Sri Nehru any other point not men- d in the programme. The P.S.P. were in general ment with the Government of India's foreign y but they would like the Government to follow policy adumbrated at the recent Asian Socialist erence. Sri Narain told that they had not said ning about the compensation for Zemindari Aboli- in the programme but to them "rehabilitation pensation seems to be adequate enough. But that open question." In his view foreign aid should be pted only on a Government to Government level there should not be any undue dependence on gn countries. Regarding collaboration with other es, the P.S.P. had decided not to join hands with Sangh or other communal bodies.

Sri Nehru in his reply to the letter of Sri Jai- ash Narain stated that the letter disclosed "not how much we had in common in regard to our outlooks, but the differences in our approach." He pted the goals and values of Socialism as defined ri Narain and also recognised the necessity for g to achieve them in the shortest possible time. The question was how to proceed. He also agreed with Sri Narain that a sense of urgency was lacking in the country generally and "in our policies also." He also wanted to "increase that sense of urgency. I confess that I have a feeling of groping forward step by step, even though the goal might be clear. But I do not wish to argue these matters." His purpose in having talks with the P.S.P. leaders "was obviously due to a feeling that we have big things to do in this country, and we should approach them with our joint effort." He did not think of any precise methods of doing so. After reading Sri Narain's letter he felt that "any kind of a formal step at the present moment would not be helpful." He had little objection to the points in the draft programme sent by Sri Narain but surely it was beyond him "both as Prime Minister and as the President of the Congress to deal with such vital matters and give assurance in regard to them. Many of these may be logically justifiable and yet there may be other reasons which come in the way. Again, one can hardly take all these things in a bunch." At the same time he recognized that the P.S.P. were "perfectly justified in putting forward what you consider your immediate programme to be.

"There lies the difficulty, and it is because of this fact that I feel that it is better for us not in any way to tie each other down, but rather to try, to the best of our ability, to develop both the spirit and the practice of co-operation."

Therefore he agreed with Sri Narain that the talks should be dropped.

In a statement issued from New Delhi on March 18, Sri Nehru stated that the talks had been given up because they felt that "probably the time had not come for any commitments to be made at this stage about minimum programmes, etc., although there might be a good deal of agreement between us."

Giving reasons for inviting the P.S.P. to the exclusion of other parties the statement read: "The parties, as they exist in India today, apart from the Congress, may be divided in four groups. There are certain political parties with an economic ideology. There is the Communist Party with the allied organizations. There are various communal parties under different names but essentially following a narrow communal ideology, and there are a considerable number of local parties and groups having only a provincial or even narrower appeal."

Co-operation with the Communist party was ruled out because it was "far removed from the basic structure and ideology of the Congress and its peaceful methods and democratic objective." The outlook of the communal parties was completely opposed to that of the Congress. The provincial and local groups had no great importance from the all-India point of view.

The Praja Socialist Party was the only other important party and there was a "considerable field of

common approach and methods between the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party." The Prime Minister naturally thought that these two parties should co-operate as "the next five or ten years are going to be crucial in our country's history."

And thus the parleys, lasting over six days, have ended in nought. It is deeply to be regretted that the "sense of urgency" so much stressed by Sri Jaiprakash Narain, seems to have been absent from his own attitude, and, despite his own protests, first things were not always put first. Let us make our statements clear.

Ever since the death of the Sirdar—and to some appreciable extent in his time even—wobble and drift have been the main characteristics of our Government at the Centre. This has been reflected on the policies of the States, in some of which, like West Bengal, the interests of the children of the soil are being totally ignored by incompetent and corrupt administrations headed by ignorant and complacent chiefs. The result is that frustration and despair is marked in all spheres of public weal endeavour and the forces of corruption and disruption are gaining strength every day. Law and order is being severely handicapped by defects in the Constitution, which call for rectification with far more urgency than those that Sri Jaiprakash desired. The very first thing necessary in this country is to check the flood of corruption that threatens to engulf the nation and the logical corollary to that is the strengthening of the Central Government by the inclusion of men of outstanding stature in the terms of integrity, determination and staunchness in the service of the country. And this is just what could have been expected if our beloved friends Sir Jai Prakash and Acharya Narendra Deva had realized the urgency of relieving the distress of the country and decided to postpone the consideration of their articles of faith under a healthier atmosphere. Of the fourteen points, only 2, 3, 4 and 14 were of the essence, the rest could have and should have waited for consideration at a much later date.

The Union Budget

The Union Budget for 1953-54 has been termed as the Budget for the Plan. The Finance Minister was rather anxious to create the necessary psychology that the economic position of the country is on the whole satisfactory and moving in the right direction. To support his stand he showed a surplus on revenue budget when a big deficit was expected on that account. But a close scrutiny reveals that this surplus on revenue account is quite unreal, being the result of window-dressing. Although a certain amount of manipulation of figures has become a customary feature of modern budgets, that is mostly executed so cleverly that the extent of the window-dressing remains unknown until the revised estimates are published. Mr. Deshmukh's manipulation of figures has been done so poorly that even a cursory glance detects the fictitious nature of the surplus on the revenue account. The inclusion under receipts of Rs. 18 *crores* from Pakistan, being the first and second instalments of its pre-partition debt to India, is deliberately made to wipe off otherwise a heavy deficit. It is doubtful whether Pakistan has either the intention or the ability to pay this due amount during the next year. Obviously it is a bad debt. Further, to treat repayment of capital debt in instalments as a revenue receipt instead of regarding it as a capital item, is a wrong procedure. At best the interest due on this debt could alone have been regarded as a revenue receipt.

In his estimates of revenue income, the Finance Minister has been rather over-optimistic. The estimated income of Rs. 159.18 crores by way of corporation and income taxes, as against Rs. 170 crores in the current year, is not likely to prove correct. The results of many joint-stock companies published in recent months indicate that in the coming year the income-tax revenue is likely to fall. It might be possible to collect the amount the Budget has estimated, provided the tax-collecting machinery is honest, active and efficient enough to prevent tax evasion that is going in this country on a large scale. To close the loop-holes through which the Centre loses income-tax revenue, a suitable provision has been included in the Finance Bill for preventing people from buying up speculative losses. The proposed Income-Tax Amendment Bill also contains this provision. This provision has been long overdue to keep down excessive speculation.

The small relief afforded to the low income group and the reduction in the export duty on sackings have been well received by the public. Moreover, there is absence of additional imposts of a heavy nature in the Budget. By raising the exemption limit for personal income-tax from Rs. 3 600 for individuals and Rs. 7,200 for Hindu undivided families to Rs. 4,200 and Rs. 8,400 respectively, the Government have tried to give some relief to the lower income group in the middle class. The extent of the relief is however neglible, the loss of revenue to the Government being estimated to be no more than Rs. 82 lakhs. To the individual within this income slab, the relief works out to about Rs. 100 per year. But this relief in direct taxation is more than offset by the rising cost of living due to higher indirect taxation. It may be remembered that recently the Government imposed additional taxation of the order of Rs. 10 crores by way of an increase in the excise duty on sugar and by levying a special excise of 3 pies on all varieties of cloth. It seems that the Government have adopted a new technique of taxing the people indirectly in that measures are introduced for new or additional taxes in stages in the course of the year and only minor changes are effected in the Budgets just to show to the public that the Government are aware of their difficulties. Taking into account the increases in the sugar and cloth excises, the proposed increases in some of the postal charges and the adjustments made in the import duties, the additions to the existing burden of taxation come to nearly Rs. 16 crores. But actually it will be more than that. The readjustment of the excise duty on cloth from

ad valorem or specific duties only will raise the rate of excise duty on fine counts from about 7 pies per yard to 15 pies per yard, that is, by more than 100 per cent. The fine count textiles constitute a substantial proportion of the total production and as such the yield from the excise duty will be considerable. The withdrawal of the option to the mills to pay either on the basis of *ad valorem* or specific rates, whichever is lower, will prevent to a great extent the downward trend in cloth prices.

The reduction in the export duty on sacking from Rs. 175 per ton to Rs. 80 per ton is a timely move in keeping with the trends of the world competitive market. The jute mills should now seize this opportunity to increase their exports by improving their quality.

The imposition of import duties on luxury and semi-luxury goods, although well-intentioned, may not bring about the desired result, namely, additional revenues, or alternately, larger indigeneous manufactures of the same goods. But the other side of the possibility should not be ignored. The higher import duties may discourage considerably the import of these luxury and semi-luxury goods and consequently the anticipated revenue may not be realised. Again, the indigenous manufacturers of these goods may raise their prices to the extent of the import duty and thus try to take advantage of what is virtually a closed market for them.

Of the development expenditure, more than half is unproductive. The subsidy of Rs. 6 crores for the development of the handloom industry and of Rs. 6.33 crores for the Community Projects will increase the burden on the community and the benefits of such large expenditure are of dubious nature. The abolition of food subsidy will result in a saving of Rs. 21 crores and the additional taxation to the order of Rs. 16 crores would have resulted in a real surplus of Rs. 37 crores, had not the Government thus whittled away large sums by allocations on schemes of doubtful utility.

The increase in postal rates on certain categories would be a severe handicap on the book-publishers. It is a very heavy tax on education in effect, and would destroy small publishers. We have remarked on it in a previous issue.

The expenditure on defence and administration continues to remain high, the former alone accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the total expenditure. Pity it is that while subsidising consumption is obviously found incompatible with planning for more saving and more investment, India has to spend such large sums for her civil administration and for ensuring her security, but times being what they are this has to be done *nolens volens*.

The Finance Minister's difficulty is that although he has been able to balance his revenue budget, he cannot balance his capital budget. On a rough estimate, the total expenditure by the Centre and the States together in the first two years of the Plan is of the order of Rs. 600 crores. The Finance Minister observes that "if the level of development expenditure reached by the States in 1952-53 is maintained in the coming year, the total expenditure, taking the Centre and the States together, for the three years ending March, 1954, would have reached about Rs. 1,000 crores." That is, the development expenditure under the Plan will rise to Rs. 400 crores in the next year which must have to be increased to Rs. 500 crores in the fourth year and to about Rs. 600 crores in the fifth year for its successful implementation. The Budgets of the State Government have shown that the savings required from the States for the Plan have not materialised. The main burden of raising finance for the Plan therefore comes upon the Union which has but two ways for raising finance—taxation or deficit financing. The Union has not agreed to levy fresh taxation on a larger scale and consequently it has to resort to deficit financing.

Deficit financing itself is neither good nor bad—it is the direction and the ways of spending that makes it so. Deficit financing is inflationary and apart from war conditions, in normal times it should be undertaken very cautiously. The main drawback in this presentation of India's public expenditure is that there is no clear-cut distinction between revenue expenditure and capital expenditure. To undertake deficit financing on revenue expenditure is incomprehensible. Deficit financing on capital expenditure can be made provided the schemes are productive to the fullest extent and taxable sources of income are fully tapped. In India, the percentage of direct tax on an income of Rs. 3,00,000 and above amounts to 77, as against 92 in Britain and 90 in the USA on the same income levels. If there be scope for further increasing the rate of taxation on higher income groups then from the viewpoint of a welfare State that should have been more expedient than deficit financing. In view of the widespread tax evasion in this country, the rate of direct taxation on upper income levels should have been raised before resorting to deficit financing. There is risk in resorting to inflationary deficit financing on so large a scale as Rs. 140 crores in the next year. The present conditions in the country do not warrant any expectation of the ability to absorb such a large quantum of additional purchasing power, unless the machinery of taxation as well as price control is geared to the occasion.

And to what purpose is all this risk of inflation and bankruptcy being undertaken? The Hirakud Scandal is a good pointer.

The net position is that although a nominal surplus on revenue account has been achieved, a large overall deficit of Rs. 140 crores is estimated on account of heavy capital expenditure programme. Under the Budget of 1953-54, the total revenue estimated is Rs. 437 crores and the total expenditure estimated stands at Rs. 438 crores. Under the revised estimates of 1952-53, the total revenue was Rs. 418 crores and the total expenditure was Rs. 432 crores.

The Hirakud Scandal

Recently the Public Accounts Committee submitted its sixth report to Parliament on the Hirakud Dam project in Orissa. The main points in the report as published in the *Statesman* are that the works were executed without the preparation and sanction of detailed estimates for an indefinite period of time. The earliest designs of the project were prepared by Central Water and Power Commission only in April, 1951, while work on the project had been started in 1948. The report said: "The responsibility for failure to give finalized designs well in advance and to submit detailed sanctioned estimates in regard to all major works costing over Rs. 2 lakhs must rest with the Central Water and Power Commission. It must also be held ultimately responsible for the large-scale execution of works without sanctioned detailed estimates."

The report said that the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission was fully aware of this state of affairs.

The report said that the project report of 1947, on which basis administrative approval to the project was accorded, "did not contain any designs or plans and the estimated costs were no more than lump sums based upon rough guess-work."

The execution of the project was vested in the Central Water and Power Commission who were also the consultants and whose Chairman became the Additional Secretary of the Ministry. "In this manner almost unfettered power and authority were given to the Commission and its Chairman."

In 1948 work on the project was started, bulk orders for equipment were placed and stores of the value of Rs. 5 crores were brought to Hirakud in a period of six months, but "accommodation facilities did not exist at Hirakud and they were dumped in the open." Because of this, proper control and check could not be exercised, no priced ledgers were in existence even till the time the sub-committee concluded its deliberations, and the ground balances were counted only in 1952.

Out of 4,424 items of work started up to November, 1952, work on 3,516 items, involving an expenditure of Rs. 7,31,24,657, was started without sanctioned detailed estimates. Of these, expenditure of Rs. 4,74,77,797 on 590 items of work were still to be regularized. Three-quarters of the irregularities had occurred after April 1951, and of the total works expenditure incurred between April, 1951 and November, 1952, 90% had been incurred irregularly without sanctioned estimates.

On Jan 6, 1948, the accounts officer of the Commission inquired into the matter on the spot and made a report. Necessary instructions were issued "but with little effect." The execution of works without sanctioned estimates assumed "more serious proportions" and the defects in the upkeep of the works accounts continued.

The Committee regretted that the original decision of the Government to have a financial adviser at the Centre for all projects and a joint financial adviser with a chief accounts officer working under him at the project site was not put into effect. The procedure of having a financial adviser-*cum*-chief accounts officer was unfair both to the chief engineer and the financial adviser himself. It would have been far more satisfactory to have a whole-time financial adviser with authority to accord sanction on behalf of the Finance Ministry.

The selection of senior staff of the project was characterised as "unhappy" and "unfortunate." These officers had little regard for financial proprieties and rules; they systematically defied the authority responsible for their enforcement internally. The report says: "It is distressing that in finding the personnel for dealing with one of the world's great projects, it does not appear to have been realized that the officers must be carefully selected for their technical capacity and for their ability to work as a team with enthusiasm and missionary zeal, for the progress of the country." The First Chief Engineer was only an officiating superintending engineer who had received rapid promotion. The Committee also expressed its astonishment that in a project of this magnitude, a fulltime chief engineer had not yet been appointed and that the present chief engineer was partly at Hirakud and partly a designs member of the Central Water and Power Commission. This state of affairs had existed for nearly two years.

People were engaged "who were found unsuitable for the purpose of the project on account of their unsatisfactory antecedents."

In the case of the Superintending Engineer, Subsidiary and Canals Circle, while two cases relating to the purchase of sleepers and the import of bullocks were under inquiry against him, the Irrigation and Power Ministry recommended him for deputation to the USA under the Point Four Programme. The proposal was dropped when the Finance Ministry objected, but the Irrigation and Power Ministry arranged for the officer's deputation abroad.

There had been some criticism about the form of accounts. In the opinion of the sub-committee the criticism was wholly unjustified and was "merely an attempt to justify the negligence of officers."

The sub-committee said that a controversy about the procedure was raised, and pending settlement, the prescribed procedure was not followed. "It is a very serious thing that an officer was allowed to disregard the authorised procedure merely because he personally did not agree with some particular aspect of the procedure."

The stores division was allowed to get into such a disorganized state that nobody ever took the trouble of complying with the authorized procedure and of maintaining the required records, or pricing the stores, or keeping the price ledgers. According to the then Chief Engineer, Mr. Vasisht, there was really nothing wrong with the stores accounting system as such. "What was wrong, was

ie superintending engineer and the executive engi-
for reasons of prestige, which are inscrutable, did
int to work the system laid down in the Hirakud
ting memorandum."

ie report added: "The sub-committee feels that
should be taken against those responsible for flout-
e prescribed procedure and neglecting to do their
The sub-committee are not convinced that want of
ras the main reason for non-observance of the
bed procedure.

he present position is so unsatisfactory that it will
iany months to set right the accounts and to verify
r all the balances that ought to be there are

ie sub-committee said that the Finance Ministry
accept its share of responsibility for the delay in
g an organization at Hirakud for financial control
ison and the maintenance of the project accounts."
is a lesson for the future, the sub-committee would
ttention to the fact that the Public Accounts Com-
have in recent years repeatedly drawn the attention
Government to the audit organization for each new
involving considerable expenditure and the fact
ich arrangements should be regarded as an integral
t the planning of the execution of a project as a

egarding payment of bills differences arose
m the Financial Adviser and the engineers. The
ial Adviser raised objections to payments,
he did not generally withhold payments. These
ions continued to multiply in number, and
payments were made by the Financial Adviser,
ions were not cleared for a very long time. This
of affairs continued right up to the beginning of
hen the question of non-preparation of detailed
tes was brought to the forefront by a report
ted by the Accountant-General, Orissa. From
1951, these irregularities grew in enormous pro-
is. The Finance Ministry had also been drawing
on of the Irrigation and Power Ministry to the
irregularities.

ie Committee then drew attention to a number
ns of work resulting in nugatory or infructuous
liture—the abandonment of the power-*cum*-
tion channel and its subsidiary after incurring an
liture of Rs. 1.40 crores, besides Rs. 52 lakhs on
rchase of electrical plant and machinery, and
penditure of Rs. 2¾ lakhs on the bridge across
er channel which has not yet been constructed.
if the channel had come into existence, there
arcely any necessity or urgency for the con-
on of the bridge.

ie lists of scandalous improprieties and obvious
ies are too big to be included in these columns.
e not surprised that already attempts are being
officially, to whitewash stinking scandals like
release of sleepers and timber from Punjab
contractors. And we have to suffer three years more
of the Five-Year Muddle.

Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact

India and Pakistan signed a three-year Trade Pact on 20th March. Under this agreement, India has virtually guaranteed the purchase of at least 1.8 million bales of raw jute from Pakistan, which is expected to be the minimum quantity required. If the industry's needs exceed this figure, Pakistan has undertaken to facilitate the export of raw jute up to 2.5 million bales a year. This arrangement will last three years. In return, India will supply larger quantities of rail-borne coal to Pakistan than before. Though the actual amount is not mentioned in the agreement, it is understood to be one million tons a year. India has also agreed to assist Pakistan by transporting some of this coal in Indian wagons. Pakistan will not be required to divert more than 1,000 wagons per month against the present total of 1,500.

The need for a long-term arrangement on other items, including timber and iron and steel was also discussed. For the time being, however, the existing agreement, it appears, will be allowed to run its course.

A section of the Press has been much too jubilant over this trade agreement. It should however be taken with a grain of salt. Nobody would deny that the economic structure of these two countries is complementary. But this is also true in a wider perspective of the entire world economics. While we are not living in a closed system, the collective efforts of the humanity are inevitably complementary. That is no ground why India should maintain trade relationships with this neighbouring country with whom political relationship is otherwise embittered since these two countries came into being. Economic conditions are dynamic and what was true five years ago may not be the same today. Just after partition, it was found that while all the then existing jute mills in the Sub-Continent were in the Indian Union, Pakistan had the monopoly in the production and supply of raw jute which was inevitably needed by the jute mills in the Indian Union. These mills required nearly 50/60 lakh bales of raw jute, while the Indian Union produced only 6 lakh bales of raw jute. In those difficult days Pakistan obstructed by all possible means the supply of jute to Indian mills. Last year India produced nearly 46 lakh bales of jute. India today has almost achieved self-sufficiency in jute and is nearing the target production set forth by the Five-Year Plan. Indian economy now can afford to go independently of Pakistan. In the trade agreement of 1952, jute was omitted as Pakistan resorted to a discriminatory imposition of duty of Rs. 2|8|- on jute to be exported to India. Strange it was that trade agreement was still concluded, India agreeing to give away her valuable strategic materials in exchange of trivial and insignificant materials from Pakistan, namely, Bidis, betelnuts, etc. An examination of the last year's

agreement will reveal that it was concluded as if to help Pakistan with our important materials. There was not a single item to be supplied by Pakistan which was essential or important to the Indian economy.

The new trade agreement will adversely affect the production of jute in India and India's bid to attain self-sufficiency will inevitably be cold-storaged. Prices of Indian jute are bound to come down resulting in falling acreage. Pakistan to her peril has learnt that India is her only substantial market. At first she tried to starve the Indian jute mills and exported raw jute to continental countries for being manufactured there. This move did not bring about the desired result and Pakistan's jute cultivation was alarmingly threatened against ever-decreasing demands. At this moment India comes and stretches her helping hands to Pakistan to save her jute production.

We would ask, who besides Pakistan would benefit? The Jute Mills possibly. But most of those mills are under non-Indian control and we give the following table, taken from the speech of a West Bengal M.L.A., to show how they benefit the country.

A statement of three European and Indian managed jute industries for the last three and a half years:

Indian Managed Jute Industry of 3½ Years

Mill's name	No. of Looms	Total Profit Rs.	Profit per Loom Rs.	Paid I. Tax Rs.
Bengal	600	19082451	18304	5200000
Birla	1373	21485270	15648	7875000
Hukumchand	2272	19801851	8725	8400000
	4245	60369562	14221 (*Average*)	21475000

European Managed Jute Industry of 3½ Years

		Loss Rs.	Loss Rs.	Rs.
Fort William	1014	1790033	1765	....
Gouripore	1394	2234049	1602	....
Ganges	1709	1611345	942	....
	4117	5635429	1469 (*Average*)	....

We regret to say that the Indian captains of Industry are no saints either, although they shine in comparison.

What is India giving in return? Her coal, in which India has very limited reserves and which India should not export. India's total reserves of metallurgical coal amount to America's one year's production. It is a pity that when it is a known fact that India's coal reserves are very very limited, it did not strike the authorities to make economic use of this commodity. This is something which is nothing but criminal wastage of our valuable resources. And India with her own wagons would give delivery of coal to Pakistan. It was reported sometime ago that Pakistan has retained many wagons of India and was refusing to deliver them to India. Before entering into such a trade pact, at secretarial level being advised by the jute millowners, an impartial and representative committee should have been set up to decide the question if India at all needed Pakistani jute and whether this country should afford to export her coal.

By partition, India lost three valuable commodities to Pakistan, *viz.*, raw jute, cotton and hides and skins. India has since then greatly improved in her domestic production of jute and hides and skins. In cotton cultivation, India has made rapid progress, and although she imports long-stapled cotton, she also exports her coarse cotton. This time India is not importing cotton from Pakistan. The new agreement leaves the impression that it has been concluded just to help Pakistan get out of her jute crisis. Lastly, the vexed question of higher exchange ratio of the Pakistani rupee still remains unsolved and it operates adversely against India. Pakistan should have showered blessings on our moodle-pated Byzantine Eunuchs of the Central Cabinet. She is concentrating on a Jehad propaganda instead!

Nationalisation of Air Transport

The Government of India have decided to nationalise the air transport industry of India. It is proposed to introduce in the present Budget Session of Parliament, a Bill to provide for the establishment of two corporations to take over and run the air transport of the country. One of the corporations will take over all internal air services and the other will run the international routes. The corporations will be autonomous bodies. A provision of Rs. 9.5 crores has been included by the Planning Commission in the Five-Year Plan in connection with the proposed nationalisation of the air transport operations. A sum of Rs. 1.25 crores has been provided in the coming year's budget. All the Indian Air Companies, except one, are running at a loss and although the Government of India have been giving financial aid to these companies, their financial position has not improved. The Dakota type of aircraft which is being used in most of our internal transport services has now become out of date. The older types of aircraft cannot stand in competitive advantages against newer types. The replacement of the existing aircraft fleets with more efficient types cannot be put off further. The air transport companies in this country are not in a position to raise the necessary capital for acquiring new machines. Government ultimately shall have to provide fresh capital to these companies. If the Government provide a large sum for purchasing new aircrafts, they feel that they should also take over the administration of the services. So far the argument is convincing. But the opposite views should not be ignored.

India is ignoring productive developments and blocking money raised by deficit financing in unproductive projects. By nationalising the air transport system at this moment, Government are putting

a premium on inefficient enterprises. The Dakotas and other older types of machines have only scrap value and they do not deserve payment from the public money. Government are unnecessarily taking over the liability of private enterprises and diverting the limited resources of the country to safeguard the interests of the few. Nobody would object if the Government start new air services by purchasing new machines. Most of the air services do not seem to be essential and they do not warrant State acquisition just at the moment. There are many other requirements of the country which should be given priority rather than nationalising the air transport services. Nationalisation would mean nationalisation with compensation and that would be an indulgence to inefficient and extravagant private enterprises. Inefficiency selling at a premium? If the Airways India can earn profits, why not other companies?

Nepali Congress Session

The Nepali Congress Central Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board met at Kathmandu from the 10th to the 13th March, 1953. The Working Committee passed a resolution welcoming "those members of the Congress who have seceded from it, if they desire to come back into the present fold accepting the discipline of the organisation." The Congress was also ready "to take steps for co-ordination and co-operation with other parties" because the Congress felt unity of co-ordination among the nationalist and progressive elements in Nepal was very urgent and "it was the responsibility of the Congress to bring about" that unity.

Another resolution stated that the Indian military mission in Nepal had served its purpose and should now be withdrawn "in the interest of healthy relationship between India and Nepal and of Nepal's healthy international attitude."

In the field of foreign affairs, the Congress wanted friendly relations with all countries, and non-alignment with any power blocs. The Congress would "welcome any help given to us for our economic development by friendly countries without political string."

A national commission was proposed to be set up for administrative reforms.

The resolution dealing with the political situation inside Nepal, states that "the whole basis of the counsellors' regime is revivalism, and it is making efforts to re-introduce old feudal system." A sub-committee of five has been formed with the responsibility of the preparation of a programme of action for launching of a popular movement against the existing regime.

We have perused the long communique carefully. We regret to see that the old feuds and partisanships are plainly affecting all national issues in Nepal. The Congress, as it is today, seems to be oblivious of realities, and too anxious to obtain power at all costs.

Changes in U.P. Food Policy

Sri C. B. Gupta, Minister for Food and Civil Supplies, Government of U.P., told the State Assembly on March 13, that the State Government proposed to sell all foodgrains on a 'no profit no loss' basis, *i.e.*, the sales at Government relief shops would no longer be subsidised, reports the *Leader* of March 15.

The full significance of the measure could be understood only by a study of the present pattern of sales of food-grains in U. P. According to the paper:

"After the abolition of statutory rationing on July 1 last year, and the changes that followed the current pattern is as follows: In the 62 towns which used to be under total rationing at present at Government shops a card-holder can get 4 chhataks of wheat per day at the rate of two seers two chhataks per rupee (subsidised rate), two chhataks of wheat at no-profit-no-loss rate of 1 seer 14 chhataks per rupee and four chhataks, of course, grains at non-subsidised rates. In towns, other than the 62 regulated (which used to be under rationing) under recent orders wheat is to be sold at the rate of one seer 14 chhataks per rupee (non-subsidised rate) if prices in open markets shoot beyond this. In eastern districts and hill areas where austerity provisioning and hill provisioning schemes are in force coarse grains are being sold at heavily subsidised rates."

All the above subsidies would be abolished. The Minister also announced that with the coming of the *rabi* crop in the market and the stabilisation of prices, the sale of grain from the Government relief shops would be confined to towns having a population of one lakh and over and in deficit towns of eastern districts and hill towns. "In that case," writes the *Leader*, "towns having regular Government food-grain shops would be reduced to 34."

There would be no monopoly procurement or grain levy. Government would purchase through licenced traders who would be required to give a certain percentage of their purchases to the Government.

The Government had asked from the Union Government three lakh tons of wheat with a view to maintaining a reserve for emergencies.

The Uttar Pradesh is luckier than most provinces in regard to pressure of population on the soil and the quality of a great part of the soil. The physique of the peasantry is also superior to most others excepting those in the Punjab and Rajasthan. If the U. P. Government had a more intimate contact with the agriculturists, production could be increased and hoarding eliminated. Then the State could be easily self-sufficient.

Community Life in Rural Bengal

Dr. B. S. Guha, Director, Department of Anthropology, writes in the *Weekly West Bengal*, that a survey undertaken by his Department in a rural area

in 24 Parganas "which both with regard to its historical background, nature of settlements and socio-economic conditions may be regarded as a cross-section of the life of rural Bengal" disclosed that in the villages the greatest part of the cultivable land belonged to the upper castes who got them cultivated by others on a share-produce basis.

"The survey disclosed great defects in the nutritional value of the food taken specially with regard to protein and vitamin contents. These, reinforced by early marriages, determine the poor physical state of the people and the consequent low output of crops which is raised only once in a year without manuring. The system of the share-produce system affords no interest to actual tillers, neither do the landlord take any interest in the improvement of the land, with the result that the productivity of land after hundreds of years of cultivation has considerably gone down."

It was found that upper caste Hindus still conformed to the joint family system, "although as a result of economic pressure and increase of members of the family, disorganisation, minimising the authoritarian aspect of the older joint family life, has set in but without producing any proper balance or harmony of the diverging ideologies now coming into force."

In the lower section of the Hindus the compactness of the joint family system and the authoritarian structure were less apparent. Women had greater freedom.

The major occupation of the upper caste Hindus was "service." The lower section including the Muslims lived by manual labour and the actual cultivation of land.

In the Muslim community though group solidarity was stronger and there was greater scope for individual enterprise and the people were relatively realistic, "the extreme ethnocentric attitude of the Muslim community stand in the way of their integration in the general community life."

"In short," writes Dr. Guha, "there does not appear to be any objective or a target, either ideological or socio-economic, to which the community as a whole, can strive for, nor is there any mechanism to achieve this purpose."

So long as the present government by party caucus continues, with a superannuated patriarch at the head and mediocrities, nonentities and notorieties in office, there will never be any target nor objective in the life of the West Bengal people, the most frustrated in the Union.

Land Reforms in Hyderabad

The Hyderabad Government proposes to amend the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950. If the amendment is passed and implemented, the Chief Minister of Hyderabad, Mr. Ramkrishna Rao, is reported to have said that about eight to ten lakh acres of land *out of the three crore acres of cultivable* land in the State might be available for distribution for co-operative farming and among the landless people.

Giving the above information *P.T.I.* reports that the amendment bill envisaged a land census in the whole state and the setting-up of a seven-man Land Commission consisting of officials and non-officials to determine basic, family and maximum holdings.

The family holding was defined as an area which could be cultivated by a working family of five members and which would yield a net annual income of rupees eight hundred. The basic holding was one-third of a family holding and the maximum holding was roughly four and a half times the family holding.

According to Mr. Rao, Hyderabad was probably the first state in India to fix the maximum holding. But the income basis is apt to be puzzling, as apart from the nature of the soil, it would depend on the nature of the crops and the industry and skill of the cultivators.

Bihar Cane-growers and Sugar Policy

The *Leader* reports that the eighth annual conference of the Bihar State Cane-growers Co-operative Association which was held at Pachrukhi in Saran under the Presidentship of Sri Dip Narain Sinha, State Minister for Co-operatives, strongly criticized the Government of India's sugar policy because it had given a set-back to the industry instead of establishing it. The resolution stated : "The growers have lost incentive for planned production of raw materials and they have begun to think that the industry is only meant for the benefit of the manufacturers."

The Government of India encroached on the rights of the State Government and took all powers in their hands regarding production and fixing of prices. Besides, "the bid for making other states self-sufficient in the matter of sugar has created an unhealthy competition and has left a very depressing effect on the industry" of Bihar "where about seven lakh people depend entirely on this industry only."

The Government's vacillating policy regarding control of sugar had "put an unearned income in the pockets of industrialists at the cost of the producers and the consumers."

The resolution demanded that power should be given to the State Government to fix the price of cane after due consultation with the Association keeping in view the cost of cane cultivation cartage and other charges. It was also demanded that "price level should be maintained by giving rebate on subsidy for a period of three years till the industry is stabilised."

The Cane-growers and the cane-growing States should understand that there is a limit to their extortionate demands that affect less fortunate states. We have seen how production per acre *has dropped* as price per maund of cane was increased, due to laziness of growers and how prices of sugar, an essential in the protective diet of all people, was sent soaring up to meet the rapacious demands

growers and millers. Both of these unlovable have caused suffering to hundreds of millions. overnment of India has only done its duty in pro- the helpless buyers, who outnumber the growers illers by a thousandfold.

Pie Holds up Salary

ıe *Leader* in its issue dated the 25th March reports bout 2400 District Board Teachers could not get alary for about a month and a half because the bad Treasury refused to pass the bill amounting 2,11,450-12-2½ which contained a fraction of a he Secretary of the Board having agreed to forego rment of half pie, the grant was likely to be cashed. at was also not certain, the paper says.

is, if true, is an example of out-heroding Herod in e idiocy.

Water Scarcity in Madhya Pradesh

ıe *Leader*, quoting a *PTI* dispatch from Nagpur,

:

Vater scarcity in parts of nine districts of ya Pradesh is 'becoming acute day by day,' ing to the latest official report. The worst-affected is Berar, comprising the districts of Amaravati, Yeotmal and Buldana, where paucity of rainfall last few years has accentuated an already uate supply position.

leports received here say that people of vati, Achalpur, Akola and Khamgaon in Berar; lwa and Burhanpur in Nimar district and Chhin- are experiencing 'considerable cifficulty' in get- lequate water.

Vater is being sold at four annas a bucket in Amravati and Khamgaon, according to these s.

n some rural areas, people are reported to be ıg a distance of two to three miles to obtain ıg water.

he hilly tracts of Arvi tahsil in Wardha district arts of Betul and Nagpur districts are also d by water scarcity."

i S. L. Verma, C.E.O., Corporation of Nagpur in the *Hitavada* that "the position of water supply the coming months is very gloomy." The normal supply of water to the Nagpur City was 12 million a day which is obtained from Ambajheri reservoir, orewara reservoir and the Kanhan water works. opulation of Nagpur in 1951 was 4,50,000 exclud- e population of the new 34 villages added to the of the Nagpur Corporation. This unprecedented se in population notwithstanding, the above three s could meet the requirements of water of the of Nagpur and the average consumption of water ead per day excluding the supplies made to the ries was nearly 25 gallons.

he abnormally low rainfall during 1952-53, though using much harm to the crops, had "certainly affected the water supply position all over the district, because the rainfall was almost in intermittent showers and there was hardly any torrential rain during the rainy season, with the result that there was practically no run-off in the catchment areas of the tanks at Ambajheri and Gorewara and of the river Kanhan."

Consequently no more than 5 million gallons of water would be available for daily consumption during the period from April to June this year as against the normal draw of 12 million gallons. This will leave the people with a supply of ten gallons of water per head per day.

The Corporation have built a bund in the Kanhan river so as to store about 150 million gallons of water to be drawn up in May and June and have embarked upon a project of cleaning the wells in the city.

All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference

The fourth session of the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference was held at Puri from 4th to 6th January 1953 under the auspices of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh and its Orissa State Branch. As on the previous occasions this session was largely attended by delegates from all over India, and some from outside countries. The total number of delegates from India was about 200. Besides India, delegates came from Burma and Indonesia, and the South East Asian Region of W.H.O. sent an observer.

The three previous Conferences were held at Wardha (1947), at Calcutta (1948) and at Madras (1950), and were presided over by Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dr. Ernest Muir respectively. It may be mentioned that the first Conference was held, under the auspices of the Kasturba Memorial Fund, and at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the unavoidable absence of Shri Mavalankar due to illness, Shri Devadas Gandhi, Vice-Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, was good enough to accept the invitation to take the chair. The welcome address was given by Rajmata Basanta Manjari Devi, Deputy Minister of Health, Orissa, and the Conference was inaugurated by Sri Saiyid Fazl Ali, the Governor of Orissa. The inaugural session was followed by technical sessions at which discussions on various subjects were held, and these were followed by a closing session. A special feature of the present session of the Conference was that the Indian Association of Leprologists held its separate scientific and business sessions. The scientific sessions were open to the non-medical delegates who attended as observers.

The inaugural session was opened with the national anthem. In his Presidential Address, Shri Devadas Gandhi also laid stress on the same point and stated that the successful solution of the leprosy problem "demands the closest collaboration between official and non-official agencies." He paid a tribute to the pioneer work of foreign Christian Missions in the field, but stressed the need of intensifying national efforts in the

cause, specially in view of the changed conditions. He therefore pleaded to "place leprosy work high up in the priorities of our national programme."

RESOLUTIONS

1. This Conference pays its homage to the sacred memory of that great social worker and friend and benefactor of those suffering from leprosy—Shri Thakkar Bapa—who died on the 19th January, 1951. His noble example will ever continue to be a source of inspiration to leprosy workers throughout the country.

2. This Conference learns with profound regret about the sad and sudden demise on 29th December 1952 of Dr. V. Ramchandra Kamath, M.B. B.S., D.L.O. (London) at the early age of 42. He was a devoted and sincere leprosy worker of South India, who was till recently Medical Officer-in-Charge, Thakkar Bapa Leprosy Clinic, Tirokoilur, South Arcot District. The Conference resolves to place on record its deep appreciation of the valuable service rendered by him to the cause of leprosy and convey to his family its deep sympathy in their bereavement.

3. This Conference places on record its deep sense of sorrow on the passing away last year of Dr. K. G. Sundaram of the Mission Leprosy Home, Ramachandrapuram, South India and conveys its sympathy to the bereaved family.

4. This Conference endorses the following resolutions passed by the Indian Association of Leprologists:

(*i*) Inasmuch as children suffering from leprosy cannot be restrained from mixing with their brothers and sisters or other children of their neighbourhood, or at schools, and thus exposing them to easy infection, this Association considers it highly important that there should be special homes, wherever possible, for children afflicted with the disease where they should receive good care and education. The Association draws the special attention of Governments, local bodies and non-official organisations engaged in leprosy work to this aspect of the problem.

(*ii*) This Association draws the attention of the various State Governments to the following resolution of the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference, Wardha, 1947:

"It is the considered opinion of this Conference that leprosy patients needing temporary hospitalisation for treatment of general diseases as well as for complications from leprosy should be admitted into the General Hospitals; non-infective cases in general wards and infective cases in infectious diseases wards. Although most Governments have accepted this principle, it is regrettable that it is not put into practice largely due to the attitude of the medical and other staff of such hospitals. This Conference, therefore, hopes that the Central and State Governments will issue necessary further instructions so that the admission of such patients in the hospitals under their control is ensured whenever necessary."

(*iii*) This Association appeals to the members of the medical profession to recognise the need for rationalisation of their own attitude, as well as that of the general public, towards leprosy in keeping with the new outlook manifested throughout the world in respect of this problem.

(*iv*) This Association draws attention of all Governments to the following resolution adopted at the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference at Wardha in 1947 regarding urban leprosy and learns with regret that in some places instead of increasing the existing facilities, the ones available at present are being curtailed:

"The Conference while recognising the importance of rural leprosy would also draw attention to the need of organising adequate relief and prevention of leprosy in urban areas and emphasises that while home isolation where possible should be taken into account as a desirable method in large towns, the need for institutional segregation and the relief of the needy and disabled must be kept in mind."

5. This Conference has learnt with deep concern that in the projected Hindu Marriage Act leprosy is included as a ground for divorce. Considering the low infectivity of leprosy and its non-hereditary nature, the Conference is strongly of the opinion that there is not only no justification for its inclusion on medical grounds but that it will nullify most of the good work done during the last quarter of a century in the reorientation of public opinion on this subject. Therefore the Conference urges that leprosy be omitted from the said measure.

6. In view of the fact that "closed" cases of leprosy are not a danger to the community, and the modern methods of treatment are happily able to prevent crippling consequences of the disease, the Conference reiterates its view that presons affected with "closed" type of leprosy should not be discharged from employment because of their conditions provided they continue treatment in a recognised institution. It should, however, be understood that, in the case of factories, they would not demand any compensation for any deformity or injury caused or aggravated because of the nature of the disease.

7. Having regard to the all-round interest manifested in the cause of eradication of leprosy in the country, and to enable the work to proceed smoothly and with speed and vigour, this Conference earnestly requests the principal organisations concerned with leprosy work to consider the need for the appointment of a small committee consisting of representatives of the principal organisations to prepare a joint plan for the co-ordination and distribution of leprosy work. The earlier such a plan is prepared, made publicly known, and put into effect, the better will the work progress towards the common goal.

8. This Conference endorses the following resolution passed by the Leprosy Advisory Board of the Gandhi

Vidhi at its meeting held on 19th June, 1952 and recommends to the Central and the State Gov to abide by it :

) All ex-leprosy patients should be periodically for acid-fast bacilli ;

) Those who are negative but have deformities e rehabilitated by sending them to a hospital ecial training is given to these patients to do d of work fitted to their condition ;

i) Those who are negative and have no deformi- do propaganda and publicity work. They can gardening and other work. The social work tter be done by healthy workers as they have to iately with both adults and children. If, before date of examination, the disease of the ex comes active again, he may spread the infection ie period of interval between one examination next for acid-fast bacilli ; and their cases dealt he light of the results of the examination."

This Conference requests the Government of invite the International Leprosy Association to next (1958) session of the International Congress in India.

al Danger Facing Hindi

Maganbhai P. Desai writes in the *Harijan*, , 1953, that as Indians speak different languages, for a common medium of inter-provincial and communication was quite obvious ; and to "Hindi is the best suited of all our regional ." But that Hindi should be quite simple and highly Sanskritised one advocated by Sri Purus Tandon and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. ech on February 20 before the Hindi Sahitya at Aligarh, Sri Tandon had said that a language was essential for national unity and dangers faced the evolution of Hindi as a language: one was the love of English; the other ement in U.P. to have Urdu declared the re- nguage of the state." Citicizing this viewpoint i writes : "If there is any danger facing the f the national language it is this exclusive spirit g our unity and composite culture and not Urdu mand for recognition as a regional language of hich it is and should be so recognised, even in r interests of the reunity and solidarity of our nd its composite culture as also the interests of th of a truly national language".

this is beside the point to the vast majority of whose mother-language is neither Hindi nor Urdu hom both Devanagari or Urdu Script is foreign. ould be some measure by which the unfair of the Hindi or Hindustani speaking peoples is d in all public services and professions. Every person in India should know two Indian , one of which must be Hindi. Besides that, uld be a Hindi Lexicon authorised by an All-India Committee, and a rationalized grammar eliminating anomalies in gender conventions, etc.

French Settlements in India

The *Leader* reports the formation of the "French India Liberation League" at a public meeting held in Nagapattinam on the 22nd March. The League would, to quote the resolution, "help and lend moral support to the Indian people in French settlements in India in their struggle for freedom and to merge with the Indian Union."

The territories occupied by the French legitimately belonged to the Indian Union and the French should immediately quit them peacefully if they wanted the friendship and goodwill of the Indian people. The meeting strongly condemned the repressive measures let loose by the French authorities on the people advocating merger with the Indian Union. An appeal was made to Premier Nehru to expedite his efforts to liberate the people in the French Settlements in India who were "undergoing untold mental agony and physical torture."

The insane colonial policy followed by France in Asia will ultimately lead to her destruction as a World Power. France must understand that in the world of today she is not only out-of-date in her policy but also a source of world unrest.

New U.S. Ambassador to India

President Eisenhower has nominated Mr. George Venable Allen as the United States Ambassador to India in succession to Mr. Chester Bowles. A trained professional diplomat Mr. Allen is reported to be one of the most competeat men in the State Department. He has specialised in Near Eastern relations almost since going to the department, and has spent more than eight years in the field. A former Chief of the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs of the State Department, he is fully acquainted with problems involved in United States relations with all the Near and Middle Eastern nations.

Mr. Allen is now 49 years old and has been in diplomatic service since 1930, before which he was a newspaper reporter and school teacher. His service abroad includes assignments at Shanghai, Cairo, Teheran, Athens and other foreign countries. Mr. Allen's most recent three assignments were—Ambassador to Iran (1946-48), as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs (1948-49), and Ambassador to Yugoslavia (since 1949). He was a political adviser at the Truman-Churchill-Stalin Conference held at Potsdam in July 1945. He was also present at the Roosevelt-Churchill-Inonu Conference at Cairo in December, 1943.

U.N. Secretary-General

The selection of the new Secretary-General of the U. N. has reached an impasse. Article 97 of the Charter lays down that the Security Council recommends him and the General Assembly appoints him.

Four names were suggested to succeed Mr. Trygvi Lie and were in turn rejected by the Security Council: They were Mr. Lester B. Pearson of Canada, Brig.-Gen. Romulo of Philippines, Mr. Shrezeskesewski of Poland and Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of India. The nomination of Mrs. Pandit was opposed by the Anglo-American bloc on various pretexts and was finally rejected by a vote of two in favour, one against and eight abstentions.

An earlier report in the *Leader* of March 9, disclosed that the delegate of Nationalist China on the Security Council would veto Mrs. Pandit's nomination. It is presumed that the opposing vote referred to above was that of the delegate of Nationalist China. This again brings to the fore the anachronism in the United Nations where the representative of a Government which has no control over its own territory can veto the decision of the Security Council.

"Little Europe at Loggerheads"

Mr. Iqbal Singh, the well-known journalist, commenting on the conference of Foreign Ministers of France, Italy, Western Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg, in Rome which concluded on February 25, writes in the *People* that the conference failed to achieve its objects. The conference ostensibly met to consider an ambitious plan for the creation of an Economic Union of Little Europe put forward by Herr Beyen, the Dutch Foreign Minister. Professedly, the conference was also to "examine the work of a paradoxical body which is called 'the constitutional commission of the Pre-Constituent Assembly' and which had been set up sometime back to draw up a constitutional framework for the European Defence Community."

But the real problem before the conference was the question of a European Army. On May 27, 1952, the above six governments signed in Paris a treaty providing for the establishment of a "European Defence community" and a "European Army." But even after nine months the treaty had not yet been ratified by parliaments. Even France, the country, which had taken the initiative, put forward new conditions for ratification of the treaty with a view to providing herself with certain guarantees and safeguards against a German preponderance in the European Defence Community.

The Italian, Dutch and the Luxembourg representatives viewed the French proposals as violating the "European and supra-national" spirit of the European army treaty. The Germans were quite upset as the proposals, carried into effect, would eliminate German equality in the project. The German firmness in resisting the French proposals had in its course stiffened the French attitude. The reflection of this attitude was summed up by Andre Fontaine in *Le Monde*, where he wrote that "recent political evolution has led the French Government to be much more wary than in the past over the abandonment of sovereignty."

Signor De Gasperi's efforts at mediation also failed to bridge the diverging points of view and the conference broke up without arriving at any decision.

France, like Spain in the mediæval period, always places its own interests above that of smaller or weaker nations. This arrant selfishness and arrogance has been the source of unrest in the West for over two centuries.

Developments in Pakistan and India

The *People* writes that Indian official circles are "viewing with considerable anxiety combined with sympathy the alarming development in Pakistan."

"There is not the slightest attempt here (New Delhi) to minimise the gravity of the reaction of these developments on India.

"Martial law is never an easy matter, Lahore is only at stone's throw from Amritsar where we are having enough trouble already from the Akalis. Both the anti-Ahmediya and Akali agitations represent an extreme type of communalism, with this difference, however, that the Akalis have very little support on this side of the border while the movement against the Ahmediyas is widespread in Pakistan and is capable of setting graver problems to the Government. It does not appear either that the martial law is being shortly enforced, in the absence of popular support.

"Politically Pakistan has been following a wrong policy with regard to India for the sake of getting Kashmir. The anti-Indianism has taken a new turn. It has become anti-Ahmediaism, and tomorrow it will become anti-Shiaism. Economically, Pakistan is touching bottom. There is a tremendous shortage of food. The foreign exchange reserves are falling. The new import policy is sending up prices. India does not certainly welcome the long, famished hordes trekking their way into her territory in search of food."

To prevent this eventuality, Pandit Nehru and his wiseacres have decided to starve the poor agriculturist millions of West Bengal and North Bihar instead!

Anti-Ahmediya Disturbances in Lahore

Sri Kundan Lal writes in the *People* that the anti-Ahmediya agitation was not of recent origin. "In joint Punjab this fire had been smouldering for almost a decade." After Partition the old hatred against the Ahmediyas was rekindled. Efforts were made by the rulers to divert the people's attention towards Kashmir by starting a nation-wide campaign of virulence against India.

But, the writer says, "there was no dearth of disgruntled wily politicians, hungering for power in Pakistan, ever waiting to play havoc with public enthusiasm, raise it to new heights of frenzy by appealing to the baser emotions of the human heart.

"And so it came about. The people that had been fed for years on wild notions of religious intolerance suddenly turned Mullah-crazy. The hymn of hate directed against "these enemies of Islam from within"—the helpless Ahmediyas—set the masses aflame.

"The actors in this diabolical drama were the wily veterans that enacted the drama of loot and carnage during partition.

"Everything was done, in accordance with the plan which was known to have been under preparation for months. Now, as before, charts were drawn of the properties to be destroyed and looted; white marks were painted on houses and shops belonging to prominent Ahmediyas for easy identification; victims of violence were chosen and listed and the persons who were to execute these ghastly deeds were allotted their respective tasks.

"At the appointed hour the avalanche of purge descended on victims. The butcher's knife slashed once again innocent throats in the name of Islam. Thousands of men were assaulted, murdered or burnt alive. Their properties were looted, their houses were burnt.

"The misguided youth abducted and raped women by the hundred. For a week the Devil's dance went on unchecked...

"Purdahnashin young women were snatched from the protecting arms of their parents and husbands, making vain appeals to stony hearts to save their modesty.

"Verily the boomerang had hit back Pakistan—and with what vigour. Today it is the Ahmediyas, tomorrow it will be the Shias, the day-after it may be the Punjabi against the non-Punjabi. There is no knowing where this mad game will end."

Thus is written another chapter in the history of the Communal Frankenstein, begat by the British, nurtured by the Congress by its policy of appeasement and fully armed and let loose by the Moslem League on the eve of the Partition.

New Masters in the Kremlin

By the death, through massive cerebral hæmorrhage, of Marshal Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin on the evening of 5th March at 9-30 P.M., an all-time world-figure has passed beyond human ken.

The historian of a later day will give the true assessment of the man. But few men, if any, have achieved so much in one life-time, and to few was given so much power for good or evil. No conqueror in history, neither any puissant war-lord had dominated the world-stage in that fashion, and none have affected the destinies of entire nations in this way. For his own country and his chosen peoples, he had achieved much. And in the hour of their greatest peril and trial, when the massive Russian armies and vast territories containing gigantic mechanical establishments had been shattered and devastated by the guns, planes and panzers of Hitler, he remained calm and steadfast, rallying his armies and his peoples.

The reorganisation of Soviet leadership following Stalin's death has evoked much interest all over the world. From the first announcement of March 4th it was clear that the plans for succession were ready. In the morning of March 6th Stalin's death was proclaimed and by the evening a statement was issued announcing radical changes in the leadership of both party and Government. A change of President was also "recommended." The Supreme Soviet (Soviet Parliament) was simultaneously convened by the end of the week to rubber-stamp the decisions taken. Within a few days of Stalin's funeral, a reorganised system has been functioning with the full authority of effective and enacted law.

In both government and party the number of top-ranking leaders has been reduced. A new body has been formed in the Council of Ministers. It is the Presidium, or five-man inner cabinet headed by Premier Malenkov. The Presidium of the Party has likewise been reduced to the size of the former Politburo. Malenkov is the head of the government and the first member of the party's two chief organs; the Presidium and the Secretariat. He has not yet inherited Stalin's official title of General Secretary.

Under Stalin's premiership there were 14 deputy-premiers, Four of them have now become supreme "first deputy premiers" or overlords. Together with premier Malenkov, they form the Governmental Presidium. Marshal Voroshilov has replaced President Shvernik. Voroshilov is thus out of the Cabinet on his appointment as President. As regards the other former deputy premiers, it is not yet definite whether they will maintain a separate status as vice-premiers of second rank or will remain attached to their ministerial duties. There has been perhaps a division in the sphere of influence of the supreme overlords. Three of them have distinct portfolios. Molotov is in charge of foreign policy; Beria heads the amalgamated ministries of internal affairs and state security; Marshal Bulganin controls the armed forces. The remaining member of the inner cabinet, Kaganovich, holds no portfolio. He is in charge of the general economic development of Soviet Russia. Malenkov is the *Primus inter pares.*

The Soviet Parliament or Supreme Soviet of the USSR consists of two chambers; the Soviet of the Union and that of Nationalities. Both are elected for four years, the former by the whole electorate on the basis of one deputy for 3,000,00 inhabitants, and the latter by the Republics. The Supreme Soviet legislates, and nominates and dismisses ministers. The two chambers combinedly elect a Presidium which exercises control between sessions. The Presidium has the right, on the advice of the Premier, to approve appointments and dismissals. It has the power to issue decrees, interpret laws and convoke the Soviet itself. It consists of a Chairman—who is the Soviet equivalent of the President of the Republic,—16 vice-chairmen and 15 members.

Constitutionally the Presidium cannot remove its chairman without the approval of the Supreme Soviet. The replacement of chairman, Shvernik by Voroshilov was therefore hardly constitutional. The change was simply "recommended." The change will become "legal" on the approval of the Supreme Soviet.

The dismissal of Shvernik from the Presidency immediately after Stalin's death has given rise to the belief that in the reorganisation of the Party Presidium and the government, Malenkov has overstepped Stalin's will. Stalin would hardly have designed a new pattern for the party a few months ago with the desire of having it scrapped the very day of his death. If there has been a palace revolution, it must have been supported by a "gentlemen's agreement." Malenkov took over the charge of the government with the help of four leading Soviet figures. For the ageing Molotov, who for years had been second to none but Stalin, this is a little consolation; for Bulganin and Beria, it was possibly a reward and certainly a recognition of their powers: for Kaganovich, it was a lift. While the quintet is formed to run the administration, the triumvirate with Malenkov, Beria and Molotov will wield the power. Malenkov is already in a dominating position. He alone among the Soviet leaders can be found in the three seats of supreme power, namely, the Ministers' Presidium, Party Presidium and Party Secretariat. Malenkov is everywhere and everywhere he is first. Should he, following the example of Stalin, decide to become a dictator whose will is unquestioned, he could stage an All-Union Party Congress; with the help of the Secretariat's pressure on local organisations he could fill it with his own men and then can force his will upon the party.

The changes in party hierarchy partly destroy the pattern established at last year's All-Union Congress which was attended by Stalin and was in favour of the old system. The Congress is the supreme body of the party and it meets at least every four years. It delegates its powers to a Central Committee, which in turn delegates the supreme power to a Presidium. For about 35 years before the last Congress, the party was led by its working committee, the Politburo consisting of about a dozen members. The Politburo is now abolished and instead the Presidium of the Party is established. The new Party Presidium resembles the defunct Politburo in all but name. It consists of 10 members and 4 candidates. Most of the former Politburo members are included in it and of the newcomers only Saburov and Peruvkhin have been left. The resurrected Politburo in the form of Presidium does now however wield the power of its former self. Another organ of the Party retains its size and importance, and it is the Secretariat of the Cenral Committee. In practice it controls the party machine through supervision and appointments, although in theory it is only a subsidiary organ performing the day-to-day administrative tasks of the Committee. It is from a vantage point within the Secretariat that both Stalin and Malenkov have made their bid for power. This is an important weapon in the hands of Malenkov.

So long Stalin lived, he had the last word on the destiny of Russia. Stalin, Stalinism and the military strength of Russia are blended together to form the giant Leviathan that cast its shadow over postwar Europe, Asia and America. The master's testament is: in foreign affairs to keep out of world war, foment revolution in colonial countries, and exploit the contradictions among the capitalist countries until they fight one another; in home affairs to go on stubbornly accumulating industrial strength, recognising economic laws, postponing Utopian plans of social improvement but keeping the complacent up to the mark through propaganda and the Party.

Stalinism may go on for some time, but the disappearance of Stalin is for most Russians the end of the tremendous quarter century. The last real link with the October Revolution has broken; the dominating and stable factor in society has been effaced; the working of new regime will be watched with interest.

Electoral Law for China

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, proclaimed the coming into force of the Election Law of the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels. This Election Law comprising ten chapters was passed by the Central People's Government Council at its 22nd session on February 11, 1953.

The law stipulates universal adult franchise. All Chinese citizens above the age of 18, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property or length of residence, enjoy the right to elect and to be elected. Women enjoy equal rights with men to elect and to be elected. Special provisions have been made for the elections among the people of minority nationalities, the armed forces and the overseas Chinese.

The Election Law denies the right to elect and to be elected to landlords who have not changed their social status, to counter-revolutionaries who have been deprived of their political rights according to law, and lunatics. Thus, all who may offend the Government can be denied the franchise.

Every citizen has one vote. The Law provides that the number of delegates would be proportionate to the population. But taking into consideration of the different conditions of the various constituencies and units, different proportion is stipulated as between city and country, between the Han (Chinese) people and the minority nationalities.

According to *Hsinhua News*, "The number of delegates to the people's congresses at all levels has been fixed according to two principles, namely: First, the people's congresses at all levels, must be made compo-

te organs so that they are in the position to people together and discuss and settle prob- cond, the people's congresses at all levels must ›se relations with the people." The number of s to the All-China People's Congress will be nately 1,200.

ry province will have at least three delegates All-China People's Congress. For every eight people in the provinces there will be one tative in the All-China People's Congress, *industrial cities every one lakh* will send a . Similar provisions have been for election :vels. *The overseas Chinese numbering some millions will send in 30 delegates.* The number ates from the minority nationalities shall be ll, apart from members of minority nationali- › are elected from other fields or units. The nationalities constitute about a fourteenth total population but they have been allotted ne-seventh of the seats in the All-China Congress.

s, representation also is variable according to on, location and national characteristics.

election expenses will be borne by the state . This provision has a special significance as ial guaranteed to the electors and candidates y will really be able to exercise their rights.

Law provides for free and fair elections. :r, the law gives the electors the right to re- gates already elected, and elect others in their his again may mean that any delegate may be l at any time by the leaders of the People.

:ct elections will be held only in such basic rative areas as the Hsiang, the small town, ıl districts and municipality with no dis- ıder it, while indirect election will be held in ıtry and administrative units above the coun- l. On account of the lack of electoral experi- ong a great part of the people and the exis- illiteracy, the Election Law makes the secret bligatory only in the country and administra- ts above the country level ; optional in the ministrative units, where a show of hand will e be used.

lidates will be nominated by the Communist he various democratic groups and organisa- d others not belonging to any party as well. :tors are free to vote for the candidates on or vote someone not on the list they like.

Session of Chinese PPCC

fourth session of the First National Committee Chinese People's Political Consultative Council a number of resolutions.

attention was to be concentrated to "increase on, practise economy, fulfil and overfulfil the :, national defence, and social and cultural construction for 1953, so as to make a good start in the first Five-year Plan of national construction."

A decision was also taken to make preparations for the next general elections. All the Chinese, at home and abroad, were urged to stand behind the Government and the Communist Party and "mobilise themselves to strive for the victorious fulfilment of the three great tasks mentioned above."

Before the close of the meeting, Chairman, Mao Tse-tung, spoke before the Committee on February 8 and urged as imperatives to strengthen the 'resist American aggression and aid Korea' struggle; to learn from the Soviet Union, and thirdly to oppose bureaucracy among leading organs and leading cadres at all levels.

Burmese Govt. Conditions for Foreign Capital

The *People* reports that the Government of Burma had laid down seven conditions for foreign investors The conditions, as published in the paper, are :

(1) Foreign enterprises should be self-sufficient as regards foreign exchange. They would be permitted to take out money from the country for the purchase of capital equipment and renewal; foreign enterprises would also be allowed to export a certain percentage of current money subject to the general foreign exchange position of the country.

(2) The Government would not allow the import of unskilled labour from abroad.

(3) The Government would undertake not to nationalise the concerns for a period determined by the ratio of the initial capital outlay to the annual value of the turnover.

(4) The period of guarantee might be renewed except in the case of extractive industries like minerals.

(5) Protection might be given considering the position the industry occupied in the economy of the country.

(6) Proposals for partnership would be welcomed.

(7) The foreign concerns should be prepared to undertake the training of qualified Burmese candidates, whenevr the Government could supply them.

The Government was also prepared to allow prospective foreign investors to survey industrial opportunities before they reach any agreement on actual investment.

U. S. Foreign Trade

The U. S. Department of Commerce, in its annual review of foreign trade, predicted major fluctuations in U.S. foreign trade this year as unlikely. According to the report, both exports and imports would continue close to the near-record levels set in 1952. The monthly *Survey of Current Business* of the Commerce Department said :

> "Basic supply scarcities, which explain most of the wide gap between exports and imports, have largely disappeared as a result of increased production in the United States and the rest of the world and, in some cases reduced consumption."

According to the survey, the demand for most of the imported goods was likely to continue to be at least as high as it was now. Therefore, foreign countries should be able to earn sufficient dollars to maintain their existing purchases from the United States at or near current rates.

The *American Economy* reports :

"Foreign trade figures, for the full year 1952 show that great progress was made during the year in reducing the dollar gap between U. S. commercial exports and imports.

"Total exports from the United States in 1952 amounted to $15,200 million—some $140 million lower than the record high of 1947. Imports totalled $10.700 million, about $250 million lower than the 1951 peak.

"This resulted in an apparent gap of $4,500 million. It was more than in 1951 or 1950, but less than in any other post-war year. However, when $1.980 million of military aid shipments are excluded from the exports, the commercial trade gap amounted to only $2,520 million, less than in any post-war year except 1950, when it was $1,400 million."

U.S. and Underdeveloped Countries

The *United Nations World* for February, 1953, writes :

"A recent episode at the United Nations may be compared to a false alarm causing a kind of moral stampede among international business circles.

"A resolution has been passed by the General Assembly concerning nationalization of natural resources, the reaction to which was so strong that the whole future of American capital investment abroad seemed to be threatened.

"Shortly before the Christmas recess, the General Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee was startled by a Uruguayan draft proposal affirming the right of each country to nationalize and exploit freely its natural wealth. American delegates were astonished that Uruguay should press for U. N. recognition of sovereign rights already safeguarded by international law and practice. They were immediately concerned that such a gratuitous slap at private investors, with no mention of compensation or other rights, might dampen the ardor of American investors and disrupt the flow of U.S. capital to underdeveloped areas.

"These fears were increased several days later when a majority of the committee, composed of delegates from underdeveloped countries, approved the resolution following a dramatic debate in which the United States and other defenders of the rights of private investors were silenced, and any reference to such rights was rejected. The National Association of Manufacturers called it an action which 'dims the hopes of underdeveloped nations raising their standards of living through foreign investment.' This sentiment was echoed by—among others—Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange. The action, said Funston, would have 'unfortunate and long lasting effects on the full flow of capital abroad from this country'."

The paper's comment was that though "the incident was almost harmless and could even be considered constructive," still the "attraction of underdeveloped countries for American capital has undoubtedly been damaged by the U. N.'s policy declaration on nationalization. Indeed, the U. N. itself has suffered in the eyes of many Americans."

There are two sides in this question. Americans should study the history of British, French and Dutch colonialism. These predatory nations always started with the "export of capital." Good faith can only be established on the basis of bilateral friendliness, devoid of any superior attitude and stripped of all ulterior motives.

U.S. Trade Policy

The Public Advisory Board for Mutual Security is a body of private individuals and was created by law to advise the directors of the Mutual Security Agency. Recently the Board have submitted their recommendations on the trade policy that should be followed by the U.S.A. These recommendations will be considered in formulating the New Administration's foreign trade policy.

In their report to President Eisenhower, the Board have emphasized the point that decisions on trade policy should be based on national interest rather than on the interest of particular industries or groups. The Board said :

"So long as the import policy of the United States is based on the concept that imports cannot come into the country if they threaten injury to a domestic industry, there is little scope for increasing imports.

"Under present-day conditions, this concept is insufficient. The concept of the national interest in trade policy must start with the principle that the object of trade policy is to strengthen the national economy, to increase domestic production, and to raise levels of real income and standards of living in the economy as a whole. Beyond that the national interest in trade policy must be concerned with the relation of trade to the defence and security of the United States, including its effect on foreign relations."

The Board have recommended the abolition of the "escape clause" and "peril point" procedures as now provided by law; under which the President could withdraw tariff concessions if increased imports injured a domestic industry. Under the latter procedure the Tariff Commission submitted advance judgement as to how far the President could go in making tariff concessions without threatening serious injury to a domestic industry. Instead the Board suggested a government assistance programme to affected industries in the form of longer unemployment insurance benefits for displaced workers and retraining of workers; and Government loans to aid conversion to new lines of production or to start new industries in communities affected by tariff reductions.

The Board was hopeful that the dollar payments ılem could be met in the course of the next few s. They estimated the dollar gap as about $1,500 ion in 1952. If the Board's recommendations were ed out, it was said, U.S. imports could be increased ı about $700 million a year after three years to 0 million annually after five years. The largest ease in imports would be in manufactured goods bout $500 million to $700 million a year.

de between India and Denmark in 952

The *Danish News*, March 15, reports that trade een India and Denmark decreased considerably ıg 1952. India's exports to Denmark dropped from million kroner (145 kroner=100 rupees) in 1950 5.9 million kroner in 1951 and in 1952 to 6.9 on kroner. Danish exports to India amounted to million kroner in 1950 and 26.6 million kroner in It decreased considerably and was only 13.5 on kroner in 1952.

In the view of the *Danish News*, the fall in Den- 's exports to India is only temporary. The drop due to import restrictions of the Government of ı and to the fact that certain Danish specialities ed higher prices in other countries than in India. ıe Indian imports from Denmark Dairy products er, milk and cheese), pharmaceuticals and inery and electric goods together constituted than 60 per cent of the total.

ng Income of Soviet Peasants

Yakov Usherenko writes in the *News and Views from Soviet Union*: "In the Soviet countryside meetings oday being held to hear report of the management ls on the results of the year and to elect new gement boards in collective farms. The members ch of the 97,000 collective farms, uniting the nts of the Soviet Union, are discussing the results rk of the management boards they elected last year, istributing the incomes gained in 1952 and are ing out production tasks for this year."

a 1952 the gross harvest of grain in the U.S.S.R. ted 8,000 million poods—the highest compared with e preceding years. The harvest of wheat increased per cent; there was a considerable increase in the yield of cotton, sugar, beet, sunflower, flax and technical crops as well as potatoes and vegetables. ommonly owned livestock in the collective farms ncreased appreciably.

striking success of Soviet agriculture was due to ict that "Socialist agriculture is conducted on the ı scale in the world and is the most mechanized, it ore up-to-date machinery than agriculture anywhere

In 1952 the income per working peasant increased per cent. Life is becoming ever prosperous in the countryside. This is particularly seen in the extensive construction of new farm buildings in collective farms, of collective farm hydroelectric stations, cultural institutions, as well as the mass construction by collective farmers of new houses. In 1952 in rural localities of the Soviet Union 370,000 new houses were built."

Agrarian Reform in Viet-Nam

Discussing the significance and scope of the land reform in the territories under the rule of Ho Chi-Minh, I. Podkopayer writes that one of the most important achievements of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam had been agrarian reform. The significance of this reform, he writes, "may be judged from the fact that peasants make up 90 per cent of the country's population, of the People's Army. the territorial units and the partisan detachments."

"Prior to the August revolution of 1945 over 7,000,000 peasants out of a total of 18,000,000 had no land at all, and approximately half of the peasant population had only tiny plots, manifestly inadequate to produce enough food for the tiller and his family. On the other hand, 75 per cent of all the land was concentrated in the hands of the big landlords, colonial companies, French settlers and Catholic missions. For example, 705 big French planters possessed between them 377,000 hectares of rice land. The municipal lands, comprising one-tenth of the arable, were virtually controlled by a handful of big landlords and French planters. The French colonialists were constantly adding to their possessions by seizing idle lands, or by appropriating the plots of Viet-Nam peasants in payment of debts.

"The democratic government of Viet-Nam launched on a programme of agrarian reform immediately after its accession to power. It introduced a number of measures to ease the lot of the peasant masses; rents were cut by 25 to 50 per cent and interest on peasant debts was either substantially reduced or cancelled altogether. Peasant committees were set up to see that rents were reduced and to settle all disputes with landlords. In pursuance of its agrarian reform programme, the government subsequently turned over to the peasants, in temporary tenure, lands confiscated from the colonialists and traitors. Municipal lands were likewise distributed among the labouring peasants. By the end of 1951, 420,000 peasants had received, in temporary tenure, additional plots totalling 250,000 hectares.

"The uniform agricultural tax law enacted in the summer of 1951 contributed in no small share to the extension of peasant crop areas. The new law abolished the multiplicity of taxes and levies and exempted from the tax, for a long period, peasants who brought additional land under cultivation. The tax does not extend to private and state-owned experimental farms, and technical crops are taxed at a much lower rate than previously."

This report gives us something like the background to the struggle in Indo-China. This shows where

lies the weakness of French colonialism, and the strength of the opposing force.

World Industrial Production

The *American Economy*, a weekly bulletin published by United States Information Service, reports :

> "World industrial production in 1951 was more than twice as great as in 1929 and about 75 per cent greater than pre-war 1937, the *U. N. Statistical Yearbook* for 1952, just published, reveals."

Among other interesting things disclosed by the *Yearbook* is the fact that since World War II, the United States has replaced Britain as the world's largest trading centre. The U. S. total of exports and imports (in dollars) rose from 11.8 per cent in 1938 to 16.5 per cent in 1951. During the same period U.S. imports have increased faster than exports (by 405 per cent against 385 per cent).

In India, the consumption of electricity has increased by 51 per cent in 1951 as compared with 1937. India and Japan lead other Asian nations in the field of mass communications. India ranks next to the United States in world production of feature films. The number of broadcasting transmitters in India has increased from 4 in 1932 to 25 in 1950. Japan leads other Asian nations in the number of wireless receiving sets. India came first in Asia with a total of 578 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 3,000.000 and an average seven copies per 1,000 population.

Press Council for Britain

Mr. Ernest Atkinson writes that the Royal Commission on the Press in Britain recommended among other things that the British Press itself should set up a General Council of the Press "to encourage the growth of the sense of public responsibility and public service amongst all engaged in the profession of journalism—that is, the editorial production of newspapers whether as directors, editors or other journalists and to further the efficiency of the pofession and the well-being of those who practise it."

According to Mr. Atkinson, if current discussions in the various constituent bodies are successful, the Council will be set up on July 1, 1953.

Its objects were to be "to keep under review any developments likely to restrict the flow of information of public interest and importance" ; to improve the methods of recruitment, education and training for the profession ; and "by censuring undesirable types of professional conduct....to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards."

It would consider complaints about the conduct of the Press or of any persons towards the Press and would have duties with regard to the promotion of a pensions scheme for journalists, the establishment of common services, and the promotion of technical research. And it would study tendencies towards monopoly, would represent the Press in discussions with the Government, the United Nations and Press organisations abroad, and would enshrine its work and decisions in published reports.

Getting agreement on a constitution for a voluntary body of this kind proved to be an unexpectedly long business. It has taken from 1949 until now to get a draft for submission to the Newspaper Proprietors Association, representing the national, or London-published, Press; the Newspaper Society which represents the daily and other provincial Press ; the Scottish Daily Newspaper Society; the Scottish Newspaper Proprietors Association ; the Institute of Journalists which includes a trades union section ; the National Union of Journalists, which was most active in the original demand for a Royal Commission ; and the Guild of British Newspaper Editors.

What these bodies are now being asked to approve is a constitution to embody a council with the objects of preserving "the established freedom of the British Press," of maintaining its character "in accordance with the highest professional and commercial standards," of keeping "under review any developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance" and, in brief, of doing the other things suggested by the Royal Commission.

The Royal Commission had suggested that 20 per cent of the members of the proposed Council should be laymen. The Press bodies which have drafted the proposed constitution would have no lay members; on this point there has been some criticism, from within and without the Press. Moreover, the Council would hear representations only "from complainants actually affected," whether about the conduct of the Press or of any presons towards the Press. That provision also has been criticised.

A third line of criticism is that of the eight objects listed for the Council, some six serve the interests of the industry rather than those of the public, though indeed it has to be owned that many of those that would better the industry would better its service to the public in consequence.

Mr. Atkinson discounts the natural nervousness among the Press that what was being done might lead to "a kind of Fleet Street Bureaucracy."

Prof. K. T. Shah

The death of Professor K. T. Shah leaves a gap amongst the illustrious figures that adorned the Indian academic and political circles. A distinguished scholar and an equally distinguished academician he will be missed particularly in Bombay. Economist, historian, political scientist, author and teacher, Shah has left his mark also as one of the first Planners.

In the Constituent Assembly Shah left the impress of his keen intellect. It is in the fitness of things that he—and some few others—was left out of the herd of mediocrities that got elected into the House of People.

RISE OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

By Dr. RAJANI KANTA DAS and Dr. SONYA RUTH DAS*

ost important institution of a modern society is arliament, which not only serves the political to a large extent, economic ends, but also nces almost every phase of social life. Unlike other institutions, Parliament is a dynamic isation and deals with the actual needs and ems of a society in the process of its develop-

Herein lies the advantage of the British ment, which is based on the flexible social ion rather than on the rigid written constitu- But even the written constitution is subject to dment and the Indian Constitution, although led on January 26, 1950, has already been led. What is more significant is the fact that ment is both a stabilising and stimulating in social life. While it defines the code of lure for its members, it also grants them immu- or perfect freedom of speech and thought within ope, thus assuring, at the same time, social ty and social progress.

Earlier Legislative Sources

he origins of the Indian Parliament may be back to a number of sources ; first, the Council f 1833 renewing the Charter of the East India any and empowering the Governor-General's ative Council to act as a law-making body for hole of India, and its subsequent amendments, ally in 1861 and 1909, increasing the size of the il and adding more and more non-official ers with greater power of asking questions, ting the executive and moving resolutions. l, the Government of India Act of 1919 making ndian Legislative Council a Central Legislature two chambers and providing a legislature to of the ten major or Governor's provinces with r two chambers as well as of five minor or Commissioners' provinces ; and the Govern- of India Amending Act of 1935 raising the l Legislature to the Federal Legislature of British India and Indian States and granting my to all the major provinces with effect April 1, 1937.

more direct source of the present Parliament owever, the Constituent Assembly, provided White Paper of May 16, 1946, which had ntatives from all communities and political except from the Moslem League, and con- its first session under the chairmanship of Dr. ra Prasad on December 9, 1946. The Consti- Assembly was created both to frame the tution of India and to pass various bills includ- e budget during the transitional period. With tablishment of the Dominion of India and the r of power, the Indian Interim Government ceased to exist and India became a Dominion or practically an independent State under the Statute of 1926.

On November 17, 1947, the Indian Constituent Assembly met in the new capacity of a sovereign legislative body as the representative of independent India and elected a veteran Congress Party leader, G. V. Mavalankar, as the first Speaker. This new Parliament had representatives from all political parties and governments and consisted of 229 members from the Indian Provinces and 69 members from the Indian States. In spite of representation by other parties, the Congress Party practically dominated the first Indian Parliament.

The First General Elections

The Indian Republic was inaugurated on January 26, 1950. While the Central Legislature, as constituted under the Government of India Act of 1919, represented only two per cent of the population, and the Federal Legislature, as provided by the Government of India Amending Act of 1935, would have represented only 13 per cent of the population, the Parliament of the Indian Republic represents all the people of India as elected and determined by adult suffrage, *i.e.*, by all men and women of 21 years of age and over. In order to give the people of India to exercise their right and to elect their representatives to the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies, the Government of the Indian Republic undertook the task of the first general elections as soon as it came into power.

In carrying out the project, the Government of the Indian Republic met with several difficulties. First of all, as the world's second largest populous country (361 million), its electorate was also very large, amounting to about 175 million, of whom about 80 per cent were illiterate. The problem of illiteracy was solved by devising a symbol for each political party, such as two bullocks yoked together representing the Congress Party and a few ears of corn against a sickle the Communist Party. Secondly, there were 75 political parties, although only a few of them on the All-India basis and only about a score of them were recognised by adequate number of voters for the House of the People. Moreover, the very fact that there were 17,000 candidates, including 1,800 for the House of the People, complicated the situation. Thirdly, an aspirant for Parliament was allowed by

* Both the writers are well-acquainted with the life and labor of the American people, as referred to later in the article, through long residence, education and occupation. Moreover, during the last war, Mr. Das was in the service of the United States Government as Chief, Resources Adjustment Section, Foreign Economic Administration, and after the war as Economic Adviser to the U.S.A. Military Government in South Korea.

law to spend Rs. 25,000 for his campaign in a single member constituency and Rs. 35,000 in case he contested a seat in double-member constituency. Finally, the extensive area of the country, lack of modern transport systems in most of the rural districts, and the presence of the purdah system especially among the Moslem women in various parts of the country, added to the confusion.

The Government succeeded in overcoming most of the difficulties, divided the electorate into 33,259 constituencies, provided 244,000 polling booths and supplied an extra personnel of 600,000 and the cost of the whole program amounted to Rs. 500 million. The actual and direct elections of the 3,772 representatives to the House of the People and to the State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges lasted over three months between October 1951 and February 1952. They were followed by the indirect elections of 546 representatives to the Council of States and the Legislative Councils of several States. Finally, a few members were nominated by the President from backward areas or communities as well as from highly and specifically qualified groups in science and philosophy and art and literature.

House of the People and State Assemblies

The Indian Constitution provides both for direct and indirect elections. The people elected directly 489 members to the House of the People or the Lower House of Parliament, 3,279 to State Assemblies and 90 to Electoral Colleges. In view of her earlier election of the members of the Constituent Assembly, Kashmir and Jammu did not take part in the first general elections of India. For the sake of economy and convenience on the part of both the Governmtnt and the electorate, all the three elections were held simultaneously.

The House of the People: The center of the legislative organization of the country is the House of the People. Of the total electorate of 175 million people, 107.5 million* or 61 per cent of the total voted and elected 489 representatives of a total of 499 (the remaining 10 being nominated by the President) to the House of the People. Of the total elected members, the Congress Party secured 362 seats or about three-fourths and the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party (peasant workers party) secured respectively 23, 12 and 9 seats. (Appendix I).

Since the elections, there have taken place important changes due partly to nominations and partly to the co-ordination of, or working alliance among the political parties. All of the above Parties, except the Socialists, have gained new seats. The present relative strength of different political parties including ten nominated members is indicated below. It will be seen that the Congress Party still maintains three-fourths of the seats in the full House of the People, the Communist Party retains its leadership among the opposition parties with added strength, and other opposition parties have also gained in strength.

Political Parties in the House of the People, 1952

Political parties	*Number of seats*	*Per cent of total*
The Congress Party	373	74.75
The Communist Party	31	6.21
The Socialist Praja Party	28*	5.61
The National Democratic Party	37**	7.41
Other Parties, including Independents	30	6.00
Total	499	100.00

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), August 23, 1952.

* It is a parliamentary arrangement between the Socialist Party with its 12 seats and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party with 16 seats including additional 9 seats since the election.

** Three rightist parties, Ganatantra Parishad, the Hindu Mahasabha of which Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was the former president, and the Jana Sangha, which Dr. Mookerjee has recently founded, are grouped together.

State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges: Of the electorate of 175 million, 103.5 million or 59 per cent voted and elected 3,369 members to 22 State Assemblies and 3 Electoral Colleges (*see* Appendix II). Of these seats, the Congress Party secured 2,295 seats or 68 per cent, and the other parties secured less than 5 per cent each. It will also be seen that a little over one-tenth of the seats were distributed among other political parties and about one-tenth of the members remained independent or without affiliation with any party.

Political Parties in State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges, 1952

Political parties	*Number of seats*	*Per cent of total*
The Congress Party	2,295	68.12
The Communist Party	161	4.77
The Socialist Party	125	3.72
The Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party	77	2.28
Other political parties	377	11.19
Independents	334	9.91
Total	3,369	100.00

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), May 17, 1952.

The Congress Party has not only secured the absolute majority in the House of the People, but also in the 18 of the 22 State Assemblies and has become the largest single party in the four others, namely, in the State Assemblies of Madras, Orissa,

* Including about two million invalid votes. Since most of invalid votes have been excluded for some technical reasons, these votes indicate at least the preferences of the voters for some particular candidates or political groups.

ore-Cochin, and Pepsu (Patiala and the East States Union). In Orissa, the Congress Party r short of an absolute majority and in Pepsu rt. In Pepsu, the Akali Dal, a Sikh Radical f the Punjab, together with the Communists sident Congressists, formed a new common- rty and secured the control of the Legislative y. Both in Madras and Travancore-Cochin, gress Party secured a little over two-fifths of ts and, with the help of the independents, the Congress Government. Shri Rajagopala- hakravarti, former Governor-General of the Union, has become the Chief Minister of and declared the Communists as enemy (Appendix II).

t to the Congress Party, the Communists cured the largest number of seats both in the of the People and State Assemblies and l Colleges, specially in the latter, securing 62 Madras, 42 in Hyderabad, and 28 in West The Socialists secured the next largest num- seats, winning 23 seats in Bihar, 18 in Uttar , 13 in Madras, and 11 each in Hyderabad avancore-Cochin. The next in importance is an-Mazdoor-Praja Party, which won 35 seats ras and 15 seats in West Bengal. (Appendix

ing Strength of Political Parties: Both the popularity and potential strength of a party are best indicated by the number of eceived at the polls. (Appendix III). What is portant is, however, the strategic organization votes to secure the largest number of seats rather than mere gathering of votes. In the of the People as well as in State Assemblies ectoral Colleges, for instance, the Congress eceived respectively 44 and 41 per cent of the nd secured 74 and 68 per cent of the seats as ed with the Socialist Party which received vely 11 and 10 per cent of the votes and 6.3 per cent of the seats, and as compared with mmunist Party, which received respectively cent and 6.2 per cent of votes and 12.1 and cent of the seats; in other words, the Con- arty is a more solidly and efficiently organized l body in India and next to it is the Commu- rty which is also very well-organized. The mbers of votes received by the Socialist Party as by the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party indi- owever, that a large number of people have ace in them.

UNCIL OF STATES AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

e members of the Council of States or the House of the Federal Parliament and of Legis- Councils of seven States were elected indirectly. uncil of States has 216 members, 200 of whom ected by the members of the State Legislative Assemblies and 16 members, were nominated by the President, four to represent Jammu and Kashmir and 12 to represent special knowledge or experience in literature, science, art, and social services. The position of political parties in the Council of States is best indicated by their present representatives, such as the Congress Party, 146 or 73 per cent of the elected members, and the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party gaining respectively 9, 6, and 4 or a total of 19 seats or 9.5 per cent and the remaining 17.5 per cent consisting of other political parties and independents.*

The members of the Legislative Councils of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal have been chosen by the following methods:

(1) One-third each by Legislative Assemblies and by municipal and other local bodies;
(2) One-twelveth each by University graduates of at least three years standing and by teachers of not lower than secondary schools; and
(3) The remaining one-sixth has been nominated by the Governors of the States on the basis of their knowledge or experience of literature, science, art, co-operative movement, and social service.

SPEAKER, VICE-PRESIDENT, AND PRESIDENT

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was elected by the Constituent Assembly to become the first President of the Indian Republic, was re-elected by the Electoral College consisting of 669 members of the Federal Parliament and 3,358 members of the 23 State Legislatures on May 6, 1952. Dr. Prasad thus became the first popularly elected President of the Indian Republic. Under Section 4(1) of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election Act of 1952, the Vice-President is authorized to act as the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States and as President in the event of any vacancy in the office of President, to hold office for a period of five years and to draw the same salary as the Speaker of the House of the People. Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan was elected as Vice-President on April 25, 1952. Shri G. V. Mavalankar, former Speaker of the House of the People, was re-elected to be the Speaker also of the first popularly elected House of the People.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

The first Parliament of the Indian Republic, elected on the basis of the adult suffrage, held its inaugural session on May 13, 1952. On the advice of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party and re-appointed as Prime Minister of the Government of the Indian Republic, President Rajendra

* Consisting of Schedule Caste Federation 2, People's Democratic Front 2, Krishikar Lok Party 1, Forward Block (Marxist) 1, Hindu Mahasabha 1, Jana Sangha 1, and Independents and others 27.—(*India News*, High Commission of India, London, April 5, 1952).

Prasad appointed 14 other members of the new Cabinet, 4 Ministers of the Cabinet rank and 2 Deputy Ministers. The President, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, Members of the Cabinet and other members of Parliament were all sworn in on the same day. After the ceremony, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :

"I have just taken the oath of office as President and affirmed my determination to dedicate myself to the service of this great country. As President I stand before you as a sign and symbol of the Republic of India."

On the 16th of May, President Rajendra Prasad addressed the joint session of both the Houses of Parliament. "I welcome you here today," said the President, "as the members of the first Parliament of the Republic of India elected under our Constitution," and pointed out a threefold role of India : First, India has after a long period of subjection gained her freedom and independence. That freedom has to be maintained, defended, and enlarged at all costs, for it is on the basis of that freedom alone that any structure of progress can be built. Second, freedom must, however, bring happiness to the people. It has, therefore, become of vital importance for the people of India to labour for rapid economic advancement of the people and to endeavour to realise the noble ideals of equality and social and economic justice which have been laid down in the Indian Constitution. Thirdly, India will continue her support for the struggling nations of Asia and Africa for their liberation and will consistently pursue a policy of friendship with all the countries of the world.

The President mentioned India's food shortage for many years and of the necessity of her importing foodgrains from abroad, and expressed his gratefulness to the United States for generous help in this regard and welcomed India's attempts to build up substantial reserves of food-grains (except rice) for meeting future emergencies. The President also referred to the finalising of the Five-year Plan to which has been added 55 community projects throughout the country with the help of the United States through their Technical Co-operation Plan. These projects intend not only to increase food production, but also to raise the wholesale level of community living. Finally, the President expressed his satisfaction at the progress of the integrated program for agricultural production as indicated by increase of jute, cotton, sugar, and food-grains, between the period of 1947-48 and 1951-52, although the production of the last group of crops were somewhat affected in certain areas.

A most important phase of the President's speech was his reference to some specific aspect of Indian culture.

"India has represented throughout her history," continued the President, "certain other urges of human spirit. That has perhaps been the distin*guishing mark of India* and even in recent years we saw the noble example of that ancient spirit and urge of India in Mahatma Gandhi who led us to freedom . . . And he taught us . . . that it is not through hatred and violence that great ends are achieved, but right ends must be pursued and achieved only through right methods. That is a basic lesson not only for us of India but, if I may venture to say so, for the people throughout the world."

Co-ordination of Political Parties

Government by political parties is the basic principle of the Parliamentary system. It is only under constant vigilance and constructive criticism by opposition parties that a dominant and ruling party can develop an effective and efficient policy of service to a country. Under the Dominion Government of India, the Congress Party ruled almost single-handed, but even in the elections, the Congress Party has secured three-fourths of the votes. All other parties combined together have received only one-fourth of the votes, which being divided among 19 parties varied from 1 to 23 seats. The most important among these opposition parties as mentioned before, are the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, and the National Democratic Party, representing respectively the extreme leftist, the leftist and the rightist parties.

The Congress Party : The most important political organisation in India is the Congress Party, the political spearhead of the Indian National Congress, which was founded over two generations ago and which counted among its "Founding Fathers," the standard-bearers of what were the best and noblest both in the East and the West and had amongst its leaders such an outstanding personality as Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi added his moral and spiritual forces to the national political movement and succeeded in liberating India from foreign domination. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the successor of Mahatma Gandhi and the leader of the Indian National Congress and the President of the Congress Party. The Congress Party took charge, first, of the Interim Government on September 2, 1946 ; secondly, of the Dominion Government on August 15, 1947, and finally, of the Government of the Indian Republic on January 26, 1950. Two outstanding achievements of the Congress Government during this period were, first, the integration of the Princely States into the Indian Union ; and, secondly, the publicatoin of the Five-year Plan, especially for increasing the production of food and raw material and for enlarging the scope of employment and of social welfare in a relatively short period of time. In the first general elections of 1951-52, the people of India overwhelmingly showed confidence in the Congress Party and, on May 13, 1952, re-appointed Dr. Rajendra Prasad as their President and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as their Prime Minister. Although out of 489 elected seats in the House of the People, the Congress Party secured only 362, by nomination and

ɔcedure, the number of Congress representa- been raised to 373 out of a total of 499 , *i.e.*, 74 per cent.

Communist Party: The second important party in India is the Communist and their ɔo, though not officially so recognised, act as n party in the House of the People with only ɔers.* They have also obtained the second umber of seats in State Assemblies and Elec- leges, which have added to their prestige. The ist movement in India has, however, a l history, such as arrests, detentions, im- nts, and banishments for life of their leaders ɪe period of 1927-42. Several of their leaders l in prison in 1942, when they were released ɔovernment of India on condition of their in fighting the Axis and the Congress Party. , the Communist Party has been accused of ing in the uprisings in Hyderabad against the ent of India, subversive activities in railway rmed raids near Dum Dum in 1948, and ɪion in agrarian upheavals in Madhya Bharat On June 4, 1952, the Communists were also in the House of the People by an Indian c-Communist* who happened to be also an

S. Sinha, a former Captain in the Soviet Army.

cer in the Soviet Union, of working under the ɔminform instruction from Moscow. This as challenged by A. K. Gopalan, leader of the ist Party in the House of the People; and the ınder investigation by a Parliamentary Com- .lthough the Communists secured only 23 seats ; elections, this number has been raised to 31 inations and nominations.

Government's Preventive Detention (Second ent) Bill, permitting the detention of a person onths without trial and extending the existing up to the end of 1954, was strongly opposed ɔommunist members of Parliament, practically ɔom had been interned some time or other as ɔy other non-Congress members. The approval ill by Parliament, especially by the Council of ırly in August, 1952, enraged P. P. Sundaraya, f the Communist Party, who threatened that ɔmmunists come into power, they would shoot all landlords, *jagirdars* (feudal landholders) kmarketers and refused to surrender all illicit ssessed by his followers, unless they were immunity from arrest.

Socialist Party: The third important political India is the Socialist Party, which came into in India in 1924, and since 1934 had formed f the Congress Party. The Congress-Socialists the civil disobedience movement of the Con- 1942 and the entry of the Congress Party into rim Government in 1946. In 1947, under the p of Jai Prakash Narayan, the Congress-Socialist Party held a conference at Kanpur, changed its name into the Socialist Party of India and defined its objective to be the following:

> "The working class will have to shoulder increasing responsibility not only for the nationalization of the means of production, but, also for the preservation of national unity and territorial integrity of India."

The Parliamentary leader of the party is Acharya Narendra Deva. The Socialist Party is, however, not very well organized. In spite of the fact that the Party received twice as many votes as the Communist Party, it secured only 12 seats, *i.e.*, less than one-half as many. Next to the Congress Party, the Socialist Party received, however, the largest number of the votes, indicating its popularity among the people.

The Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party (Peasant Workers' Party KMP): The fourth political party in India is the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, which was founded by J. B. Kripalani, a former President of the Indian National Congress. It aims at a casteless and classless society, consolidation of the holdings into economic units, co-operative farming, ownership of land by the cultivators, the revival of the village as the basis of regional economy, and co-ordination of agriculture and industry. Shri Kripalani was, however, defeated in the general elections, and his wife, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, once a staunch Congress member and Gandhi follower, took the leadership of the party. The party received only nine seats in the general elections, but since then by nominations and combinations with other parties, the number of its representatives has been raised to 16.

The Socialist Praja Party: This is a new parliamentary party formed by the members of the Socialst Party and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party soon after general elections. The total number of seats of these two parties in the House of the People is 28. The combined voting strength of these two parties in the general elections was 16.6 million as compared with 47.8 million for the Congress Party in electing the members to the House of the People, thus indicating the popularity of these parties. In brief, these two political parties have found a common formula for the co-ordination of the efforts of several political parties on a common basis. They expect that other leftist parties will join them in the formation of a genuine opposition Party. Moreover, they have taken steps for merging these two organisations into one larger political party.

The National Democratic Party: The conservative or moderate rightist party consists of the Ganatantra Parishad, the Hindu Mahasabha of which Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, though not a communalist, was the President, and the Jana Sangha which was founded by Dr. Mukherjee himself on a threefold platform, such as re-united India, alliances with progressive nations, and a network of co-operatives for cheap supplies of

cultivators' needs. On the tickets of these three political groups, there are 37 representatives, who may be rightfully regarded to be the nucleus of the Conservative Party under the leadership of Dr. Mukherjee. The Jana Sangha secured over three million votes or the fifth largest number. The popularity of Dr. Mukherjee has, however, been built on a much stronger foundation, *i.e.*, his championship of the cause of over ten million Hindus who have been left in East Pakistan, and his resignation from the Congress Cabinet as a protest against Nehru's Pakistan policy. Moreover, with his great personality, wide experience, and brilliant oratory, Dr. Mukherjee has become an outstanding opposition leader and the spokesman of the non-Congress members in the House of the People.

Development of a Welfare State

The Parliament of the Republic of India has taken its rise in the most creative and, at the same time, critical period of her national life. All the members of Parliament, irrespective of their political affiliation, are the representatives of the people, by far the majority of whom have been long subjected to starvation, ill-health, illiteracy and unemployment. The salvation of this submerged mass of Indian humanity from misery and degradation is the first and foremost duty of the Indian Parliament. Of these problems, the most outstanding is the food shortage which has been aggravated since Partition by the loss of a proportionately larger share of food-grain growing areas to Pakistan. "The one thing needful" to India today is the self-sufficiency in food supply to meet the basic needs of her people.

The Constitution of India has made some provisions for the development of the Welfare State under what are known as Directive Principles. They envisage a social and economic order based on the equality of opportunity, the right to work and to an adequate wage, and a certain measure of social security for the people. The most important measures taken by the Government of India for the welfare of the people are, first, the acceptance by the Government of India of population control as the national policy. Second, the development of her agrarian economy into industrial economy by rapid industrialization of her productive process. Finally, the application of science and technology to agriculture to intensify and diversify its productivity and to augment national food supply.

Indo-United States Relationship: Although the American people have always been interested in India's freedom from British colonial rule, it took sometime to establish amicable diplomatic relations between the two countries. The achievement by India of her national independence on August 15, 1947, was followed by the establishment of the Indo-American diplomatic relationship on traditional lines. This did not lead to a close and cordial relationship between the two countries for a while. A great need was felt in certain higher quarters for raising the Indo-American diplomatic relations to a higher cultural level, and Chester Bowles, formerly Price Administrator of the U. S. Government and Governor of Connecticut, was chosen for the task. In the course of a year, Ambassador Bowles has succeeded in bringing about a much better relationship between India and the United States.

In his statement on August 15, 1952, the sixth anniversary day of Indian independence, Ambassador Bowles showed a wonderful grasp of India's past and prospective contribution to mankind and a very high appreciation of India's struggle for national independence, integration of 550 States into the Indian Union, and the drafting of the democratic Constitution and the foundation of the Republic of India, each of which is "a unique record."

> "We find in India," declared Ambassador Bowles, "a great symbol of man's determination to live his own free life and man's faith that perfectability of the human individual can be achieved by non-violence. You are building that new India. Yours is the major contribution and ours is only a part. We wish you all well as we are convinced that the welfare of mankind is wrapped up in India's future."—(*India News*, High Commission for India, London, August 9, 1952).

There is a great need in India of a similar understanding and appreciation of American culture and American position in the world. It was the "Pilgrim Fathers" who brought to America the "rugged individualism" of the "dissenters of dissenters" and "European Culture," the best human achievement of the time. Both of them served as rock bottom, on which the mighty American civilisation has been built. Any threat on the American concept of individuality by Fascism, Nazism, Communism, and dictatorship is strongly resisted by the American people. And any attempt by foreign powers to conquer Western Europe, especially Great Britain and France, the fountain-heads of American culture, has been met by the United States with armed forces, as in World War I, and partly also in World War II, although the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour was its immediate cause. World War II has been followed by "cold war," "iron curtain" and "fifth column." The American people are fully convinced that until a better method, *e.g.*, effective disarmament is found, the best way to avoid the third world war and to maintain peace is the preparation for self-defense by all means at their disposal. The country, which played a most important part, not only in the supply of arms and ammunition, but in the winning of World War I and World War II could not be expected to do otherwise, especially in this tense period of world history.

United States Aid to Food Self-sufficiency: America's desire to help India in her economic development is not hard to understand. First of all, the benevolent spirit of the American people arising from

ful economic conquest of their vast territories
subconscious impulse of revolt against colonial
of Britain in India, against which they them-
have fought. Secondly, the enlightened self-
of the American people to improve the pro-
capacity, purchasing power, and living
d of the backward people so that they can
a better market for export and import trade.
the strategic importance of India, which the
States first realized in Japan's drive against
in World War II. Moreover, since the loss of
to democracy, the importance of India to the
rld and, especially to the United States, has
quite evident.

ently India has received financial and technical
ce including loans from different sources, such
World Bank, the Colombo Plan, the Ford
tion and the Indo-American Agreement under
nt IV Programme. The Economic Aid by the
overnment to India during the year amounted
it $100,000,000. Moreover, the United States
npleted the delivery of 2,000,000 tons of food-
vhich was promised a year ago as loans. The
nportant need of India is, however, assistance
ie United States to her development of self-
cy in food production. Ambassador Bowles has
nted out that the foundation of Indian society
built on the production of food as she had to
he huge expenditure of 600 million dollars on
l imports. The savings can be utilized for the
ıdustrialization of the country.

unusual, and at the same time very important,
ment in the United States is the pledge by a
ian group in Congress of the United States aid
a for the completion of her Five-year Plan.
natories of the group consist of several senators
resentatives of both Republican and Democratic
who would like to assure India of the continued
npathetic interest of the United States no
whatever party might come to power after the
ıer elections. India's five-year investment plan,
rent from the technical assistance of undeter-
value, calls for a total outlay of $3,765 million
ends to make India self-sufficient in food
ion. The proposed bi-partisan resolution reads
ws :

"The Congress . . . favors assistance to the
ublic of India from public and private sources,
istent with the financial capability of the
ed States to enable the people of India to plan
continuity and assurance for the economic
lopment and improvement of their country."
'ew York Times, June 5, 1952).

re is every reason to believe that the Govern-
f the United States, whether Republican or
atic after the elections, will accept the Congress
ian policy and continue its assistance to the
ion of India's Five-year Plan, especially in
regard to her self-sufficiency in food supply. The greatest service that can be rendered to India is the training of her people in the art of producing her own food requirements. It will not only supply sufficient food to her starving population, but will also save her about Rs. 3,000 million a year with which she can rapidly industrialize her productive processes. Thus the welfare economy, some elements of which were founded under British rule and some provisions have been laid down by the new Constitution, has been taking shape around self-sufficiency in food production under the Five-year Plan.

Comments and Conclusions

The first general election in India is a great event in the history of popular and democratic suffrage. It involved a gigantic task of mobilizing the world's second largest and mostly illiterate electorate of 175 million voters to the polls. About one-half of them voted and elected directly 3,772 representatives to the House of the People and State Assemblies and indirectly 546 representatives to the Council of States or the Upper House of the Union Parliament and to the Legislative Councils or the Upper Chambers of the States of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. The election was free, fair, and peaceful. The orderliness and efficiency with which the whole programme of the elections was carried out, added credit to the Government of India. India has also set an example to underdeveloped countries as to the possibility of organizing illiterate masses for popular suffrage and establishing democratic governments.

The Congress Party has achieved an overwhelming victory both in federal and State elections. With about three-fourths of seats in the House of the People as well as in the State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges, the Congress Party has established strong governments in the Indian Union and in most of the States. Although the opposition parties secured only one-fourth of the seats, they showed both strength and vitality. Since the general elections, they have even regrouped and reorganized themselves into more solid and larger political parties. Extremism, whether to the right or to the left, may have "nuisance value," nevertheless, it is wiser to have it in the open and within the scope of Parliament than underground and outside. While the extreme rightist parties or the communalists were badly defeated at the polls, serious accusations against the Communist Party in both Houses of Parliament and the refusal of the Communist leaders to surrender their illicit arms have done more harm to the cause of Communism than any anti-Communist measure.

The first and most important outcome of the general election is the rise of political parties, which is an essential requirement of a parliamentary government. Although the combined strength of the opposi-

tion parties is only one-fourth of the total number of the representatives in the House of the People, they are well organized, founded upon definite principles, and guided by competent leaders. Secondly, the people of India have reiterated their faith in a secular State by a decisive verdict against all parties with communal and religious policies.. Thirdly, the election of a large number of women, *i.e.*, 33 in the Union Parliament and 82 in the States Legislatures, is very significant. As compared with men, women are in a better position to present their own cause as well as that of the children to the nation, take more active part in social reform in which they are vitally interested, exert salutary influence on all questions of national and international importance and even carry Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence message to their colleagues in other lands and work for international disarmament and world peace.

APPENDICES

(Abbreviations used represent: Con., Congress; K.M.P., Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party; Com., Communist; O.P., Other Parties; and Ind., Independents.)

APPENDIX I

House of the People: Final Election Score

State	Con.	Soc.	KMP	Com.	O.P.	Ind.	Total
Assam	11	1	..	..	..	..	12
Bihar	45	3	..	..	6	1	55
Bombay	40	..	..	..	2	3	45
Madhya Pradesh	27	..	..	..	..	2	29
Madras	35	2	6	8	9	15	75
Orissa	11	1	..	1	5	2	20
Punjab	16	..	..	..	2	..	18
U. P.	81	2	..	..	1	2	86
West Bengal	24	..	..	5	4	1	34
Hyderabad	14	1	..	7	2	1	25
Madhya Bharat	9	..	..	..	2	..	11
Mysore	10	..	1	..	0	..	11
PEPSU	2	..	..	..	2	1	5
Rajasthan	9	..	..	..	5	6	20
Saurashtra	6	..	..	..	0	..	6
Travancore-Cochin	5	..	..	..	2	5	12
Ajmer	2	..	..	..	0	..	2
Bhopal	2	..	..	..	0	..	2
Bilaspur	..	..	..	..	0	1	1
Coorg	1	..	..	..	0	..	1
Delhi	3	..	1	..	..	..	4
Himachal Pradesh	2	..	..	..	0	1	3
Vindhya Pradesh	4	1	1	..	..	..	6
Kutch	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Manipur	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
Tripura	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Total	362	12	9	23	42	41	489

Nominated 10 *Total* 499

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), May 17, 1952.

(1) Other parties winning seats are: Hindu Mahasabha 4, Jana Sangha 3, Ram Rajya Parisad 3, Peasants and Workers 2, Schedule Caste Federation 2, Ganatantra Parishad 5, Jharkhand Party of Bihar 3, Lok Sewak Sangh of Bihar 2, Tamil Nad Toilers Party of Madras 4, Commonwealth Party of Madras 3, Krishikar Lok Party 1, Forward Bloc 1, Revolutionary Socialist Party 1, Travancore Tamilnad Congress 1, Moslem League 1, Akali Dal of the Punjab 4.—(*India News*, The High Commission of India, London, February 23, 1952).

APPENDIX II

State Assemblies: Final Election Score

Assemblies and Electoral Colleges

State	Con.	Soc.	KMP	Com.	O.P.	Ind.	Total
Assam	76	4	1	1	9	14	105
Bihar	240	23	1	..	53	13	330
Bombay	269	9	..	..	19	18	315
Madhya Pradesh	194	2	8	..	5	23	232
Madras	152	13	35	62	51	62	375
Orissa	67	10	..	7	25	21	140
Punjab	97	1	..	4	20	4	126
U. P.	390	18	1	..	6	14	429
West Bengal	151	..	15	28	29	15	238
Hyderabad	91	11	..	42	15	14	175
Madhya Bharat	75	4	..	..	17	3	99
Mysore	74	3	8	1	2	11	99
PEPSU	26	..	1	2	23	8	60
Rajasthan	82	1	1	..	41	35	160
Saurashtra	55	2	..	..	1	2	60
Travancore-Cochin	43	11	..	..	16	38	108
Ajmer	20	..	..	..	6	4	30
Bhopal	25	..	..	..	1	4	30
Coorg	15	..	..	6	..	9	30
Delhi	39	2	..	..	4	3	48
Himachal Pradesh	24	..	3	..	1	8	36
Vindhya Pradesh	41	10	3	..	4	2	60
Electoral Colleges							
Kutch	28	..	..	..	..	2	30
Manipur	10	1	..	2	16	1	30
Tripura	9	..	..	12	3	6	30
Total	2295	125	77	161	377	334	3369

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), May 17, 1952.

APPENDIX III

Voting Strength of Political Parties

Chief Political Parties	*House of the People* Total strength (million)	Per cent of total	*States Assemblies and Electoral Colleges* Total strength (million)	Per cent of total
Congress Party	47.83	44.47	43.47	41.46
Socialist Party	11.00	10.25	9.95	9.60
Communist Party	5.89	5.44	6.25	6.20
Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party	5.66	5.26	5.07	5.00
Jana Sangha	3.22	2.99	2.81	2.71
Other Parties	17.74	16.55	26.14	15.58
Independents	15.52	14.42	10.90	10.52
Total	107.58*	100.00	103.59†	100.00

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), March 5 and 15, 1952,

* Including about 2 million invalid votes.

† Including over 1 million invalid votes.

CATTLE WEALTH IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

India happens to be one of the important countries possessing about 29 per cent of the cattle and 84 per cent of the buffalo population of the world. The following table shows this fact[1]:

No. of Cattle and Buffaloes in different Continents in India (in 1949)

Continent	No. of Cattle and Buffaloes (in Thousands)			Remark
	Cattle	*Buffaloes*	*Total*	
1. America	141,448	1,064	141,448	Reporting countries only.
2. Africa	31,062	1,064	32,146	
3. Asia—				
(a) Excluding U.S.S.R. and India	9,451	1,990	11,441	
(b) India (pre-partition)	151,881	46,220	206,081	
4. Europe	57,757	389	76,155	
5. Oceania	18,960	—	18,960	
6. U. S. S. R.	46,800	—	46,800	
Total	483,379	49,652	553,031	
India (partitioned)	136,371	40,617	176,988	
Estimated for uncovered area	3,600	910	4,510	
Total	139,971	41,527	181,498	
India's share	29.0%	83.6%	34.0%	

The following table gives the total number of cattle and buffaloes in India before and after partition[2]:

	Cattle (000)	Buffaloes (000)	Total	Remarks
Pre-partition :				
Reported India	111,457	32,021	143,478	Based on 1945 Census
Reported Indian States	48,065	14,112	62,177	
Estimated for uncovered areas	3,600	910	4,510	
Total	163,122	47,043	210,165	
Post-partition :				
Estimated India	89,233	28,814	116,047	Figures worked out on the basis of divisions
Estimated Indian States	41,138	13,803	60,941	
Estimated for uncovered areas	3,600	910	4,510	
Total	139,971	41,527	181,498	
Percentage	77.1	22.9	100%	

1. The figures are taken from the latest issue of *International Year Book of Agriculture and Statistics.*

2. Vide T. T. Mulwani : "Cattle Wealth in India" (*Rural India*, October, 1950), p. 381.

It has been worked out that the proportion of males is more than half (54.4%) amongst cattle, while in case of buffalo the females predominate and are about three-fourths (72.8%) of the total. The reason for this disparity lies in the comparative utility of the two species. The oxen males are preferred to male buffaloes for agricultural purposes owing to their comparative lightness and active nature. Cows in the rural areas are maintained for producing bullocks rather than for milk. She-buffaloes, on the other hand, are considered to be better dairy animals than cows. The male buffaloes are neglected and many of them die or sold for slaughter before they attain maturity.

In 1940, of milch cattle in undivided India 96 per cent of the cows and 94 per cent of the she-buffaloes were located in rural areas and only 4 per cent of milch cows and 6 per cent of she-buffaloes were found in cities and towns.

The largest number of cattle is found in the Uttar Pradesh which possesses over 214 lakh heads or 15.4 per cent of the total strength in the country. This is followed by Madras with 165 lakh heads or 11.8 per cent while Madhya Pradesh, Berar, Bihar, Bombay and Rajasthan closely follow each other with 139, 114, 103 and 86 lakh heads respectively.

The density of cattle is highest in Rajasthan closely followed by Kashmir, possessing as many as 88 and 81 cattle per 100 acres of cultivated area. Hyderabad, Bombay, East Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and C. P. show the densities having 32, 30, 28, 85, 80, 83, 71, and 54 cattle per 100 acres respectively. This stands in fair contrast with Holland, Egypt, China, and Japan which have 38, 25, 15 and 6 cattle per 100 acres of sown area.

The position is somewhat different when the density per square mile is taken into account. The West Bengal is densely populated, 288 animals per sq. mile followed by Uttar Pradesh with 192 animals per sq. mile. The places with lowest density are Saurashtra and Rajasthan with 67 cattle per sq. mile each and Kashmir with 25 cattle per sq. mile. For the country as a whole the density works out to 115 cattle per sq. mile and 44 cattle for 100 persons.[3]

3. In 1940, the densities of animals in the various provinces were as follows :

Provinces	*Density per sq. mile*		*Density per hundred acres of cultivated areas*	
	Oxen	Buffaloes	Oxen	Buffaloes
Bengal	292	14	78	4
Bihar	181	42	47	11
Bombay	94	32	21	7
C. P. and Berar	85	16	39	8
Madras	129	49	39	15

Although India ranks high among the countries of the world in the cattle population yet she is not the most densely cattle-populated country of the world, nor she has a high ratio of cattle to human population, unlike the countries known for stock raising, as will be clear from the table reproduced below :

Country	Cattle population (000)	Cattle per sq. mile	Cattle per 100 persons
Argentina	34,010	32	241
Austria	2,187	68	32
Australia	14,184	5	199
Canada	10,759	3	90
Denmark	3,184	192	79
France	14,273	67	35
India	139,971	115	44
Newzealand	4,628	45	268
U. S. A.	81,909	28	58

TYPES OF CATTLE

(*a*) *Working Bullocks* : India has approximately 540 lakhs of working bullocks. Their largest number is found in the Uttar Pradesh followed by Madras and Bihar. The proportion of working bullocks to the total cattle population in any area depends upon the agricultural requirements of that area, the type of bullocks available and the nature of crops generally grown. Generally speaking, areas which grow crops like sugarcane, cotton, wheat, etc., or have a heavy soil, possess comparatively a larger proportion of working bullocks than areas which are either hilly or sandy or which have more forests or have light soils or grow more of crops like rice, jute, tea. coffee. The proportion of working bullocks is 47.7 per cent in the U. P., 43.7 per cent in Bihar, 43.0 per cent in Bombay, 40.6 per cent in Saurashtra and 40.5 per cent in East Punjab. These areas grow mostly wheat, cotton or sugarcane, etc. On the other hand, this proportion is low in Rajasthan (28.4 per cent sandy soil), Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and Kashmir (29.1, 31, and 32.1 per cent respectively, mostly hilly and forest land) and in Kerala, Mysore and Assam (29.5, 32.7 and 33 per cent respectively growing rice, jute, tea, etc.). On the whole the working bullocks form 38.6 per cent of the total cattle population in India.

Punjab	93	62	30	20
U. P.	218	87	60	24

(*b*) *Breeding Cows* : Approximately 422 lakhs of breeding cows comprising 30.1 per cent of the total cattle are estimated to exist in the country. The largest number of breeding cows is found in the Uttar Pradesh, *viz.*, about 55 lakhs or 12.9 per cent of the total population of breeding cows. Next come Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan which have about 50, 49 and 29 lakhs of such animals respectively.

(*c*) *Unserviceable Stock* : These comprise old and emaciated animals which are permanently unfit for work or breeding, but nevertheless kept by their owners, mainly on religious or sentimental grounds. The total number of such animals is 29 lakhs or 2.1 per cent of the total cattle in the country. Of these, about 22 lakhs are males and only 7 lakhs are females. The largest number of unserviceable stock is found in Madras, *viz.*, about 5.6 lakhs or 19.2 per cent of the total population of unserviceable stock. This is followed by West Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Orissa with 2.9, 2.7, 2.5, and 2.4 lakhs or 10.1, 9.3, 8.5 and 8.4 per cent of the total population of unserviceable stock.

IMPORTANCE OF CATTLE IN NATIONAL ECONOMY

In so far as India is essentially a farming country the importance of efficient cattle for the stability and prosperity of the rural zones can scarcely be exaggerated. The number of livestock have an important effect both on the total output of agriculture and on the form in which the output appears.[4] "Cattle play a very important part in Indian agriculture. But unlike in other countries of the world whose cattle are maintained mainly for milk and meat, in India these primarily are kept as draught animals for the plough or the cart as the camel, the horse, the donkey and mechanical vehicles are rarely used." Without them no cultivation would be possible, without them no produce can be transported.[5] Cattle supply the most important motive power for almost all agricultural operations, such as ploughing, lifting water from the wells, and the transport of produce from field to the markets. They provide most of the manure used by the farmers in India. They again yield valuable products, such as milk, butter and ghee—food products particularly valuable in a country with a vegetarian diet. Cattle are given much importance in Indian agricultural economy. Quality and quantity of cattle not only raise the social status of the Indian farmer but improve his economic condition materially. Thus in India, without cattle fields remain unploughed, store and bins stand empty, and food and drink lose half their savour, for in a vegetarian country what can be worse than to have no milk, butter or ghee.[6]

According to the estimates of Dr. N. C. Wright, the milk and milk products provided by the cattle have been valued at about Rs. 300 crores per year. The annual output of products, such as hides and skins is valued at roughly 40 crores of rupees. While Dr. Rao has estimated the value of the individual products obtained from the livestock in Indian Provinces as Rs. 28.3 crores.[7]

According to the Marketing Department of the Government of India, the contribution of the cattle in the economy of India is estimated to be Rs. 1,900 crores

4. Russel : *Agricultural Production in Continental Europe*, p. 49.
5. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 169.
6. M. L. Darling : *Punjab Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt* (1932), p. 30.
7. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao : *National Income of India*, p. 109.

That is why the average Indian cultivator
bullocks as well as he can while they are at
they have cost him dear he is proud of
. he will go to some expenses and trouble to
in good condition during slack seasons,[9] and
villing to destroy them even when they
economic burden on his one-and-a-half-acre

'. Ware states that figures from other coun-
into insignificance when compared with India
atter, and even the U.S.A. which possesses
l largest animal population of 140,000,000
the pigs and poultry in the world.[10] The
lues of the livestock and animal products
calculated by him as below[11]:

's	*Crores of Rupees*
nd milk products	540
labour in agriculture	408
es	180
· for purposes other than ltural work	107
products	30
nimals exported	0.12
Total	1,265.12

recently, Mr. Mulwani[12] has estimated the contribution of our cattle as follows:

labour, Rs. 480 crores; Milk, Rs. 450 crores; anure, Rs. 312 crores; and Hides, Bones and ef, etc., Rs. 58 crores, totalling Rs. 1,300 ores per annum.

our cattle wealth adds a very great amount ional wealth every year.

Some Important Cattle Breeds

ling to trade demands and climatic and itions. a number of breeds of both the species oped in different parts of the country. These lassed as milch, draught and dual purpose foreign countries, 'a dual purpose' breed in which the females yield a fair quantity d the males produces good quality calves. In production is of little importance. A 'dual reed is, therefore, one in which the females nilkers and males powerful draught animals. nce of such indigenous breeds has been the purpose of cattle improvement and breeding areas in the various provinces.

tacts Known for Cattle Breeding

ncentration of a large number of cattle is o the production of milk or higher standard of agriculture. Good breeds of cattle are confined to comparatively dry areas, such as Hariana tract of the Punjab, Rajasthan, Kathiawar, Central India and in such parts of other States where similar conditions exist. Pasture in these dry areas may be good in quality but is often scarce and the uncertainty of rainfall makes it obligatory on the part of owners to grow crops, the residue of which provides a good supply of fodder for cattle. Conversely in tracts with a humid climate which are subject to heavy rainfall or are provided with ample irrigation a very poor type of cattle is found in spite of the availability of grazing.

Tracts with Poor Cattle

It is a well-known fact that in rice-growing tracts, *viz.*, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, Travancore, etc., cattle are generally found to be greatly deteriorated. both as regards their physical development and capacity for work and milk production. They are also more prone to diseases and reproductive defects are common to them. In these areas the cattle being inefficient, the number of cattle required for agricultural purposes and for milk production is necessarily larger, even 3 to 4 times as compared with that of other areas where good cattle exist. The larger number of cattle causes greater strain on the available pastures, which results in their further deterioration, thus producing a vicious circle. In Travancore and Cochin where cattle are of mongrel, non-descript type and where there are no recognised breeds, cows are notoriously poor milkers. The bullocks are puny and weak and on this account the cultivators are generally unable to adopt and make use of modern, efficient and labour-saving implements.

Various Indian breeds are noted for their milk-yielding capacity. In Bombay province there are two important breeds, *viz.*, "Kankraj breed" useful for draught work and "Damgo breed" of the Western Ghats useful for work in the rocky regions. In the south Kathiawar, "Gir cattle" is well known for their milking capacities. The uplands of C. P. offer good grazing grounds and facilities, where "Malwa breed" useful for agricultural work in the field is to be met with.

"Hansi or Hariana" in the Eastern Punjab and Montgomery district, having a scanty rainfall and extensive pasturage, are the best. The improved breeds of the "Sahiwal" cattle breed at Ferozepore have an average lactation yield of nearly 7,000 lbs. of milk and can stand in comparison with European stock.

Unlike cows, buffaloes thrive best in the areas of moderate heavy rainfall as they require plenty of water for their daily bath. They are dual purpose animals useful both for milking as well as draught. They live on coarser grass and even then they are heavy yielders of milk. "Murra buffalo" of the Punjab has an average of 400 lbs. of milk per lactation period while the better types may yield as much as 1,000 lbs.

ndian Veterinary Journal, September, 1944, pp. 87-90.
: of Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 192.
C. Mukherjee: Economic Problems of Modern India, 19.
p. 140.
letails see T. T. Mulwani's "Cattle Wealth of India" in October, 1950), p. 364.

The "Rohtak breeds" are also famous for milk. The "Kathiawar or Jafarbadi buffalo" are large in size and the daily yield of milk is 30 lbs. "Deccan breeds" are more serviceable for heavy cartage but they are poor milkers. The buffaloes are better cared for because it is the more important milk cattle. Her milk is richer, containing as it does from two to three per cent more butter fat than that of ordinary cow, and supplies the major part of the demand for milk. She is more profitable to maintain, as she possesses a remarkable ability to convert coarse fodder into milk.

The following table gives the important breeds of cattle of both the species in India :[13]

Province	*Oxen*	*Buffaloes*
1. Madras and Mysore	Kangayam, Amritmahal, Hallikar, Alambadi, Ongole, Krishnavalley Bargur.	
2. Bombay	Dangi, Gir, Kankrej, Khillari.	Jaffarbadi, Mehsana, Surti.
3. C.P. & Berar & C.I. States	Gaolao, Malvi, Nimari.	Nagpuri.
4. U. P.	Kanwariya, Kherigarh, Mewati, Ponwar.	
5. Hyderabad	Deori, Ellichpur.	
6. Bihar	Bachaur, Purnea, Shabbadi.	
7. Punjab and Delhi	Hariana, Hissar. Shahiwal, Montgomery.	Nili Ravi, Murrah.
8. Rajasthan	Malvi, Mewati (Kosi), Nagore, Rath, Tharparkar.	

PRESENT POSITION OF CATTLE IN INDIA

In view of the great importance of cattle, in Indian agriculture their present position is deplorable. Malnutrition is perhaps the greatest single factor responsible for the degeneration of cattle to their present state. Promiscuous mating, improper and insufficient care, ignorance and lethargy of the people are some of the atrocities which are responsible for degeneration.

A large portion of the cattle in this country depends entirely on grazing for their food and nourishment and such grazing is of value for about 5 months in the year. The livestock of India at present cannot compete with the cultivated crops, hence, cattle-breeding is relegated to those parts in which no crops can be grown.[14] With the increasing popularity of the cultivation of food and commercial crops the majority of the farmer have come to regard animal husbandry as an accident of agriculture, rather than as an integral part of it. The extension of cultivation has reduced the amount of grazing land available and the majority of the Indian cattle are small, ill-fed and inefficient and thus has adversely affected the technique of Indian agriculture.[15] Thus the U.S.A. with 58 million cattle produces more milk, *viz.*, 6,400 million gallons, than India with her 215 million cattle, *viz.*, 6,400 million gallons, and Canada compared with India produces 25 per cent milk but with only about 6 per cent of the number of cattle.[16]

The causes of their deterioration in the condition of the cattle may be discussed under the following heads :

(*i*) Lack of adequate and proper fodder supply,
(*ii*) Want of proper care,
(*iii*) Lack of good breeding stock, and
(*iv*) Diseases and pests.

LACK OF ADEQUATE AND PROPER FODDER SUPPLY

The majority of the Indian cattle are seriously underfed, particularly the cows in rural areas. In India, stall-feeding is rare and the grazing and the grasslands in the country are hopelessly overstocked.

Because with the rapid growth in the size of India's population and the growing pressure of land, the absence of alternative avenues of employment, the quantum of land available for grazing has declined considerably. The natural grazing lands are usually to be found within the areas classed for statistical purposes as "forests," "cultivable waste" and "not available for cultviation." But forests, as a source of fodder supply are of limited value due to stringency of the forest laws and the policy of enclosure. According to John Russel, about 10 per cent of the cattle of the five provinces (possessing such forests) have access to forest grazing and where grazing is unrestricted the quality of pasturage has rather deteriorated because of early practice of over-grazing. Cultivable waste land, though another source of fodder supply, is useless for grazing purposes because it does not produce any useful herbage. Similarly a very large portion of the land marked as "not available for cultivatoin" is not useful for grazing because it is absolutely barren. Hence, natural grasslands are utterly lacking.

The ordinary cultivator in India who treats his plough cattle and she-buffalo well when he can, usually lets his cow, young cattle and he-buffalo to thrive as best as they can by gazing on the common ground or by reared crops. That most of the Indian cattle are under-fed can be seen from their very appearance, the slow rate of their growth, their late maturity and the long dry periods of the cows. The majority of the Indian cattle obtain their requirements from whatever grazing is available from straw and stalk and other residues from the human foodstuffs, and are starved seasonally in the dry months when grass withers.

Over the greater part of India there is an acute shortage of fodder from December to July and the cattle are reduced to mere bags of bones. By this time the insufficient supplies of stored fodder become so much depleted that the ration of the cattle of the poor farmers undergoes serious diminution. Even in

13. Vide *Cattle Marketing Report and Miscellaneous Bulletins*, (Nos. 17, 24, 27, 46, 47, and 54 of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research).

14. *Indian Year Book*, 1941-42, p. 131.

15. *Ibid*, p. 330.

16. R. D. Tewari : *Indian Agriculture*, p. 143.

years farmers feel the pinch in the months of
l June. It is a common sight during these
to see herds of cattle wandering about the
grazing grounds and licking the bare fields
rvests in the hope of picking up something to
dy and soul together. The seasonal shortage
y all classes of farmers, and if the monsoon is
even the richer farmers have no reserve of

chronic starvation on the part of the cattle
for an average of one-third of the total
ortality. The starvation of this period cripples
le, "makes the cow an irregular breeder that
her natural milking qualities until she is
o suckle a healthy calf, that leads to scarcity
bullocks, and that creates the urge which
he village grazing grounds of India with useless
repit cattle." Many plough bullocks are sold
inter or their rations are ruthlessly decreased
r they are not worked in full, while milch
e kept on after lactation on poor and adequate
Scrub bulls are allowed everywhere to cover
which are generally immature, so that herds
although many of the animals do not get a
o live.

Leake writes in this connection that during
s there is abundance of green fodder, both in
ıral growth of uncultivated areas and in such
chari grown to supply fodder. With the ces-
f the rains and the coming of the cold weather
growth ceases and the fodder crops ripen off.
dry months of the year, grass is very poor
dry weather hinders its growth. As compared
e grazing lands in temperate climate, Indian
re of very little use to the cultivator even
ıey are readily accessible, not because the
are bad but because they are abundant and of
ding value only for a very short period of the
ut where the supply of grass on grazing lands
certain and reliable, the quality of cattle is
ınd it is here that some of the best quality
ı India are reared.

lder is limited to the dry stalks of the jowar
ize and to the *bhussa* (in silo-pit) produced
cold weather cereals, to which must be added
thered grasses of the waste lands. Grains and
re little used as cattle food. On these fodders,
a small oil nutrient value, eked out with such
ıtural grazing as is available the cattle have to
along till the succeeding rain brings forth a
ply. Moreover, within this period falls the
of maximum demand for power, for agricultural
s for threshing, ploughing and carrying loads.
ı a year of famine, the cattle die by hundreds,
survivors become inefficient workers for some
o sufficient excess of fodder is produced in good
ıd owing to the bulky nature of the fodder it is
impossible to import it from other countries to make up the internal deficiency even if the external resources were available. The actual shortage of the fodder can be easily realised when we compare the conditions of fodder supply in India with those in England, where three acres are necessary for supporting 4 heads of cattle, while in the U.P. not more than ⅓ of an acre of less fertile a land is available for grazing of the same number of cattle. The result is heavy cattle mortality. In the Punjab *chambri* grass is the principal fodder but *shaftal, berseem,* and *lucerne* can be grown as green fodder. In C.P., the fodder situation is somewhat more satisfactory than the adjoining provinces. It is in the cotton belt that jowar is chiefly cultivated as the fodder crop, while cotton seeds also provide a very nutritious food with the result that cattle become strong and efficient. In the wheat belt though grazing lands are rare but *kans* (a grass of low nutritive value) grows over wide areas and hence no fodder crop is raised, with the result that the cattle fed on it are weak and incapable to bear the burden. In the rice belt, as also in Bengal, green catch crop is utterly lacking. Muddy straw is the only available fodder which offers a bare sustenance for cattle. In Bengal, the banks and slopes of the embankments of public roads are the only grazing grounds and the cattle subsist mainly on paddy straw, paddy-husks and the coarse grass which grows in tanks almost silted up. Just after the rice crop has been cut they get enough to eat, but at other times of the year they are half-starved. The lack of sufficient pasture, the absence of good fodder and the inability of the peasants to stall-feed their beasts have led in Bengal to a deterioration of cattle. In the Chattisgarh Division of C.P., a variety of grass of low nutritive value (*sukla* or spear grass) grows in abundance but it being short season grass provides no grazing in June and July when there is a real need for the fodder. Hence, the cattle of Bengal and C. P., are usually inferior both for milking and draught purposes. Western Ghats, enjoying rains varying from 80 to 150 inches, are quite unsuitable for the growth of good-quality grass and hence cattle-rearing is not largely carried on there. But in Mysore, Nellore, and Coimbatore up-land areas having a moderate rainfall and natural drainage are conducive to the healthy growth of good grass and it is here that some of the best cattle breeds of India are found. Gujarat is also suitable for good cattle. The grass and various leguminous crops are largely produced owing to the alluvial loamy soil in the area around Rann of Cutch.

No definite information is available on the total quantity of foodstuffs available in the land and little attention has been paid to the need of milch cattle. In most parts of the country, the grass which grows in the monsoon either shrivels up entirely in the dry season or becomes so coarse

as to be incapable of nourishing cattle properly, while poverty prevents the average cultivator from purchasing fodder.

The following table gives the feeding standards of livestock in India:

Feeding Standards
(Pounds per head per day)

Live Weight	Maintenance (at rest)		Work (8 hr. ploughing)	
	Digestible crude protein	Starch equivalent	Digestible crude protein	Starch equivalent
600	0.26	3.6	0.86	6.8
800	0.31	4.6	1.00	8.5
1,000	0.37	5.7	1.21	10.4

It is needless to state that in the U.P., Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal, the cattle cannot obtain their minimum feeding requirement at all. The competition of both the human and bovine population for maintenance on small holdings which yield both food and fodder crops has resulted in the steady deterioration of animals' food supply and of their breed and efficiency. It is a striking paradox that the provinces which have the smallest crop area per capita maintain the largest number of cattle; *i.e.*, the deficiency in cattle food is greater in the thickly than in the thinly populated areas. According to Dr. Burns, the smallest deficiency is in the region in which rainfall is under 30 ins. and the greater in that in which it is over 70 inches.

The region with a rainfall of between 30 to 70 inches lies between these two extremes.[17]

According to Dr. N. C. Wright, to produce India's total output of 800 million maunds of milk, the milk cattle alone require 29,55,000 tons of digestible nutrients and 2,675.000 tons of digestible crude protein. The supplies available in India amount roughly to 51,013,000 tons of nutrients and 2,760.000 tons of crude protein.[18] Against the total estimated annual requirements of 381 million tons of concentrates there are only 169.1; 135.2 and 7.5 million tons available respectively. This clearly indicates an acute shortage of cattle feed in India. These have to be sufficient not only for the milk cattle but also for the draught cattle. Thus there is a marked deficiency of cattle feed in India, as a result of which the cattle, in ordinary years, are left to graze on the dried fields in summer while the famine years have cattle mortality as the usual consequence.

(To be continued)

17. These regions respectively include (1) Punjab; N.-W.F.P.; Sind; Baluchistan and a part of Bombay lying to the East of Western Ghats and four ceded districts in Madras. The cattle in this region may be said to be fairly adequately fed for here a comparatively large area is under fodder crops. (2) Bihar, Orissa, C.P. and Berar, U.P., the eastern part of Madras and the northern part of the Bombay Presidency having rainfall between 30 to 70 ins. where there are smaller areas under fodder crops. (3) Those parts of Madras and Bombay which lie west of the Western Ghats, Coorg, Bengal and Assam. The position of feeding is worst here.

The differential productivity and capacity of work of cattle in these regions as well as the distribution of cattle among them may be seen from the following table which relates to undivided India:

Region	Areas of cultivated land (Millions)	*No. of animals* Male cattle (Millions)	Milch cows	She-buffaloes	No. of acres cultivated per pair of bullocks	*Milking capacity (lbs. per annum)* Cows	Buffaloes
(1) Above 70 ins.	48.6	12.7	11.0	0.7	7.6	371	732
(2) 30 to 70 ins.	137.3	28.1	20.4	9.5	9.8	463	1060
(3) Below 30 ins.	78.2	8.2	5.8	4.8	19.2	774	1615
Br. India	264.1	48.9	37.3	15.0	10.8	484	1216

18. Vide Dr. W. Burns: *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India.*

———:O:———

THE UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE

By ALFRED S. SCHENKMAN,
Acting Deputy Director, The International Institute of Educational Sciences, University of Utrecht

I shall try in this talk to give a bird's-eye view of the universities of Europe. Now, every bird has two eyes. This bird's-eye view, let me say in advance, of the European universities, is based on one eye's vision only. I have been to most of the British Universities, to most of the Swedish, of the Belgian, the Dutch, the Danish, etc. But I have not been to Switzerland, to Italy, to Germany—to say nothing of the Eastern countries of Europe. I must give a report, then, which is near-sighted in that it ignores the universities of whole sections of Europe. It is not, I hope, biased by any stigmatism which affects the focus on the countries here viewed directly. And with the other eye there has been study by reading and some of the gaps are thereby filled.

The itinerary that I set for you tonight (and that I followed in my actual travelling) starts with England, includes Scotland, takes in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, then finishes with Holland, Belgium, France. It covers much mileage and many institutions. But it is not too difficult to make a rough classification of the universities of these countries, a classification based *not* on national boundaries. In most of the countries there are the ancient universities and the "new" institutions. There are conflicts between the two types, and the stranglehold of prestige. Of *fundamental*

s there are now few, but age does provide us convenient classification basis.
e sure, in Scotland, the "new" University, the y of Edinburgh, was founded in 1582—whereas rable old institutions, Aberdeen, Glasgow, ews, go back only to 1494, 1450, 1411. In the antithesis is clearer between Oxford and ge and the newer municipal universities— er, Bristol, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Compare, to see what I mean, the twelfth birth-dates of Oxford and Cambridge with Durham (1831), Manchester (1880), Reading

same pattern is to be seen in Sweden, with unded in 1477 and Lund in 1668—whereas the ies of Stockholm and Goteborg go back only nd 1889. Similarly, in Holland, the University 1 dates back to 1575 and the University of to 1636; but Amsterdam established its university only in 1877. In Belgium, the versities of Liege and Ghent, and the Univer- e of Brussels, were founded in the not too ast; Louvain, the venerable Roman Catholic 1, goes back to 1426.
the sake of completeness I must say that llows a different pattern. Almost all of its 17 ies date back many centuries. Lyons (1808) is tion—which stands out in a group including er (going back to 1125), Paris (to 1150), Tou- 30), Grenoble (1339), etc.
ur classification, then, we have on the one venerable old-age universities such as Oxford, ge, Upsala, Lund, Copenhagen, Leiden, Paris—and opposing them (sometimes very such newer Universities as those of London, er, Stockholm, Aarhus, Amsterdam, Brussels,

of course, is not the only possible classifica- s. It should properly be combined with size, organization, finance, and other factors, if we a really meaningful picture. I am afraid that f the short time at my disposal here I shall be an impressionist. I can say that the y of London has 22,000 students, and the y of Paris 53,000. But I cannot describe the on of the London Colleges or show why so the Paris students can be "external." I can tatistics which show that Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Oslo, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, er all have more than 5,000 and fewer than lents. But it is impossible here to discuss at e organizational peculiarities of these institu- of Nottingham, St. Andrews, Ghent, Lund— y universities of about 2,500 students.
gards organization I shall make but two very university today is an emergent, is the f its own history (influenced of course by the history of the country) but is also the product of the history of all universities. When we consider what Rashdall calls the "servile fidelity" with which the "institutions of a mother-University" are reproduced in its daughters, we should not be too surprised at the similarities of universities. Rashdall, again, says that "the Universities of all countries and of all ages are in reality adaptations under various conditions of one and the same institution." If this is so, then although there are important local differences (of size, financing, etc.) there is also the all-important thread which leads from the first Universities (Bologna, Paris) to the newest, perhaps the Visva-Bharati or the Gujerat Universities in this country. Some of the differences, incidentally, such as the present-day absence of "Colleges" in Paris or Louvain, are due to the *loss* of institutions (several centuries ago) and not necessarily to a different upbringing.

Secondly, there are in Europe today State (or municipal) Universities and there are privately-run institutions. Oxford and Cambridge are privately-run, as also are the Universities of Stockholm, of Aarhus, of Louvain. In Holland, the Free (Calvinist) University of Amsterdam and the Roman Catholic University at Nijmegen are private institutions. St. Andrews is a private University. But in the long run it makes little difference in most instances, at least if we can learn from the history of European universities, whether an institution is publicly or privately governed. Countries have the education rules and regulations, which provide for a certain uniformity; and, more pleasant to think about, they aid the private as well as the public universities with grants of money. Though, of course, some nations do more for their universities than do others.

With this as a background, I want to discuss in pretty general terms the European Universities as I see them. I wrote a paper not long ago on "Human Relations in the Teaching Industry." May I say that there is in actual fact a much closer relationship between a university and a factory than many starry-eyed and ivory-towered educationists would recognize. As a distinguished Englishman has said, "A University, to put it bluntly, is a factory for the production of a particular type of product." I accept this analysis despite all of the educationist's "Pep talks" about culture and general education.

Now, I know that this is an heretical view; I know that I shall be unpopular. But universities *do* have as their main job today the training for the professions. You can see it—anywhere in Europe. And the more idealistic "ideas of a university" are based less on fact than on the seductive art of wishful thinking. Therefore I want to stress, as part of my setting of the stage, that universities are something like factories, seeing that their function is to produce

a product, albeit an animate and learned and trained product.

I shall skip over here a listing of all of the problems faced by European universities today—problems of increase in enrolment, of student housing, of overcrowded curricula, etc.—problems which your own University of Allahabad and also the other great Indian universities have to face too. In the remainder of the time given me I want to make several main points.

Universities in Europe, just like the Indian or the American, are too much bound by strong forces of tradition; this is true regardless of whether we think of Upsala, founded in 1477, or of Stockholm or Amsterdam, founded 1877. The "servile fidelity" to the mother form is operative in most universities. So, by and large all of the European universities, at least all I know, use outmoded methods in attempting to build the "defences of civilization" in the minds of men. As Sir Walter Moberly has quoted in his *The Crisis in the University*, in the educational world ."nothing must ever be done for the first time."

There are, to be sure, bright students in the European universities who know that they are suffering under outmoded and outdated systems. In all the universities that I have been to, at least a number of the students see the urgent need for reforms in teaching methods and press actively towards these. Different universities, being of course in different stages of development, show different reform movements. I should say that in Sweden at the present time the students have been *most* successful in getting a say concerning teaching and the curriculum. And the influence of these Swedish students is probably increasing. This development, by the way, has been the result largely of the support the students are receiving from the Swedish Ministry of Education. I say that it is a good thing, although I am not sure that I can go quite as far as a Swedish ex-student who looks forward to a future where the State provides the money and "the students the ideas."

In the Belgian universities, to take another example, there is a growing opposition to the *grand cours*, the big unwieldy lecture course; but the exceedingly strict legal requirements of attendance at so many hours of lectures per week so far has made difficult the formation of strong student groups pressing for real reforms in methods of teaching. Student committees, rather, concentrate on problems of housing, social life, financial pressures, and the democratising of university admissions.

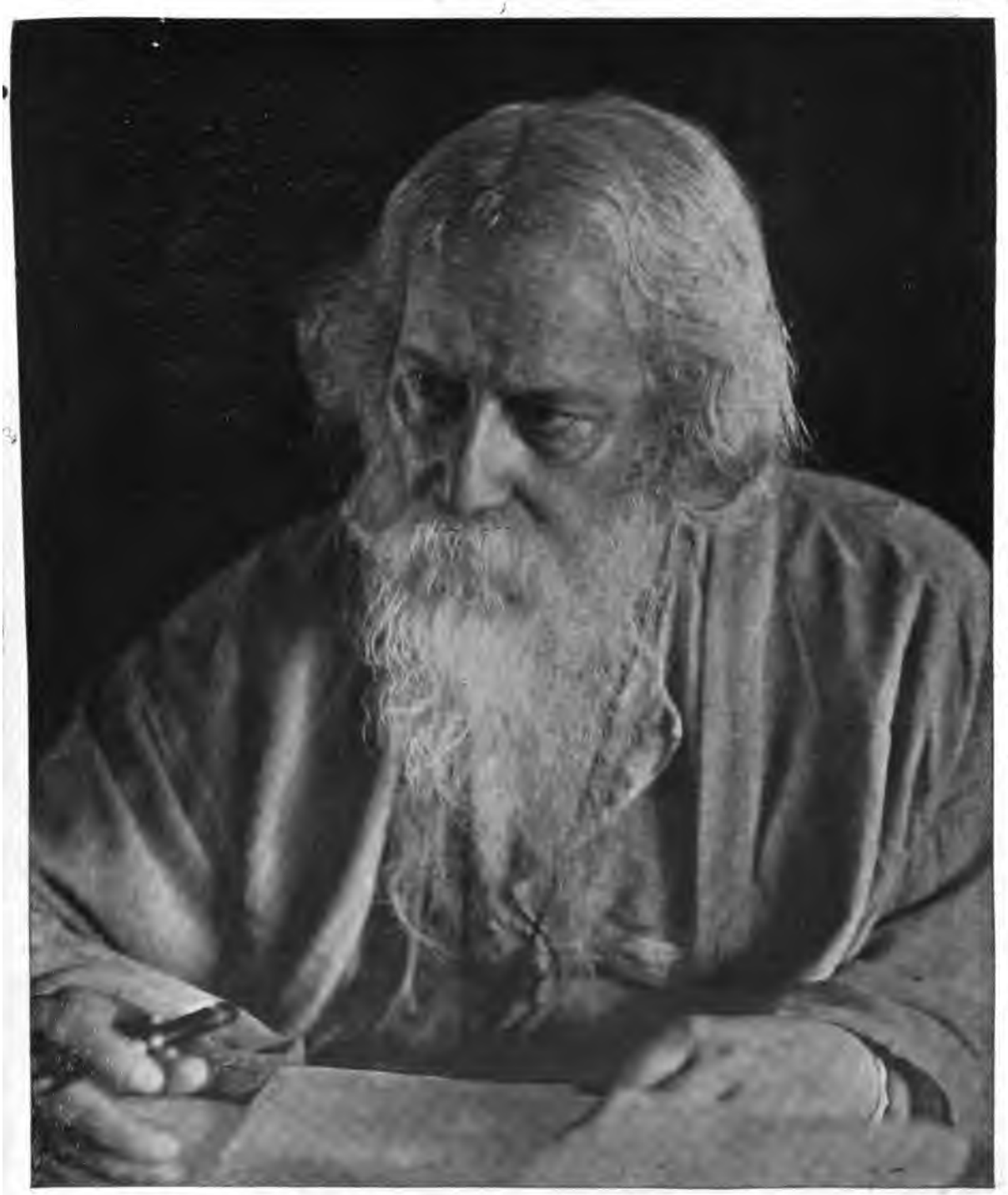
Let me say here, apropos of such student activities, that I am impressed by the calibre of the present-day university student in Europe—in England and in Norway as well as in Holland and Denmark, or Sweden or Scotland. We have our pessimists in Europe just as you have them here who complain that the students of today are so narrow and apathetic and dull. But I think, on the basis of personal observation and not just of armchair philosophizing, that this interpretation of the character of the modern student is far wide of the mark. While, of course, it is almost impossible save in a subjective manner to compare the qualities of one generation of students with those of another I am quite satisfied with the quality of the modern student especially considering his not infrequent unpropitious social background. I am convinced, noting the ever greater numbers of students in European universities who come from poor backgrounds and who are not given generally exceptional social amenities—or educational—in the universities, that the present-day scholar is in no way inferior to his 19th century or 18th century counterpart.

European university students naturally feel the frustrations of the times. The phenomenon is prevalent in Europe, as in India. A time of frustration is just as unhealthy for the students as for anyone else. But the frustrations are not dissolved away by talking as if they do not exist—not even by talking against them—nor, certainly not, by substituting denunciation of results for denunciation of causes. When we consider the "crisis in the university" we must be realistic and realize that the crisis is in the society.

I need not go into this, but my bird's-eye survey of the Universities of Europe would be incomplete without my touching on the teachers at these universities. When university staffs are attacked, as is the hobby today, for not providing "moral leadership," I counter-attack here too and charge that the immoral society itself is responsible and not the usually very capable—and highly moral—university teachers. Let me not as a university teacher whitewash the teaching profession or side-step just attacks. I have already touched on the damage wrought by conservative university teachers who hold with such strength fast to tradition. But I must do my bit to deny the charges as usually levelled against us.

We do our best, whether in Europe or in other parts of the world. In European universities we are probably doing a better job than our predecessors did in many of the so-called "golden ages." And European university teachers would do a better job yet if society gave them the tools in the shape of better equipment, more personnel, fairer salaries, and so on. But considering the problems of Europe as a whole, I am convinced that the universities are reasonably healthy institutions and that the teachers, as well as students, do their best continually to improve from within.

Courtesy : All India Radio, Allahabad Station

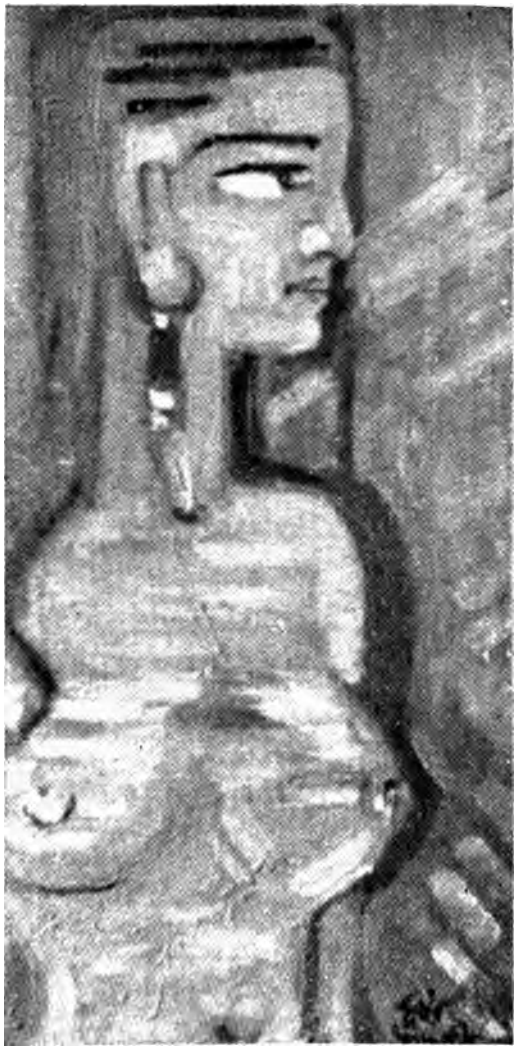


Rabindranath

Birth : May 7, 1861

Death : August 7, 1941

Gandhiji (*cement concrete*)
(Detail from a life-size figure, height 9 ft.)
By S. Khastgir



Study in oils (1951)
By S. Khastgir

FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

By MANKUMAR SEN

UCH it is agreed on all hands, the Government country not excluded, that 'India lives in her ,' 'Indian economy is basically village economy,' lecay of Indian agricultural wealth and rural ies and crafts is the root cause of her economic pration and unbalance,' the nature of the problem or ns has seldom been realised, or realised in part ; en this partial realisation has mostly remained emed. From partial realisation flowed piecemeal lf-hearted measures giving perhaps some relief to ector, somewhere for some time, but the pool of al resources remained unexplored, as stagnant as

The Nature of the Problem

lian economy is, as we have said, essentially rural . basic constituents are agriculture and village ies. Not only basic, they are inseparable parts system and indissolubly bound up with each other. istorical truth and very fundamental position has een bluntly ignored to the wanton detriment of our ic renaissance and programme of revival from the al ravages. One cannot but incidentally refer to the of committees and commissions engaged on food s and the huge budgetary provisions, made every : the 'grow more food campaign'. But, along-side, as been woeful lack of urge and enthusiasm to nore buyers' to tone up the rural industries and o resuscitate them on their proverbial foothold and release a refreshing current of buying capacity to ning millions of Indian villages. 'Grow more food' ve added to food production, but has it, in any added to the strength and vitality of the agricul- ople ? Has it opened up the ways for absorption easants suffering under forced idleness for 4 to 6 in a year. Has it relieved the landless agricul- bour of his pristine squalor and poverty ? The c reply is of course—'No'. Because, the campaign nplanned so far as it was divorced llage industries and their requirements. What we is by no means less important than how much we . Land has been made to yield food and other ops while the village industries have either been from scarcity of raw materials, or decaying sharply ace of cut-throat competition from the large-scale s or foreign imports or both. With this unhappy it hand, one will immediately react favourably to ning Commission's recommendations on village s. The Commission, in its final five-year plan, gorically stated :

> The development of village industries should, fore, be as much a matter of State action as the se of agricultural production. Indeed one cannot parated from the other, for, increase in agricultural ction presupposes fuller utilisation of the avail- man-power and release of surplus workers for occupations."

This—the planned development of agriculture and village industries to fully and fruitfully utilize the man-power, which is the real power of a vast sub-continent like India, is one aspect of the question ; another aspect, no less vital, is the determination of State policy towards village industries vis-a-vis the city-centred large-scale industries engaged in the production of same categories of goods. In fact the one handicap that has hindered the growth of rural industries is the very indefinite, indistinct and foggy Governmental attitude towards them at a time when an objective, well-defined programme was urgently called for. Though not absolutely uncompromising, the Planning Commission has made a realistic approach this time and has not faltered to call a spade a spade. The Commission has thoroughly denounced at least some of the large-scale or power-driven industries which have been mercilessly letting down their village colleagues. It is indeed a matter of deep satisfaction that the bearing of a balanced industrial planning on the health, hygiene and employment situation of the society and country has received weighty recognition at the hands of the Commission.

Causes of Decline and Cure

Causes of the decline of village industries are generally attributable to, according to the Commission, (and also according to the consensus of public opinion) defects or deficiencies in (i) Organisation (ii) State Policy (iii) Finance, (iv) Raw materials, (v) Research, (vi) Technical guidance, (vii) Supply of equipment and (viii) Marketing ; of which, in our opinion, 'State Policy' (ii) is the first pre-requisite to any industrial organisation and methods of development.

Exhorting that "in view of the growing importance of the problem of employment, the Central Government must now give some attention to village and small-scale industries as it has undertaken in view of the shortage of food and raw materials, to agriculture," the Commission has thus outlined the State Policy :

> A cottage industry should be provided a field within which it can organise itself ; in case of a large-scale industry coming into competition, a 'common production programme' should be tried and formulated, in which "the aspect of employment will naturally receive special emphasis", one or more of the following elements may also enter into such a programme : (i) Reservation of the spheres of production; (ii) Non-expansion of the capacity of a large-scale industry ; (iii) Imposition of a cess on a large-scale industry; (iv) Arrangement for the supply of raw materials, and (v) Co-ordination for research, training, etc.

Question of Employment and Nutrition

As an instance of harmful expansion of a private-owned industry directly affecting rural employment and nutrition, the Commission has cited the *Rice Mills*. Quoting it verbatim :

"In the paddy-growing areas rice-pounding was always a substantial source of employment, both whole-time and spare-time, especially by women.

"The introduction of Rice Mills of the huller type greatly diminished the employment, and was also wasteful in various ways. It appears to us that in the interest of rural employment and to ensure better nutrition, the Government should now formulate a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mills by organised hand-pounding of rice."

To what a staggering extent the rural people engaged in hand-pounding industry has been displaced and deprived of a major source of income is conclusively revealed in a report that was published in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* (June, 1950), the organ of the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha. The report states that

"The number of paddy-husking *dhenkis* that were working in Abjuganj (Bhagalpur, Behar) and eight neighbouring villages was 4200 employing 64,000 men and 23,000 women and producing 21,000 mds. of paddy per day. Except the three rainy months this industry worked all the year round. And now mills, big and small, have cropped up and have swallowed the paddy, leaving these people high and dry,—only a few of the *dhenkis* are able to work, that too for two months in the season."

And we all know the double or treble polishing through which dehusked rice in a mill passes to make itself bright and palatable to the civilized taste! But what is the nature and content of the polished commodity thus turned out? The following table speaks for itself:

Type of rice	*Value*	*Loss*
(1) Unpolished	100.0	Nil
(2) Once polished	45.0	55.0
(3) Twice polished	25.0	75.0
(4) Thrice polished	17.5	82.5

(*Rice*—A.-I.V.I.A. publication)

So thrice polished rice has perhaps cent-percent attractive appearance with of course only 17.5 per cent of the original food value! This is what 20,000 mills of our country are allowed to do in respect of nearly 20 million tons of rice annually! The tale does not end there: calculating the constituents of paddy and its rice out-turn by rice mills it has been found that they waste no less than 7 per cent of the 30 million tons, that is nearly 2 million tons of paddy they process. We are glad that the Commission particularly pointed to this rice mill cancer, and the above facts leave no manner of doubt as to what unrestricted and ill-advised allowance for a large-scale industry run purely on profit motive can mean to a nation.

State Policy

The Government should now take up the cudgel fearlessly and, as the Commission has unambiguously suggested, replace the rice mills by indigenous processes. The wooden chakkis manufactured by the A.-I.V.I.A. should receive prior consideration, in common with the *dhenkis. Similar stand* should also be taken gradually *and in right earnest while dealing* with sugar mill vs. *gur* industry, oil mill *vs. ghani* industry and cotton mill vs. handloom industry. A cess has already been declared on mill cloth which is expected to fetch some 2 crores of rupees annually. This amount, as the Commission recommends, should be expended on Khadi and village industries. It is, however, wild dreaming to look at the problem as one of giving out doles only. Village and cottage industries can be given a new base of life on the basis of effective local demand only and this the Commission has fully agreed with. Again local demand means increasing exchange of commodities between different categories or classes of artisans in a village or group of villages, which again presupposes a village-level or decentralized system of administration—both political and economic. Once this reorientation in outlook and affairs is realised, false sense of money-values will tumble down, a revaluation of values will grow up and the tightening grip of money will be replaced by all-round co-operative exchange of goods, specially consumer goods. It is high time we retrace our steps and rebuild our socio-economic life on human values.

Reservation and Raw Material Supply

In the process of replacement, reservation of spheres is no doubt the first stage. It also appears that, in view of 'unemployment' which is a 'constant feature' in handloom weaving the Commission has found 'scope for extension of this principle' as between organised textile industry and unorganised and much weaker handloom weaving. The Commission has also referred to the 'outstanding case of yarn supply' under Government control in support of its contention for raw material supply. True, a quota of mills' yarn production has been earmarked for supply to the weavers,—but that it has not touched even a fringe of the problem should have been evident from the mass-scale delapidation of the weavers of Madras and West Bengal in particular. We do not for a moment question the noble sentiments of the Commission in favour of 'common production programme,' but such existing programme as between textile and handloom has thrown the latter to the lurch and for the very first thing *i.e.* raw material the weavers have been made to look helplessly to the munificent and honest dealings of the yarn-producing mills! So we dislike to call it a 'common' programme where not inter-dependence but dependence of the weaker party on the stronger is the first term of contract! It is really strange that no well-thought-out scheme of yarn production under State control to ensure adequate and uninterrupted supply has been envisaged in the Plan; and it looks stranger in view of the commendable outspokenness of the Commission that

"What is certain is that unless the planning and development of village industries and many small-scale industries is conceived as part of the process of formulating policies and programmes for the related large-scale industries it will be extremely difficult to promote the smaller industries and almost every technical and economic factor will weigh against them."

Save and except the general suggestion for cess on mill production no consideration has been given to the outpacing problem of Khadi industry. The argument that whatever tentative proposals have been framed will be considered by the central Khadi and Village Industries Board is virtually be-littling the issue. It passes our comprehension how such a problem of national and rational importance could virtually be evaded by the first Planning Commission of India. The Commission's sound advocacy that 'the aspect of employment will naturally receive special emphasis' does not appear to have weighed with the suggestion of the Commission itself in respect of handloom and Khadi. In view of their special position in the employment situation of India these two major village industries should have been discussed specially and their exact roles defined distinctly.

THE BEGINNING OF THE BEGINNING

We welcome Commission's proposal and forthright comment that

> "In the sphere of food processing industries the stage appears to have been reached when further expansion of large-scale industry should not be permitted."

After what we have already reproduced about the pernicious rice-milling systems, there is hardly any scope for difference of opinion on this score. Similarly the proposal to raise oil-seed pressing by *ghanis* from 10 lakh to 13.3 lakh tons, though moderately estimated, should be well-received. Contrarily the Commission has maintained reticence on the expanding sugar industry and has simply made a passing reference to *palm gur* industry. Village *gur* industry consumes nearly 75 per cent of the total cane production; nearly 50 million tons, five times the mills', of cane is crushed by the villagers. Annual sugar production of the 138 sugar mills is between 10-13 lakh tons, and the millions of *gur ghanis* produce nearly 36 lakh tons of *gur* and employ several lakhs of rural people. So the revival of paddy-husking by rural process,—oil *ghanis*, *gur ghanis*, etc.. along with handloom and Khadi, if taken up with courage, vision and effective measures, should mark the beginning of the beginning of a new economic life for free India. In the execution of such a project, finance will undoubtedly present itself as a formidable problem. We are absolutely at one with the Commission's views that the formation of industrial co-operatives and proper functioning of the State Industrial Finance Corporations should, to a large extent, solve this problem. To cottage and home industries, such as potteries, embroderies, etc. too little space has been allotted, probably because facts pooled by the Commission were too meagre and the problem is vastly complex and variegated. In this connection the Commission's mild strictures on the Industries Departments of the State Governments should be given due regard.

———:O:———

ECONOMICS OF LINGUISTIC STATES

BY S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

WE are glad that the difficult problem of Linguistic States was once again discussed threadbare at the Hyderabad Session of the Congress. Usually such discussions generate more heat than light; but frank expressions of views on the reorganisation of States both in the Subjects Committee and in the Open Session of the Congress were very helpful in placing before the people the pros and cons of the linguistic States in the right perspective. The Congress did well in laying greater emphasis on the economic and financial factors involved in the redistribution of areas on linguistic basis. While we value the importance of regional languages in the administrative and educational arrangements of a free country, the basic aim of achieving economic freedom for the masses must receive top-most priority in our plan of national reconstruction.

It is wrong to think that in emphasising the economic factor, the Congress has gone back on its original promise of reconstituting States on a linguistic basis. The Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee, popularly known as the JVP Report, was quite clear on this aspect of the problem. While re-affirming the *general policy underlying the formation* of linguistic States, the Report stated that "the first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India," and the policy of creating new States on the basis of language should be applied after careful thought without "jeopardising the political and economic stability of the country." The Election Manifesto adopted at the Bangalore Session of the A.-I. C. C. in July 1951 also observed :

> "While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other factors also such as economic, administrative and financial, which have to be taken into consideration."

The latest resolution passed at Hyderabad, while confirming the general policy of linguistic States, has invited special attention to these "other factors" so that in our inordinate anxiety to create separate States on the basis of language we might not overlook the very important considerations of national unity, economic and financial stability and national defence.

It is also not correct to say that Government of India's announcement regarding the formation of Andhra was untimely and that arrangements for the constitution of other linguistic States should also hav

been completed almost simultaneously. The JVP Report was quite clear on this point. It had recommended that, to start with, a separate Andhra State may be formed because :

> "There appears to be a large measure of consent behind it and the largest compact area likely to form part of this linguistic province is situated in one province."
>
> "It is impossible to take up all the projects simultaneously for implementation without seriously jeopardising the political, administrative and economic stability of the country."

The Hyderabad resolution also makes it abundantly clear that any further steps in this direction "will naturally depend on the stabilisation of the Andhra State." Those who think that the Prime Minister finally agreed to constitute the Andhra State owing to a fatal fast and the consequent violent disturbances are very much mistaken. It might be a rather unhappy coincidence; but the Government of India had been considering the question of Andhra for several months past and the final announcement had nothing to do directly with the fast or the disturbances. The announcement of the Prime Minister is also in accordance with the recommendations of the JVP Report. Let no one be under the false impression or hope that the Government of India would agree to the formation of other linguistic States under threats of fasts or acts of violence. Of course, if the necessary conditions in regard to general agreement among the people of the areas concerned and the economic solvency of the new States are satisfied, the Government is committed to the policy of forming separate administrative units on the basis of language.

It is very wrong to interpret the Hyderabad resolution as shelving the issue of linguistic States. The resolution has confirmed the previous policy as laid down in the JVP Report and the Election Manifesto. It should be clearly understood by all concerned that the Congress is not going to be hustled into any action by pressure tactics or virulent propaganda. It has, as a first step, agreed to form a separate Andhra State and all the supporters of linguistic States should try to create a favourable and healthy atmosphere for the early formation of this new State. It should be made very clear that the reorganisation of States on the basis of language has nothing to do with separate cultures : we stand for one Indian culture and not for numerous provincial cultures. The task of reorganising States on linguistic basis is purely a matter of administrative and educational convenience. If we desire to carry on the administration in the language of the region, it is always better to have one language for one administrative area. Similarly, the introduction of mother-tongue medium of instruction *in place of* English will be very much facilitated if *the States are reconstituted on* linguistic basis.

It should, further, be made very plain to the *people that the formation of* linguistic States should not, in any way, interfere with the fundamental right of all citizens "to move freely throughout the territory, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, to acquire, hold and dispose of property : and to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business." It would be most unfortunate if the redistribution of States on linguistic basis leads to narrow-mindedness towards those whose mother-tongue is different from the language of the region. The JVP Report was also worried about the possibility of migration of population as a result of the reconstitution of linguistic States. It is the duty of all concerned to see to it that the formation of Andhra does not lead to any such evil consequences. If the Andhra State is formed in a proper atmosphere and is stabilised satisfactorily, the Congress will not hesitate to consider the question of other linguistic States, provided there is broad agreement among the various areas affected by such reorganisation, and provided the new States are able to stand on their own feet financially and economically. At a time when all our energies have to be directed towards the solution of the main problem of poverty, hunger and unemployment through our Five-year Plan, it would be most unwise to fritter our energies in mutual squabbles relating to linguistic States. The economics of linguistic reorganisation cannot be overlooked by the Congress, although we have every sympathy with those who desire an early formation of linguistic States for administrative and educational convenience in different regions.

Let us not indulge in indecent haste in such matters. Our first and primary task is to consolidate our political freedom and then to build up our economic freedom. Writing in the *Harijan* on November 30, 1947, Mahatma Gandhi also appealed to the linguistic groups in the South "to settle their disputes and boundaries and produce an agreed scheme of redistribution according to language" and "not to put undue strain on the Congress." He observed :

> ". . . since linguistic redistribution is desirable from almost every point of view, all delay in carrying out the project should be avoided. But the reluctance to enforce linguistic redistribution is, perhaps, justifiable in the present depressing atmosphere. The exclusive spirit is very uppermost. Everyone thinks of himself and his family. No one thinks of the whole of India. The centripetal force is undoubtedly there, but it is not vocal, never boisterous: whereas the centrifugal is on the surface, and in its very nature makes the loudest noise, demanding the attention of all . . . Even zealous reformers would postpone controversial issues to a more hopeful time, when in the interest of the country, the virtue of 'give and take' would be freely recognised and all sectional interests would be subordinate to the one interest of the good of India, which will include the good of all."

Let every one of us seriously consider whether we have still been able to create the necessary hopeful and healthy atmosphere for the early formation of linguistic States?

DEPUTY MINISTERS IN A STATE IN INDIA

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

[We received the following query in the form of a letter from Sri Girindranath Mitra. The letter was forwarded to Prof. D. N. Banerjee for reply. The answer is appended herewith.—*Ed., M.R.*

Will any of your readers enlighten me if it is permissible under the Constitution to create such political posts as Deputy Ministers of the State?

The relevant provisions in the Constitution for creating Ministers are as follows:—

(1) The article 163 Cl. (1) provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers with Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor, etc.

(2) The article 164 Cl. (1) provides that the Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister.

(3) The article 164 Clauses 3 and 5 respectively provide for the administration of oaths to the Ministers by the Governor and for salaries and allowances by law by the State Legislatures.

The State Legislatures are also empowered under Seventh Schedule List II Cl. (40) to make laws for salaries and allowances of the Ministers of the State.

From consideration of the above relevant provisions it follows that the Constitution does not provide for the creation of such political posts as Deputy Ministers who cannot be members of the Council of Ministers nor the State Legislatures can by law provide for salaries and allowances of merely such political posts of Deputy Ministers. There is also no provision for the administration of oaths of office and secrecy to the Deputy Ministers by anybody.

These posts of Deputy Ministers are not offices in the nature of Civil Service for in that event the Deputy Ministers would have ceased to be members of the Legislatures.]

It appears to me that there is no constitutional bar to the appointment of a Deputy Minister in a State in India. A Deputy Minister is a Minister and, as such, is a member of the Council (*i.e.*, Body) of Ministers in the State. To my mind the expression "a Council of Ministers" in Article 163(1) of our Constitution as well as in 74(1) thereof, means only "a Body of Ministers." The Deputy Ministers in a State may be included in the category of "the other Ministers" occurring in the following extract from Article 164(1) of the Constitution:

> "The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister."

Now, although all Ministers including Deputy Ministers are members of the Council of Ministers, yet their status, functions and salaries may differ and all of them may not have the same voice in the determination of the policies of the Government of the State. Thus, as in England, there may be an inner circle—we may call it the "State Cabinet"—within the Council of Ministers. The actual composition of this inner circle will obviously depend largely upon the discretion of the Chief Minister. Thus there may be Ministers in a State with "Cabinet rank" and Ministers without "Cabinet rank." But all of them together constitute the Council of Ministers for the State. As a Deputy Minister is a member of the Council of Ministers, the provisions of Clause (3) and also of Clause (5) of Article 164 of the Constitution, which relate respectively to the question of oaths, and of salaries and allowances, of Ministers, apply as much to Deputy Ministers as to other Ministers.

Let me cite an analogous case. In England, there is a "distinction between the Ministry and the Cabinet, between Ministers and Cabinet Ministers." All "Cabinet Ministers are Ministers; but not all Ministers are Cabint Ministers."

> "All members of Parliament," says Prof. Munro, "who hold important administrative posts of a political character, and who give up such positions when a cabinet resigns, are known as ministers. In other words, the ministers are the high officials of the Crown who hold office subject to the continued confidence of a majority in the House of Commons . . . . The ministry does not meet as a body for the transaction of business. It has no collective functions. It is only the cabinet ministers who meet . . . The cabinet is composed of those ministers whom the prime minister designates to membership in his cabinet."

> "At any given time," writes another authority, the Cabinet "consists of such members of the ministry as the prime minister (who is head of ministry and Cabinet alike) invites to join him in 'tendering advice to the King on the Government of the country.' A member of the Cabinet has, as such, no office; he merely is a minister who attends cabinet meetings because of having been asked by the prime minister to do so."

Further, at any given time, there are, broadly speaking, four main groups or categories of Ministers in England: Heads of Executive Departments, some "other high officers of State," Parliamentary Under-Secretaries and some other "Junior Ministers," and certain officers of the Royal Household. The number of members of the Cabinet has varied during the last few decades between 17 and 23. Often the number has been 20. During peace time the total number of Ministers, however, has varied between 60 and 70, and during the war time the number has sometimes swollen to more than 100. When a Cabinet "goes out of office, it invariably carries the entire ministry with it." Thus the Cabinet and the Ministry "stand or fall together."

It may also be noted here that the range of annual salaries payable to the different categories of Ministers of the Crown in England varies widely, under the Ministers of the Crown Act, 1937, between ten thousand pounds for the Prime Minister and one thousand pounds to each of the Junior Lords of the Treasury. In between these two scales of salaries, there are other scales of salaries for other Ministers.

In view of what I have shown above, there is nothing unusual if we have two or three categories of Ministers in our country, such as Ministers of Cabinet rank, Ministers of State, and Deputy Ministers. Our Constitution permits this, and, therefore, there is no illegality in it.

——:O:——

BENEDETTO CROCE—HIS PHILOSOPHY

By Dr. S. K. NANDI, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. (Cal.),
Sahityabharati (Visva-Bharati)

The present generation will remember the name 'Aquila' with pride for in the year 1866, she saw the birth of a baby who captured the imagination of the intellectual world in his youth; and his intellectual conquests, in his old age, were rather complete. Benedetto Croce, born in the province of Aquila of a Neo-politan family, had his schooling in the intellectual traditions of a Roman University and later settled in Naples. He adopted the career of a private scholar which he only allowed to be interrupted by the occasional acceptance of such public offices as those of a senator or of a minister of public instruction. Beginning as a student of Neo-politan history, he first widened the range of his erudition and then deepened his reflection upon it. His consistent logical thinking earned for him a reputation which any one of his tribe could reasonably consider as a treasure. Croce has to his credit the great achievement of installing aesthetics on its own pedestal. He has rightly been called the Adams Leverrier[1] of the philosophical world. Adams Leverrier discovered Neptune and like Adams, Croce vindicated the existence of another science as yet unknown and assigned to it its proper function. Thus he liberated aesthetics from the age-old subservience to philosophy and established its autonomy in the commonwealth of human knowledge and culture.

Neo-idealist Croce follows Hegel in his basic idealism and in his view of reality as a spiritual life of which the driving force is a conflict of opposites, he rejects Hegel's 'panlogism.'[2] This modification of Hegel has had two effects. On the one hand, reality is with Croce unambiguously identified with the actual process of spirit rather than with its eternal or absolute logical structure; while on the other hand, Croce recognises the autonomy of the several non-logical manifestations of spirit such as art and nature. We have in Croce the objectivistic view of spiritual life as objective self-fulfilment through objectified self-expression. In his view, life of the spirit is unceasing self-objectification as intuition-expression of the spirit's inner 'sentimental tumult,' the spirit's a priori æsthetic synthesis of feeling and imagination, the intuition or objectified expression of its inner stirrings. His philosophy is notable for its pluralistic flavour and breadth of inclusiveness.[3] It is unfolded in three main works, the Aesthetic, the Logic and the Philosophy of the Practical, the last embracing Economics and Ethics and the whole setting forth the four fundamental forms of human activity. For Croce, the concrete reality of the spirit consists in its ceaseless activity. This spiritual activity is broadly divisible into two kinds, theoretical and practical. Knowing and willing are however very closely related because there cannot be any willing without knowing. Knowing again involves two kinds of activity, æsthetic and logical.[4] Spirit's activity does not express itself in incessant muscular movement which have bearing on our practical life. When we are outwardly calm and not busy with the pen or the brush, the spirit works within and art takes its birth. When we externalise the already intuited 'work of art' and depict

1. See Preface, *Philosophy of Croce* by Wildon Carr.
2. See "What is Living and What is Dead" in *The Philosophy Hegel by Croce.*
3. *Philosophy of the Recent Past* by R. B. Perry, p. 169.
4. See Contemporary Philosophy by D. M. Datta.

paper or canvas, it is mere technique and not a
f the spirit's activity which really makes art
t is. Croce thus differentiates between the true
f art worked out within and what is commonly
the work of art[8] and assumes the identity of art
auty.[9] Beauty is no quality of things,[7] whether
r pigments, but like every value, only comes
eing as the result of a spiritual activity. Its
percipi. This spiritual activity is the æsthetic
nce of the man who finds beauty in a cathedral
agedy, in a sunset or a tune. A man rich in such
nces has the artistic nature richly actualised,
f a rare temperament has enabled him to
in its exercise without the common stimulus
munications and he remains for ever mute and
us. My work and my satisfaction as an artist
npleted when I have made a melody or a poem
nen I have seen or imagined in the perfection
y detail,[8] a landscape; and nothing artistic
added then by my putting pen to paper or
to the press.[9] When we externalise the already
l 'work of art' and depict it on paper or
it is a mere technique and not a part of the
activity which really constitutes the work of
e reasons for Croce's exclusion of the 'exter-
rk of art are various and complex; but none
compelling than his intention of formulating
ressionism an æsthetic of complete and free
ty. To quote Croce :[10]

"If by art be understood the externalization
rt then utility and morality have a perfect
t to enter into it: that is to say the
t to be master in one's own house."

Croce, the structure of the work of art, the
'intuition,' or 'expression' is precisely the
hich permits us to distinguish freedom from
hich the 'spirit can never apprehend in itself
le matter . . .,' from mechanism and passi-
hich the spirit of man 'suffers but does not
,' the complete creativity of the imagination
s the 'indivisible' and individual intuition, the
or the 'work of art.' Each image is novel and
e incomparable.

"And as I have indicated elsewhere," writes
am, "Croce's identification of the artist with
free creator, implies, inasmuch as he likewise
tifies 'taste' with 'what produces it,' that
ment is likewise absolutely free."[11]

jecting every sort of transcendence, there will
many aspects of reality as there are modes of
conscious life. The latter is divisible into the theoretic and the practical consciousness, of which the first is again divisible into intuition and intellect. Intuition is genuine knowledge, distinguished by its immediacy and by the concrete individuality of its objects. It embraces not only the field of perception but also that of imagination and feeling, since it is prior to the distinction between existence and non-existence. It embraces spatial and temporal characters as parts of its content, but it is not a spatio-temporal system as in Kant's *Aesthetics*.[12] Croce regarded this intuition to be identical with expression and this intuition-expression, an elementary and spontaneous activity of the human spirit was taken to be identical with art or imaginative experience. Croce writes :

> "Intuitive knowledge is expressive knowledge, independent and autonomous in respect to intellectual function; indifferent to later discriminations, posterior and empirical, to reality and to unreality, to formations and perceptions of space and time even when posterior."[13]

Intuition and representation are distinguished as form from what is felt and suffered, from the flux or wave of sensation or from psychic material; and this form, this taking possession of, is expression. To have an intuition is to express and we have already explained the import and significance of 'expression' in Croce's æsthetics. The most original feature of Croce's view of intuition lies here. His contention that it is essentially communicative or expressive does away with the age-honoured distinction between form and content in art and characterises it as a false relation since there is no content that is not already intuitively formed. This activity is referred to the theoretic aspect of human nature and here Croce is hand in glove with many other stalwarts of like eminence. Art or the experience of beauty is for Croce, as for Hegel, for Schopenhauer and in a sense for Kant, a form of knowledge or rather it belongs to the theoretic as opposed to the practical side of our nature.

But this intuition is only an important stage of the endless progression of man's spiritual life towards objective fruition and it is only the first stage. The satisfaction which it brings is that of successful expression. Side by side with this satisfaction, however, appears a new dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction of the intellect to know, *i.e.*, to sort and classify the image-expression as reality. Thus intuition passes over into perception, *i.e.*, into the knowledge of reality. In this way the a priori æsthetic synthesis becomes a new synthesis, *i.e.*, an a priori logical synthesis of representation and category of subject and predicate, which is the knowledge of a fact as the particularisation of a universal, the perception of the image

---

stetica, Ch. XV.
id, pp. 114, 189 and 187.
id, Chs. xiii, xiv.
id, p. 13.
he Theory of Beauty by B. P. Carritt, p. 180.
ee Aesthetics (Ainslie edition), p. 16.
ilton C. Nahm : "Structure and the Judgment of Art." *rnal of Philosophy*, Vol. XIV, No. 25).
12. *Philosophy of the Recent Past* by R. B. Perry, p. 162.
13. *Aesthetics* (Ainslie edition), pp. 12-13.

as reality. Even logical synthesis, according to Croce, does not represent the last stage; with the satisfaction of knowledge appears a yet new dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction of the desire for action. With the appearance of knowledge, in short, appears also the consciousness of value, every new reality known generaitng a new ideal possibility and a new sense of value, with new concomitant aspirations, desires and longings of the soul. And so the logical synthesis prepares the way to a practical a priori synthesis which as a new desiring and a new feeling is a new passionateness of the spirit that craves for appropriate expression. And thus the spirit moves on spirally from expression, through logic and practical synthesis, to renewed expression at a higher level, this circular movement being repeated at higher and higher stages as spiritual life advances. Thus in Croce's Neo-idealism, we have a repetition, writes Prof. S. K. Maitra,[14] of the objective view of the spirit as necessary circular movement from objectified expression, through reality and ideal aspiration, to objectivity again, the process dragging on without end.

This notion of the movement of spirit towards objective fruition is the main tenet of Croce's philosophy and this central notion gives his metaphysics a unity much looked for in the nineteenth century philosophy. Prof. Perry[15] extols this unity and writes that such unity as is retained by Croce's system as a whole is to be sought in his conception of 'distinction' and 'opposition' as applied to the four fundamental divisions of the conscious life. Beauty, truth, utility and goodness are not opposed and there is no dialectical relation between them by which (after the manner of Hegel) one generates the other as its contradictory opposite. This being the case, art and science are not to be treated as forms of error or as bad philosophy; and there is no justification for the Hegelian attempt to substitute a philosophy of art for art or a philosophy of science for science. Art as it is to the artist and science as it is to the scientist, are not falsifying abstractions which have to be corrected and superseded but are themselves intact modes of spirit to be incorporated as they stand in the richer fulness of reality.[16]

Croce has been misunderstood very often and his identification of intuition and expression has been severely condemned. Croce's expression has sometimes been taken for the technique of externalization and it has created much confusion. His identity of expression and æsthetic fact leads to the identity of philosophy and æsthetics. Listowel tells us[17] that

> "Croce's error in identifying art and language is so gross and palpable that even a child could perceive it. How can the richness and variety of æsthetic experience be equated with language in ordinary experience?"

If all utterances are artistic then every man even in his incoherent babbles, is a poet. Volkelt,[18] the noted German æsthetician, condemns this identification of æsthetics and linguistics by Croce and calls it a 'curiosity of philosophy.' We consider that the position of Croce is not indefensible. Babbles of a child or the inarticulate utterances of primitive men and women were certainly prompted by a desire for communication. Language, whatever might be its form or content, had a definite mission to fulfil and that was to communicate with others. It is precisely here, in our view, where Croce's expression differs from language as expression. He tells us in so many words[19]:

> "Another negation is implied in the definition of art as intuition: if it be intuition and intuition is equivalent to our theory of expression in the 'original sense of contemplation,' art cannot be a utilitarian act."

The main function of language is to communicate and it is done with a practical end in view. Language is art, not as a medium of communication; it is art only in the sense of 'intuition-expression.' While language has a definite object, *viz.*, to make others understand what one feels, what one wants and what one stands for, a true artist is oblivious of himself and his wants and his art is not prompted by any end extraneous to the nature and autonomy of art as art.

14. See his *Studies in Philosophy and Religion*, pp. 10-11.
15. *Philosophy of the Recent Past*, p. 165.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See his *A Critical History of Modern Aesthetics.*
18. See his *System der Aesthetik*, Vol. III (English translation).
19. *Essence of Aesthetics*, p. 11.

THE CREEP OF THE DESERT

By K. V. KRISHNAMURTHY,
Central Water and Power Commission, New Delhi

a is advanced in this paper for an objective and fic assessment of the problem of the creep of the han desert. The popular opinion about the :e of the desert and the steps that are under onsideration of the different governments are mentioned. After referring to the analysis of d and Christie about the origin of salt deposits jputana, it is pointed out that they do not deal ie problem of the advance of the desert. There does ppear to be a unanimity of opinion in scientific about the theory of the desert advance. The as of Pithawalla and Gorrie are given as examples at appears to be a minority view. The analysis teorological elememts in and around the desert by Dr. Pramanik reveals that there has been no iation of desert conditions in the region over the venty to eighty years. The researches of Oldham tein are cited as indirectly supporting the view ie desert might not be advancing. As even the f desert advance does not seem to be universally d, it is suggested, in conclusion, that the problem be examined afresh in a scientific and unbiassed The necessity is pointed out, firstly, to investigate oblem, and secondly, to suggest remedies on the of a scientific diagnosis of factors prompting this chment.

Introduction

ie problem of arresting the spread of the ana desert in the north and north-eastern ons has been engaging, in recent times, the on of both official and non-official organisations ted in the development of the areas in and the desert. The rate of the extension of the is estimated in certain quarters to be half a mile year. To prevent this extension, programmes of ation are now under the active consideration of entral and interested State Governments. The l Government is considerng a scheme of ation in the Sironi area, south-west of the lis for the immobilisation of the desert. It is tood that the Government of Uttar Pradesh is nsidering a similar scheme to protect the western s of the State like Agra, Mathura and Aligarh. Punjab has undertaken some experimental ation and Saurashtra is reported to have ted a committee to study the question. In this , it will be very desirable and necessary to under- scientific and objective analysis of the problem creep of the desert.

Origin of the Desert

e origin of the Rajputana desert is chiefly ed to two agencies, firstly, the peculiar geographical and topographical features and secondly the inter-play of different meteorological elements in the region. North-western Rajasthan is outside the path traversed by the main body of the monsoon currents originating from the Bay of Bengal. As these monsoons travel up the Indo-Gangetic Basin their moisture content progressively declines. They finally shed all their moisture near the Himalayan region and the adjacent plains in the Punjab. The S. W. monsoons originating from the Arabian Sea meet with no major obstruction until they reach the Himalayan ranges. The alignment of the Aravallis being parallel to the direction of these rain-bearing winds does not induce much precipitation. The little precipitation which the S. W. monsoons cause is only on the slopes of the Aravallis and thus the area to the west of the Aravallis does not benefit much from either of these currents. These particular factors are primarily responsible for the low rainfall of North-western Rajasthan which is of the order of 5″ to 10″ in a year. The low rainfall and the extreme variations of diurnal temperature, conjointly cause mechanical disintegration of the rocks. The existence of the Runn of Kutch south of the region facilitates the transport of enormous quantities of sand and salt by the wind currents starting from the Arabian Sea. The concommitant effect of these geographical, topographical and meteorological factors is the enormous expanse of the sandy waste which the region is, notwithstanding the sparse vegetation it supports here and there.

Analysis of Holland and Christie

A detailed analysis of the action of wind in the Rajputana desert was undertaken by Holland and Christie (3) in 1909. The objective of the analysis was, no doubt, an examination of the origin of the salt deposits in Rajputana; but it remains noteworthy for the fact that it is the only quantitative estimation thus far available of the wind-borne salt in the region. After examining the various theories put forward to explain the occurrence of salt in Rajasthan, they conclude that "wind alone is sufficient to account for the large saline accumulations in the region." On the basis of experiments conducted a year earlier, the estimate that the quantity of salt blown over a front of 300 kilometers will be about 1,30,000 tons in a year. The analysis of Holland and Christie is cited in certain quarters as an evidence of the role of wind causing the advance of the desert. This does not seem to be borne out by facts, because Holland and Christie offer no specific opinion on this aspect. It was the action of wind as the carrier of salt that was the subject of their study but not as the cause for the extension of the desert.

Conflicting Opinions

The notion that the desert has been advancing is fairly widespread, but, there does not appear to be unanimity of opinion in scientific circles about it. For instance, according to Pithawalla (5), it cannot be said that the desert "is expanding its north and east sides in any way." He further maintains that it was made to shrink on its west in the province of Sind and the Khairpur State as a result of the construction of Sukkur Barrage in 1932 and feels that similar shrinkage can be effected on the northern and eastern directions, "if only the aid of scientists and engineers is sought after a thorough geographical survey of the area." Likewise, Gorrie (2) thinks that the land adjoining the desert is not being engulfed by sand though it is slowly deteriorating as a result of increasing desiccation in south and south-western Punjab. It is, no doubt, difficult to distinguish between the land deteriorating as a result of desiccation and the land being engulfed by sand as a result of the advance of the desert. But the statement is indicative of the hesitation of Gorrie to accept that the desert is advancing.

No Quantitative Data

The one common feature of either of the arguments is that apart from general descriptive statements, little quantitative data is adduced in proof of the opinions offered. The existence of small marine deposits of formainfera of the Tertiary age is quoted as an instance to prove that the present desert was at one time under the sea. But their existence all along the seacoast in Kutch and also in the vicinity of far away places like Bikaner is again quoted by others as an instance of their having been wind-borne. Even if the theory that they have been wind-borne is accepted as true, it can not serve as a conclusive proof of the fact that the desert has been extending.

Meteorological Analysis

The only scientific treatment of the problem thus far appears to be a detailed meteorological analysis undertaken by Pramanik (6). A number of stations from the arid and semi-arid zones were selected and their data of rainfall, relative humidity, temperature and wind velocity recorded over a period of eighty years was analysed with a view to see if a regular secular trend of either increase or decrease is indicated. If the desert were really advancing, an accentuation of the meteorological conditions on the northern and north-eastern fringes of the desert should have been noticeable. The conclusions arrived at on the basis of this study are very significant. It is stated that

(1) "The meteorological data indicate that there has been no accentuation of Rajasthan desert and that there has been no extension of desert conditions on any large scale over the adjoining areas during the last seventy to eighty years;

(2) "The extension of desert conditions has not been due to the deterioration of meteorological factors but due to other causes."

While on the one hand the chief instrumentality for the advance of the desert has been placed on meteorological factors, notably, wind, the analysis of Pramanik reveals there has been no accentuation of meteorological conditions characteristic of a desert in or around the region. The conclusions of this analysis seem to lend justification to the opinion held in contrast to the general popular belief about the advance of the desert.

The Influence of Humid Belt

While the worsening of the meteorological conditions on the north-eastern fringes of the existing desert is discussed, the desert and its meteorology appear to be generally treated as a single isolated entity. For a truly scientific analysis, the region all round should be treated as being in a state of natural equilibrium with the desert. It will then be possible to realise that it is not only the characteristics and the behaviour of the wind currents from the Arabian Sea but also of those from the Bay of Bengal that jointly mould the physical features of the desert. The precipitation that these two monsoon currents cause near the Himalayas and in the adjacent plains in the Punjab leads to the formation of a sub-humid and humid belt in the neighbourhood of the desert, the existence of which does not seem to have been given adequate weight in a discussion of the problem of desert extension, For, this humid belt should naturally set an upper limit to any extension of the desert in that direction, even if such tendencies were possible.

Researches of Oldham and Stein

If, then, the humid belt in the adjacent Punjab plains has been, as can reasonably be surmised, exercising a restraining influence on the desert, is there any proof of such an influence? The researches of Oldham and Stein seem to furnish an answer; for, they throw an interesting light on the extent of the desert in the historic and prehistoric times.

In a very revealing analysis, made as early as in 1893, about the disappearance of rivers Saraswati and Hakra, Oldham (4) points out that this drying up is not due to a diminished rainfall of the region in recent years, but is most probably due to the changes in the course of the river Sutlej.

> Talking of the Saraswati and the Ghaggar, he writes, "There is nothing, however, in history to show that they ever contained much more water than they do now. Indeed, all records that have come down to us point to the contrary." And yet, "in the Rig Veda, we are told of a large and rapid river flowing from the mountains to the sea. The Mahabharata describes the same stream as losing itself in the sands."

According to Oldham, the now extinct river Hakra had, in the Vedic times, an eastern arm comprising the Ghaggar, Wah, Sonamwal or Sirhind Nadi and a western arm formed by the three branches each known as Naiwal. In the Vedic age, the Sutlej was flowing through the western arm of Hakra into the Arabian Sea, but when it changed its course to join the Indus through the

Beas, "the Saraswati, which had been a tributary, was left in possession of the deserted channel in the sands of which its waters were swallowed up." "It is of course impossible to fix any period for this change, but it may be presumed that it took place between the Vedic period and that of Manu, when we first hear of the disappearance of the Saraswati in the sands."

The change in the network of river regimes in the Punjab is easily understood if the nature of the flow of a river over an unstable alluvium is remembered. As Oldham reminds us :

> "Indeed only a century ago the river (Sutlej) deserted its bed under the fort of Ludhiana, which is five miles from its present course, and ten feet above its present level."

A keen insight into and knowledge of Indology is apparent in the analysis of Oldham as he quotes extensively from Hindu sciptures, mythology and history in support of his conclusions. But the significant point in his analysis in the present context is that the desert extended up to Phulra and Sirsa even in the Mahabharata age as it does now. The very interesting map given by him to illustrate the extent of the desert and the various changes in the river regimes which occurred in the Mahabharata era is attached at the end. The extent of the desert shown by him is much the same as that of the Marusthali shown by Nundo Lal Dey (1) in his map of Ancient India.

Viewing from a different perspective, on the basis of a survey of ancient sites along the Saraswati river, Stein (7) confirms the main postulations of Oldham, change in the regime of the river Sutlej and the consequential drying up of the Hakra and the Saraswati.

> "Lower down the Hakra," writes Stein, "the main change was due to the Sutlej having in late prehistoric times abandoned the bed which before had joined the Ghaggar, the result of a law affecting all rivers whose course lies over the alluvial plains." Of the Ghaggar he says, "Evidence shows that down the historical times the Ghaggar carried water for irrigation under existing climatic condition much farther than it does now."

The reference to "existing climatic conditions" is significant in that it shows that the drying up of the river is not due to any possible meteorological changes in the region but is an off-shoot of the extinction of Hakra as a result of the change in the course of the Sutlej.

Incidentally, the researches of Oldham and Stein make it clear that the 'northerning' of the Sutlej is not a result of the encroachment of the desert conditions but on the contrary is the cause for the desiccation in the region even in historic times.

All this goes to show that the desert conditions now existing are very nearly the same as those that existed over three to four thousand years ago and that, even, if there had been any increase in their extent in recent times, it is only very small. The rate of advance usually given, namely, half a mile a year definitely seems to be highly exaggerated. If the rate were operative over the last ten centuries, as in fact it has been, the encroachment of the desert into the humid belt should have been to an extent of 500 miles which is far too much. This would be a virtual leap of the desert instead of its creep. If, on the other hand, it is stated that the rate of extension has been on the increase in recent years, it will be absolutely imperative to go into the causes for such a recent accentuation.

Conclusion

It is not the intention of this paper either to endorse or to reject the theory of the encroachment of the desert, and its rate. But it is only to point out that scientific opinion does not seem to believe in it unanimously. There appear to have been two sides to the problem and two approaches, both of them based on seemingly reasonable grounds. There exists an important and urgent need to go into this problem afresh in a scientific, unbiassed and objective way and to investigate, on the basis of factual evidence,

(1) Whether the desert is really advancing and if so, at what rate;

(2) Whether the accentuation of desert conditions has aggravated in recent times, and if this be the case, due to what causes.

Such a scientific diagnosis can alone help in suggesting and implementing the most appropriate remedial measures. The results of investigations undertaken against this background will also point to the relative priorities according to which solutions to the different problems of the desert should be attempted. For instance, if the desert is really advancing at an alarmingly rapid rate, the problem of arresting further deterioration should naturally receive the first attention. Otherwise, the emphasis should properly be on the developmental aspect.

References

1. Nundo Lal Dey : *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India.* Calcutta, Oriental series No. 21, E. 13. Second Edition. (1927). Luzac & Co., London.
2. R. M. Gorrie : "Countering Desiccation in West Punjab," *Pakistan Economic Journal*, (1950) Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 43-46.
3. Holland and Christie : "The Origin of the Salt Deposits of Rajputana," *Rec. Geol. Sr. Ind.* (1909), Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 154-186.
4. G. F. Oldham : "The Saraswati and the Lost River of the Indian Desert," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1893), pp. 49-76.
5. M. B. Pithawalla : "Reclaiming the Indian Desert," *Science and Culture* (1948), Vol. 13, No. 9, pp. 367-372.
6. S. K. Pramanik, P. S. Hariharan and S. K. Ghose : "Meteorological Conditions in and the Extension of the Rajasthan Desert,"—a paper read at the National Institute of Sciences Symposium on the Rajputana Desert, New Delhi. (1952).
7. Aurel Stein : "A Survey of Ancient Sites along the Lost Saraswati River." *The Geographical Journal* (1942), Vol. XCIX, No. 4, pp. 173-182.

THE KALACHURI RELATIONS WITH BENGAL
9th to IIth Century A.D.

By. Miss. PUSPA NIYOGI, M.A.

THE dominions of the Palas and other rulers of Bengal were invaded by a number of foreign potentates in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The power of the Palas began to decline from the 9th century A.D. until it was substantially revived by Mahipal I in the later part of the 10th and early part of the 11th century A.D. Foreign rulers, who invaded the dominions of the Palas and other Bengal rulers, belonged to different dynasties, namely, the Chamdellas, the Kalachuris, the Cholas and the later Chalukyas of Kalyana. With the decline of Pala power various parts of Bengal came under the control of other ruling families some of which had imperial pretensions. It was indeed a critical period in the history of Bengal, both externally and internally.

It appears that the Kalachuris were the first to invade Bengal during this period. The Ameda Plates of Prithvideva of Tummana dated 1079 A.D.[1] mentions that Kokkalla I raided the treasury of Vanga. According to Cunningham Kokkalla may be placed between 816-900 A.D.[2] There is another view which assigns him to the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. There is no definite information as to the political condition of Vanga during the time when Kokkalla may have led plundering expedition against that territory. There is, however, one inscription, namely the Chittagong C.P. of Maharajadhiraja Kantideva[3] which refers to his kingdom of Harikela. The Chinese traveller I-tsing refers to Harikela as marking the eastern limit of Eastern India. Generally Kantideva is regarded as having been the ruler of a kingdom which included the region that later came under the control of the Chandra Kings of Vangala. Kantideva's inscription has generally been placed on paleographical grounds in the 9th century A.D. although Dr. Majumdar points out that a few letters used in the record may require to be placed in the 10th century A.D. It is probable that Kantideva and his family were attempting to extend their power towards the west if Vardhamanapura included in his kingdom is to be identified with modern Burdwan in West Bengal. I venture to put forward the suggestion that it was Kantideva's family which was attacked by Kokkalla. The attack could not have been more than a temporary raid, but if it is true that Kokkalla actually plundered the treasury of Vanga, it must have at least reduced the financial strength of the reigning family. It must have also created some political confusion—an unavoidable consequence of foreign invasion. The rise of the Chandra dynasty in East Bengal is to be attributed to a period not long after the time to which Kantideva's inscription has been ascribed. It is not, therefore, improbable that Kokkalla's invasion produced a situation in Vanga which ultimately proved favourable for the establishment of the Chandra dynasty in that territory.

It further appears that the Kalachuris had a definite policy against Vanga-Vangala. This is evidenced by the fact that not only Kokkalla but a subsequent ruler of the Kalachuri family is credited with achievements which included the bringing about of the political disintegration of Vangala. The Goharwa Grant of Lakshmi-Karna[4] mentions among other things that Lakshmanaraja (2nd and 3rd quarters of the 10th centry) was skilled in causing the breakdown of Vangala (Vangala-bhanga-nipuna). There cannot be any doubt that during Lakshmanaraja's time the Chandras had already established their power in East Bengal. The expression "Vanga" which has been used in this inscription, shows that Lakshmanaraja's skill was employed in destroying the solidarity of a state engaged in unifying a territory which might have otherwise split up into a number of principalities. His attempt fairly succeeded in bringing about the intended disruption.

The history of the Chandras has many features which have not been satisfactorily explained. The opinion generally held is that the Chandras came from Rohtasgarh in Bihar. But the suggestion made by N. K. Bhattasali that Rohitagiri mentioned in the Rampal C.P. of Srichandra as the original home of his family is to be identified with the neighbourhood of Lalmia hills in Tippera[5] (East Bengal) has proved to be a reasonable guess in view of the discovery of an ancient site in this region during World War II. The inscriptions of Srichandra give a line of rulers but its connection with neither Layahachandra of the Bharella Narthesvara image (Tippera)[6] inscription nor Govindachandra of the Tirumalai inscription has yet been ascertained. Nor do we know definitely whether Layahachandra and Govindachandra were connected by any family tie. It is clear, however, that these Chandra rulers were more or less connected with an identical territory. Govindachandra flourished in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. The exact date of Layahachandra cannot be fixed, but he has been tentatively assigned to the period 900-1000 A.D. Srichandra's line may have come to a close towards the end of the 10th century A.D. It has been suggested that his power may have met with a sudden collapse. It may be presumed that the net result of Lakshamanaraja's raid on Vangala was the blow it gave to the power of Srichandra's family which had effected political unification of Vangala. If this suggestion is accepted some information

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 75.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. There is a proposal to place him in the period c. 840–885 A.D.--*Ind. Hist., Quart.*, Vol. XVII, *p. 117 ff.*
3. *The Modern Review, 1922, p. 612.*
4. *E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 142.
5. *E. I.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 353-55.
6. N. G. Majumdar : *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 11.

ing the ancestry of Govinda will be available. lachandra was alive in 1021-25 A.D. when the of Rajendra Chola invaded his dominion Vangala. On the basis of old Bengali ballads it has been ted that Govindachandra's father was king achandra. After the fall of Srichandra's family may have been hastened by Lakshmanaraja's ition the family of Govindachandra may have risen ver. We have seen that Layahachandra may also ıced in this period. Thus the fall of Srichandra or ıe seems to have been followed by the rise of two of rulers, the one represented by Govindachandra he other by Layahachandra. Govindachandra may removed his rival subsequently as he was the only of Vangala-desa when the Chola army invaded it.

he reason why the attention of certain contemporary fell upon Vangala was not merely that the iras were a growing power but also that there was ly a potential danger from the eastern frontier of in this period. Evidence of certain Chandras ng in Arakan has been found[7] and the relations en Pattikera in Tippera and Burma got complicated : 11th century A.D.[8] It may be quite possible that alachuris were conscious of a potential danger and nay have tried in their own way to show that there ı strong power capable of checking any advance the Eastern side. It may be quite possible that the huris were conscious of this potential danger and might have tried in their own way to show that was a strong power to check any advance from the n side. The Kalachuris could not check the r of the Chandras of Vangala or Govindachandra to have extended his power to areas which were nown to have been comprised in the kingdom of ndra's family.

he Varman dynasty which was established in Bengal ose succession to the Chandras appears to have d in alliance with the Kalachuris. It may be noted s connection that there is a good deal of similarity en the accounts of the legendary origin of the a-Varman rulers of Bengal and that of the huris. The reading of Anga in the Belava C.P. ıojavarman of the Yadava family though doubted ome scholars,[9] has been generally accepted as :t. Gangeyadeva the father of Lakshmi-Karna ling to the latter's Goharwa Plate defeated the ruler ıga. The Piawan rock inscription shows that he already on the throne in 1038 A.D. but there is evidence to show that he had ascended the throne ast before 1030 A.D.[10] It is not known who was the king of Anga claimed to have been defeated by Gangeyadeva. Anga had been attacked by the Chamdella King Dhanga some time between 954 and 1002 A.D. It is to be noticed that neither Kokkalla nor Lakshmanaraja is known to have made any attempt to invade the western part of Bengal.[11] Attempts were now made by the Kalachuris to establish their sway in different parts of Bihar (Anga, Mithila) and Benares as available evidence regarding Gangeya's career will show. After the defeat of the Anga king Jatavarman may have been installed as its ruler by Gangeyadeva. The suggestion that Karna may have been responsible for the end of Chandra rule in East Bengal does not appear to be probable. There is no conclusive evidence to show that the Chandras reigned in Vangala-desa up to at least 1041 A.D. when Karna appears to have ascended the throne. Dated inscriptions of Govindachandra have been found, but as we do not know the date of his accession, we are not in a position to assert that the date contained in these inscriptions must be assigned to the period following the Chola invasion in about 1021 A.D. In view of this uncertainty it may not be reasonable to hold that the Chandra Dynasty reigned at least for about twenty years after the Chola attack to have been finally overthrown by Karna. It cannot be asserted on the insufficient evidence of the Rewa[12] inscription which does not specify the eastern reign whose ruler may have dealt with Karna that reference is to be supplied by his alleged operations against Vanga-Vangala. The Bheraghat inscription,[13] says that a king of Vanga trembled before him. This need nbt be regarded as indicating any decisive military engagement. If the Vanga king was really killed by Karna, there is no reason why it should not have been explicitly stated in the Bheraghat inscription. In these circumstances it will be reasonable to hold that it was Jatavarman, whose sway extended from Anga to Kamarupa, who was able to include the territory of Vanga in his dominion at a date nearer to the time of the Chola invasion than to 1041 A.D. when Karna succeeded his father Gangeyadeva. His marriage with a daughter of Karna shows that he was not an enemy of the latter and as this has been mentioned in a panegyrical style in the Belava inscription of the Yadavas it may be inferred that he was proud of this connection. About such a ruler the statement that he was afraid of the power of Karna as made in the Bheraghat inscription may not be regarded as very exaggerated.

B. C. Sen : *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of* , p. 374.

R. C. Majumdar : *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 258.

B. C. Sen : *Op. cit.*, p. 409.

. H. C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, : *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 112-113.

11. Lakshmanaraja's father Yuvaraja I is said to have made himself with the women of Gauda, *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 307. It has been suggested (H. C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 760) that the Gauda king who may have been attacked by Yuvaraja was probably Gopala II. But the above-mentioned statement regarding the Kalachuri does not definitely prove any military victory or engagement on his part.

12. *E. I.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 112.

13. *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 11.

THE MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM IN INDIA
A Peep into the Past and an Outline of the Future

By "GANGA"

The long-awaited Company Law Committee Report has been published and its recommendations about the Managing Agency System in particular have been made after profound thought and make interesting reading. There is no doubt that in making the recommendations, the first place has been given to the interests of the investigating public. To have a clear picture of the Committee's studied observations and drastic recommendations it is imperative that one should have glimpses of the evolution and development of the Managing Agency System and the object of this article is to give a bird's-eye view of the past and then appreciate against that background the recommendations of the Committee.

A cursory glance of the history of promoting and pioneering of industry in India would reveal that its characteristic features are unique and almost without parallel in any other part of the globe.

The colossal task of planning, promoting, financing and managing the various companies fell on the ever-ready shoulders of a few British merchants (and a little later indigenous financiers also) with wide experience and financial resources whom India was fortunate to possess. Out of this nucleus grew an organisation which, though formally jointstock, combined in itself the advantages of the proprietory concerns (*e.g.*, unity of management, quickness in decision, etc.) as well as those peculiar to the jointstock companies (*e.g.*, greater resources and economy in purchases, sales, overhead expenditures, etc.) while eliminating the drawbacks of either. It was not long before the system developed into the very lynch-pin of the industrial structure and even the banking organisation of the country had to be patterned to suit the needs and peculiarities of this institution.

In human affairs a perfect institution is yet an ideal and this applies with equal force to the Managing Agency System as well as to any other. The disquieting features were too numerous, though not fatal, and it is not possible in an essay of this length to point out anything but the most glaring.

Many of the evils of this System flowed from this basic and inevitable fact that the Managing Agents were the leading share-holders of the concerns under their management. This meant that any agreement entered into was between themselves as (1) Manager and (2) Share-holders. It requires no logic to prove that this dual personality and the conflict of interests inherent in this *arrangement could* have been anything but beneficial to *the shareholders at large. This led to the* framing of such *favourable provisions that, except in cases* of gross mismanagement or utter incompetence the managing agents could not even be reprimanded, not to mention the impossibility of dismissal. In many cases the agreement required of the managing agents to hold a minimum stock of the company's share capital and this ensured their continuation in the managerial saddle.

The managing agents carried this art of playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde to such perfection that it was remarked of them that

> "A company was being formed to buy the land of X at a fabulous price to build a mill thereon for the benefit of X and to appoint him and his nominees as agents for life and assure employment for the retinue of his relatives and friends."

Soon a distinct profession was made of company promotion and mushroom promoters cropped up all over the country in great numbers holding out impossible promises of fabulous profits which led to large-scale waste of capital. Transfers from one agency to another were effected with such frequency and at such highly bloated values that this practice alone inflicted greater injuries on the system than any other.

In short, the reward of the managing agents for promoting a company was the right to manage it with exclusive privileges and a free licence to receive commission on all conceivable kinds of activities pursued by the company. This meant that the managing agents were fed by a perennial stream of profits irrespective of whether the company under their management made a gain or a loss. Of course, the more sober and better enlightened among them were clever enough to realise that absolute extermination would be the ultimate result of this cruel exploitation and saw to it that the goose that was laying the golden eggs was not killed.

Not all the managing agents were technically qualified or organisationally efficient but this drawback was cleverly made up by importing foreign technicians (essentially British) but for whom industry in general and the textile industry in particular could not have made such rapid progress.

As Mr. P. S. Lokanathan has rightly observed, in no other industry is the extent or importance of the pioneering and experimenting work revealed to a greater extent and the part played by the managing agents seen in truer perspective than in the promotion of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. The prospecting operations which preceded the floatation of this magnificent enterprise constitute an interesting chapter in the history of company promotion in India and the enormous amount of wandering and

privations which marked the prospecting operations indication of the immense potentialities for good of stem.

he promoters were generally persons with consider- resources, able and willing to procure expert assist- for carrying out investigations and prospecting ions. Many a project upon which huge sums of r were spent could not reach the stage of floatations he losses in such cases were willingly borne by the ging agents which otherwise would have made s inroads into the meagre resources of the investing : in India. The services thus rendered by the ging agents were somewhat similar to the functions : Issue Houses in the Western European countries. were indeed what may be termed "universal lers of industry, being promoters, financiers and gers of the venture they established." The name : Managing Agent was in itself a guarantee to the of the soundness of the enterprise in which he nterested and the absence of it in a public issue a nption against its trustworthiness.

rue this sort of company promotion would have ered many a project which was inherently sound as not backed by a reputed agent. However, on hole there is no denying the fact that the investing would have lost more by encouraging too freely rilliant but resourceless and opportunist promoters by having this kind of operational check on the ies of capable promoters.

hile the holding of a majority of shares had many it had also one distinct advantage. This compelled anaging agents to take a greater interest in the es of the concerns. Failure of one concern under ement implied, (due to large-scale interlocking of in addition to disappearance of dividends, com- n, etc., a grave impairment of credit and consequent g of other enterprises, under the same management. close association of ownership and control achieved y of aim and motive and the defects of jointstock rise springing from diffused authority were ated by a system in which the managing agents had the greatest interest) were able to work with leness of purpose and free from the crippling chain Board of Directors. The hesitancy and conservatism s generally displayed by a Board of Directors were cuous by their absence in the managing agency as the latter's control was assured over a period. all where the risk lies the control must lie' and anaging agency system is nothing if not for this g principle.

mpared to other more developed countries the gap exists in India between the demand for and supply pital resources, which constitute an 'economic e' is very great and this could not have been d effectively but for the managing agents who have ned as a media for the transference of capital he side of supply to that of demand.

No doubt the country could have been better served if the managing agents had been more adventurous and if they had not shown a greater tendency to rest on their oars than to embark on more risky and uncertain ventures. However successful the system might have been in the past it cannot be said that it is so at present or will continue to be so in the future. The past was a virgin and unexplored field and the going was smooth and ordinary ability was all that was necessary. The force of competition has rendered the task of promotion more difficult and possibility of success less certain and one cannot be sure that the managing agents will justify their permanent existence and so, the extent to which it is adjusting itself to the new requirements and is able to fulfil its new functions by inviting fresh talents and young blood is not a mere private matter but an important social problem.

Viewed in the light of this eventful, though chequered, history it would be difficult to question the wisdom of recommendations of the Company Law Committee which have been made with the twin objects of "eliminating current abuses and harmful practices on the one hand and for providing sufficient flexibility of law on the other."

The war years showed how far human ingenuity could go in driving a coach and four through the Indian Companies' Act and the extent to which the utter laxity in the administration of the laws could be exploited by the managing agents and unscrupulous promoters. One is all the wiser for the experience and the comprehensive recommendations of the Bhaba Committee are such as to avoid similar pitfalls in the future. The experience of Britain in this field has also been used to advantage and the recommendations follow broadly the changes made in the English Law in 1948.

The main directions in which the Committee considers amendments to the Act necessary are in regard to the appointment of managing agents, the conditions of service of managing agents, the powers of managing agents vis-a-vis the directors and the activities of the managing agents in regard to borrowing, sales and purchases made on bahalf of the company.

Appointment

The Committee recommends that in future managing agency agreements should be limited to 15 years subject to renewal for a period of ten years and that reappointment of the same managing agent should not be made except during the last two years of the outgoing period. As regards the existing managing agency agreements the Committee has given a reasonable period for them to expiry date on the 15th August, 1959.

Removal

The Committee has recommended that an ordinary resolution should suffice in the case of fraud or breach of trust, while in other cases a special resolution would be required; but no resolution should be required to dismiss

a managing agent who has been convicted to a non-bailable offence. Certain safeguards are, however, provided for managing agents which are firms or companies.

Transfers

Several restrictions have been recommended by the Committee which are intended to remove current evils of trafficking in or cornering of managing agency rights.

Remuneration

On the subject of managing agency remuneration the Committee recommends that the commission which managing agents would be entitled to draw in future should not in any case exceed 12½% on net profits, and the expression 'net profits' has been very carefully defined by the Committee in its elaborate re-draft of the present section of the Act dealing with this matter. The Committee has also recommended that no office allowance should be addmissible to managing agents but that they would be entitled to be reimbursed by the company for any actual expenditure incurred on the maintenance of their office. They would not also be entitled to any commission on purchases on behalf of the company.

Further the Committee has suggested that in the event of absence or inadequacy of profits, the managing agents would be entitled to such minimum remuneration as is considered reasonable by the company in a general meeting subject to a maximum of Rs. 50,000 per annum, but no other additional payment in any other form would be admissible to them. The Committee further recommends that the remuneration of all existing managing agents should be brought in line with its recommendations within a period of 2 years from the enactment of the new Act.

Directors vs. Managing Agent

In the scheme of relationship between directors and managing agents which the Committee visualises, the superior position of the former is sought to be assured by the requirement that the most important financial and administrative powers which are necessary for the management of jointstock companies should be reserved for directors and exercised by managing agents only if they are delegated to them by the directors, except that a few specified powers should not be delegated in any case. These are :

1. The power to make calls on shareholders in respect of moneys unpaid on shares of the company.
2. The power to borrow moneys except within limits previously fixed by the directors at a board meeting.
3. The power to issue debentures.
4. The power to invest the funds of the company.
5. The power to make loans except within limits previously fixed by the directors at a board meeting.

The Committee pleads for a complete re-orientation of ideas as to the position and powers of managing agents. In its view, managing agents should act only under the general control and direction of directors, but subject to this control their powers and duties should be clearly laid down in advance so that within their sphere they are free to carry on their duties.

No other practice has done so much harm as that of large-scale inter-locking of funds between the various companies under the same management and to tackle this ticklish problem the Committee has recommended that the limit on such investment should not be more than 10 per cent of the subscribed capital of the company in which the investment is to be made and should not exceed 20 per cent of the subscribed capital of all the investment companies in the group as a whole. The Committee has also tightened up the provisions relating to the powers of managing agents to engage in a business which is similar to and directly competes with the business of the managed company.

The subject is not free from difficulties and the Committee admits this when it says : "We experienced considerable difficulty in reconciling what we consider to be the fundamental right of a managed Company to be managed by the managing agent whom it has appointed and not by some third party who in fact might have acquired a controlling interest in such managing agency firm or company with the undesirability of imposing such rigid conditions on the acquisition of an interest in such company by persons who might be able to contribute towards the management of the managed company." But the Committee has expressed the hope that its recommendations coupled with the provisions it has suggested elsewhere in the Report regarding the enforcement of the rights of minorities, the disclosure by directors and persons deemed to be directors of their holdings in a company and the powers of investigation into the ownership of shares will provide a salutary check on any large-scale trafficking in managing agency rights in future.

It will be clear from the above that for purely historical reasons the managing agency system is given a further lease of life but under conditions which, one hopes, would greatly limit its potentialities for abuse and make the best out of this much-maligned system.

One cannot do better than associate himself with the Committee's opinion that "despite many abuses and malpractices which have disfigured the working of the system, in the present state of the industrial organisation of the country it may still be, on balance, an advantage to continue to rely on it." For, as the Committee puts it, shorn of its abuses and malpractices the system may yet prove to be 'a potent instrument for tapping the springs of private enterprise'.

SUDHIR KHASTGIR—AN ARTIST OF THE PEOPLE

By Captain RATNAMBERDUTT CHANDOLA

Not many a celebrated artist have I met so far who impressed me more than Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir, whom I happened to see, as though by an accident, sitting in a rather pensive mood right into his own small studio situated in the heart of the Doon School estate. He gave me the looks of a poet more than a painter, or rather, a singer than a sculptor. It was more than a formal pleasure for me to greet him. After a brief talk, he so kindly took me round and showed me quite a few of his exhibits of paintings and sculptures,

Major-General Thimayya
(Head-study from life)
By S. Khastgir

which interested me most. From what I saw during the short span of time, I am of the opinion that Mr. Khastgir's work as a painter is distinguished by skill and composition and his drawings are decidedly vigorous and vital. His sculptures show the versatility of his creative impulse.

Born at Calcutta on 24th September, 1907, Sudhir started his boyhood *with a four-anna* bamboo flute in his hand and grew into manhood with a brush and a chisel. His worthy father, Sjt. Satya Ranjan Khastgir, who hailed originally from Chittagong, now in East Pakistan, was serving as an engineer in Calcutta, when Sudhir showed visible signs of being a potential artist. No sooner he did his matric at the age of sixteen than he was switched over to the Kala-Bhawan at Santiniketan, the abode of Peace and Aesthetic Culture, for the study of art and craft. His passionately emotional creative genius quickly found

Study in clay (1952)
By S. Khastgir

its expression in the field of constructive endeavour. He first exercised his talent for modelling. He firmly believes that "To build up something with one's own fingures, to give some shape to a lump of clay and to express one's own and other's feeling through it, is simply thrilling and marvellous." His sculpture found its development alongside his paintings. The first thing that strikes one about his sculptures is that they are the work of a two-dimension artist whose gifts tend towards plastic expression; thus his real and best work

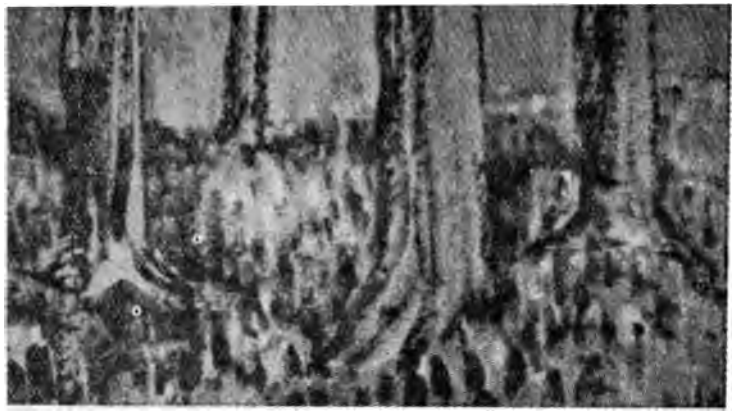
Mother and child (*clay*)
By S. Khastgir

From the tank (*oils*)
By S. Khastgir

Spring (water colour)
By S. Khastgir

Flute-player (*bronze*)
By S. Khastgir

C. R. Ranganathan
(President, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun)



Trunks
By S. Khastgir

Dronacharya (*water colour*)
By S. Khastgir

Slum-musicians (*oils* on paper, 1951)
By S. Khastgir.

is Sculpture. Nevertheless, he is well-versed in those ancillary arts which a sculptor must exercise for the training of eye and hand. He possesses a double faculty of making a picture as well as a portrait. Some of his best water-colour drawings are in sober tones, and when the two moods of gay and grave come into contiguity, it is the "pensive mood" that ultimately predominates.

It appears that Sudhir Khastgir derived his inspiration from purely indigenous sources which drew him so near the earth that he fell in love with the simple realities of life. It was that simple joy of his innocent people which eventually made him "an artist of the people" in the true sense of the expression.

Dewali (*oils*)
By S. Khastgir

"Had it not been for the basic instruction I received at the feet of my Master, Sjt. Nandalal Bose, at Santiniketan, I wouldn't be an artist at all!"—confessed Mr. Khastgir to me. No wonder he stands in a very unique position today as one of the most talented artists of modern India. His work has a peculiar approach—a robust individuality, which is virtually a speciality, which enabled him to mirror in his works the true spirit of Indian life and culture beyond any shadow of doubt.

A proud product of Tagore's University—where he spent no less than five years—Mr. Khastgir toured *extensively throughout the Union* of India and Ceylon *for the sole purpose of studying* ancient Indian art and architecture. A portable exhibition of his magnificent art and craft he carried with him to almost all the big cities of the country. In 1937, a remarkable exhibition of art work done at the Doon School was opened at India House, London, by the then High Commissioner, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who paid a handsome tribute to the Art Master, Mr. Sudhir Khastgir, who toured over England and the continental countries for the purpose of exhibiting examples of the excellent work that he and his pupils had done at the Doon School. This was the first occasion when the work of Indian boys was shown in London.

Mr. Khastgir has been head of the Art Department of the Doon School for over 15 years now. The School has made a remarkable progress in sculpture and painting under its Art Master, Mr. Khastgir, who feels that his pupils need encouragement as well as a measure of liberty, as both timid and troublesome boys display the benefit of art training after a certain specific time and become different boys altogether. They come into line with the rest, in developing their own imagination and power of perception not forgetting, perhaps, respect for difficulties and the determination to conquer.

Rabindranath Tagore (*terra-cotta*)
By S. Khastgir

Apart from his being a successful artist, he poses a challenge in the field of literature and is a staunch educationist.

His married life has been no more than a dream of sorrows. Manorama, his beloved wife, made him a husband, a father of a daughter and a widower, all within the space of a short year. He consoled himself thinking that "The path of sorrow is that path alone which leads to a place where sorrow is unknown!"

Shamoli, his only daughter, is now twelve years of age and is schooling at her father's *Alma Mater* and is also interested in Art.

In the words of Sjt. Asit K. Haldar, "Mr. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir, in his work, throws open a window which reveals the mystery of his soul. In his work we can perceive a keen sensitive soul trying to express the imaginary impressions which it receives from the outer world in exuberant variety with dramatic appeal." This is undoubtedly the richest tribute that one artist can bestow upon another artist. It is a happy augury for the future of Sudhir Khastgir whose name will go down in history as "An Artist of the People."

——:O:——

CEREMONIAL CORN DANCE OF AMERICAN INDIANS

By W. NORTON JONES, Jr.

Boom—boom—boom—boom! There it was at last, the sound for which the crowd had been waiting. Only that morning the governor of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, a community of American Indians in the south-western State of New Mexico, had decreed that when the sun should stand overhead, the village would make its traditional appeal for success of its crops. The first muffled beats of the tom-tom, the Indian drum, warned that the ceremonial Corn Dance was about to begin. The audience comprised a crowd of several hundred Indians, a score or so of tourists, and a few other visitors.

The great dances and festivals of the pueblos of the American South-west usually take place on set dates. Most often they are held on the days dedicated to the patron saints for whom the early Spanish explorers named the various villages. Corn dances, on the other hand, are seldom held at fixed times. They are prayers for rain, for insurance of the crops, for an abundant harvest made by a people who live in a land of slight rainfall. As such, they take place whenever they seem necessary or desirable. They may be held in the various pueblos at almost any time during the growing season.

Nobody knows how long corn dances have been held at San Ildefonso. The village was old when the first Spanish explorers discovered it more than 400 years ago. It stood then as now in the shadow of Black Mesa and not far from the east bank of the Rio Grande River. The baked clay (adobe) houses of its people cluster about a great plaza in whose center is the kiva. The upper portion of this kiva, which is the semi-subterranean ceremonial chamber, makes a low, almost circular platform from which steps lead down to the ground. From a hatchway in the top have come the muffled sounds of the tom-tom.

An arbor-like shrine of green boughs erected especially for the corn dance stands at one side of the plaza. In it have been placed figures of the Blessed Virgin and several saints taken from their niches in the village church. Images of the Blessed Virgin and San Ildefonso, the village's name-saint, occupy places of honor. Surrounding these are the figures of lesser saints.

Indians of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso in the American south-west, emerging from a typical adobe building to participate in the ancient Corn Dance offered in supplication for rain

Courtesy: New Mexico State Tourist Bureau

The governor of the pueblo has chosen his time well. The day is of that blue and gold perfection

peculiar to summer days in the plateau country of the American South-west. For protection from the hot sunshine the crowd has distributed itself about two sides of the plaza where adobe walls cast a narrow band of shadow. The quietness so characteristic of large groups of Indians has settled upon the audience, accentuating the drowsy stillness of midsummer noonday. However, there has been a mounting tension of expectancy and all eyes are focused upon the kiva as the tom-tom first sounds.

Participants in the ceremonial Corn Dance performed by the Indians of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso

The beat of the drum continues for a time in measured rhythm—slow—monotonous. Then the tempo changes. Faster it grows, faster, and still faster. A roll. Then it falters, lapsing once again into its first hypnotic movement. Up the ladder, whose uneven ends project from the kiva's hatchway to stand in dramatic relief against the blueness of the sky, comes the drummer and his drum. Following him are six other men. Each is clad in moccasins, trousers, and velveteen blouse so prized by their wearers. The straight bobbed hair of each is bound with a bright cloth. Blouses are of brilliant hue: magenta, peacock blue, orange, cerise, canary, and the green of chrysoprase. Each blouse is belted with a band of hammered silver shells.

The men of the chorus and the drummer take their place at one side of the shrine of boughs. They begin a low, nasal chant which follows minutely the changing tempo of the tom-tom. After a time the *monotonous rise and fall of this* sound and glare from *the hard-baked plaza begin to create* an atmosphere of unreality. All who listen are being made ready for the invocation of the gods.

Presently, when all is right and in readiness, a long file of ornately bedecked Indians emerges from the kiva. Up the ladder and thence in a long line down the steps to the ground come some 30 young men. Their faces smeared with white and their black-streaked chests proclaim them to be spirits of the dead. Around their necks are countless strings of beads and ornaments of silver. From the sashes of their kilt-like skirts hang fox skins and other trappings. Tied to their elbows are small branches of evergreen. On their heads downy eagle feathers betoken rain-bearing cloud puffs. These youths act as clowns of the day; they caper about the great square for a time enacting some pantomime which has come down unchanged from the days when protection of the pueblo from marauding bands of nomadic Indians was of paramount importance. Finally, they take their places in a long line before the green shrine.

Once more people emerge from the kiva. This time a column of women and girls move in solemn dignity down the steps from the roof. They take their places beside the line of men. Clad in black garments bound with bright sashes and bedecked with silver and turquoise necklaces and ornaments, they are somewhat less startling than the men. Gleaming, bootlike white moccasins encase their feet, while on their heads they wear in vertical position small, flat wooden boards. These are decorated with cabalistic designs painted in bright colors and bear on their three peaks tufts of eagle down. It was from these flat wooden crowns that Spanish explorers gave to the corn dances the name of "tablitas"—or "little board dances."

The chant becomes more frenzied. The tom-tom beats more loudly, more insistently. The whole village is filled with sound, and supplication to the deity begins in earnest. Moving side by side the two columns begin to dance—now facing forward, now backward, and again facing each other. Each dancer keeps perfect time. Schooled in every significant movement handed down from generation to generation, they move exactly, unhurriedly, easily. Stamping, shuffling, turning, following the everchanging tempo of chant and drum-beat, they perform a ritual which is stately, dignified, full of symbolism, and perfect in its own way.

The whole ceremony is a strange mixture of pagan

and Christian rites. Devoutly these modern Indians perform before the shrine of a God to whose worship early Roman Catholic missionaries, the Franciscan Fathers, nominally had converted their forebears. The rites themselves are, however, as pagan as those which were sacred to their cliff-dwelling ancestors centuries before the coming of the Spanish explorers and the missionaries. There can be no doubt that the church plays a considerable part in the life of the pueblo villages of New Mexico. To what extent the old gods are revered, however, no one can say. At any rate, the beautiful and impressive dances of the Indians' pre-Christian days go on much as before.

During the ceremony dancers move back and forth in the area before the shrine. At length they begin to move almost imperceptibly toward the shelter of boughs. Each phase of the performance brings them a little nearer. At its very entrance the climax is reached. The drum rolls. The chorus chants more piercingly than before. The dancers weave back and forth—intricately—endlessly.

After the crescendo is reached, the retreat begins. The procession moves back into the holy precincts of the kiva. Down the ladder through the purifying smoke of the ceremonial fire disappear the women, their crowning tufts of eagle down waving a last farewell. After them follow the men while the chorus continues the chant which has not been allowed to die since the first celebrant came up the ladder from the sacred depths.

When the dancers have gone the drummer and chorus move slowly across the plaza to the kiva top. After the others have vanished, the drummer stands in brief silhouette before he too descends from sight. The thudding of his tom-tom becomes fainter—softer. It has ceased entirely before most of the audience is aware that the sound has stopped. The ceremony is over. A supplication has been made to the gods. The crops are safe.—From *New Mexico*.

——:O:——

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN WEST BENGAL

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

The problem of agricultural development and amelioration of the condition of the peasantry has no doubt arrested the attention of the Government of India but it has been tackled from the point of agrarian reforms, relief to rural indebtedness and the introduction of better methods of cultivation while the sole assistance given to marketing was by the improvement in the means of communications. The Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out that

> "The incentive to grow improved varieties introduced by the agriculture departments is pro tanto diminished if the cultivator fails to obtain the full premium justified by their superiority over those ordinarily grown. Again, he has little incentive to market his produce in the best possible condition unless that condition is recognised in the price he gets for it."

Three parties are mainly interested in the marketing: the grower, the middleman and the ultimate consumer. The consumer plays an important part in determining the volume and nature of production and in fixing its price as all production has consumption for its objective; but the grower of the commodity does not realise this due to his lack of direct touch with the consumer. Boyle in his *Marketing of Agricultural Products*, says:

> "If the Iowa farmer puts a bad egg in the egg case, he does not see the expression on the face of the New York or Boston housewife when this bad egg is opened. Her retail grocer hears her comment *in the telephone*."

Agricultural production in India is carried on under varying conditions by a large number of people each owning small patches of land and the

Loading the carts with bales of jute

entire operations are carried on a very small scale. They are busy over production and have neither the time nor the ability for studying the markets so as to have an advantageous selling. Absence of credit facilities is another handicap for the farmer and as a result of all these a class of intermediaries have

emerged whose function is to assemble the surplus of the individual cultivators and despatch them to the bigger markets which act as a reservoir. Next comes the process of dispersion when the produce is arranged for supply to the manufacturers in adequate quantities, or for consumption in small lots by the concentrated population in the urban areas.

On way to the village

Agricultural marketing has certain peculiarities of its own—the bulk of the produce is considerable in relation to its value which makes transportation and storage difficult and costly. The crop matures during a short period and there is a tremendous rush in the market immediately after the harvest which depresses the price and puts abnormal strain on the means of transport. Some perish earlier than the others and this also varies under different physical conditions leaving its effects on the marketing. The effects of weather on production of agricultural commodities cannot be pre-calculated ; favourable weather in a particular year or in several consecutive years may bring greater yield for the same acreage rendering storage and transportation hazardous accompanied by price depletion.

The networks of the Indian markets originate from the village where it is called a *hat* or bazar whence the commodities pass to the consumption points through a series of markets. Even though with the improvement in the means of communications the Indian village is being taken out of its age-old isolation and linked with the chain of bigger markets, it cannot be said that the road between the producer and the consumer is open and direct and the farmers have a free and competitive market in which to dispose of their products. From the village *hats* we pass on to the secondary markets located in big *villages or towns which are mainly busy in the collection of the products during harvest for despatch* to bigger markets or *mandis*, as they are called in Upper India. Competition does not enter into the price structure in these secondary markets and both the dealer and the seller are entirely dependent on the price dictations from the bigger markets. These bigger markets can both be organised, *e.g.*, Calcutta for jute, Hapur for wheat trade, and unorganised, *e.g.*, Gaziabad which is also an important wheat market in the U. P. Before 1924, no market or mandi was organised in the modern sense of the term and the law-courts often condemned their speculative transactions as pure gambling. Various non-official measures were, however, adopted to organise the markets which were of very little significance.

The regulation of the Indian markets dates with the passage of Berar Cotton and Grain Markets Act in 1897 which aimed at the purging of many abuses prevalent in the then markets. The second step in this direction was the Bombay Cotton Markets Act of 1927. The comparative success obtained in the regulation of cotton markets in M.P. and Bombay suggested its extension in Northern India for regulating the wheat markets. In Bengal, no official step has yet been taken to regulate the markets although in

Grading of jute

certain towns they are controlled by the various Chambers of Commerce. Dr. J. C. Sinha pointed out that

> "The present marketing arrangements (in Bengal) are chaotic, antiquated and prejudicial to the interest of the growers."

The economic condition of the jute growers can never be improved unless this state of things is improved and he is assured of correct weights, prompt payment and above all a square deal. Very recently the writer had the opportunity to investigate into the conditions of some of the important markets in

West Bengal and Bihar. It does not require great perseverance to find out that everywhere the middleman predominates and they have quite mastered the art of cheating the innocent growers. No two markets have the same standard of weights and even when they tally, the grower is cheated with the help of over-weighted and under-weighted *batkaris*. In the important jute markets of Samsi and Harishchandrapur in the district of Malda in West Bengal, the standard of weight is 105 and 101 tolas per seer respectively. Here the growers are paid at the Calcutta price where the standard of weight is only 80 tolas. Price quotations from Calcutta are readily available through newspapers and radios and the writer found that the growers being quite ignorant of this discrepancy in weights thank the local merchants for offering them the Calcutta rate after which the merchants are supposed to bear the baling, transportation, etc., charges out of their own pockets. And even where the growers are conscious, they do not bother.

Weighing of raw jute

Making ropes for baling jute

The cheating operations do not, however, end here. Weighing is invariably done by the merchant and some of them confided to me that this is not after all favourable to the seller. The *batkaris* used are generally of half-a-maund and instead of a stamped one, a piece of stone is used. In one case, I weighted this stone and found that its correct weight was 21.3 seers. In another case, I found that extra zinc was inserted at the bottom of a stamped *batkari* of which the seller was obviously ignorant. In the markets in Bihar where no such disparity of weights exist, the above malpractice is highly in vogue. At Thakurganj (Bihar) it was found that very few jute sellers are in possession of a stamped *batkari*. After all these, a moderate watering is done to the jute thus purchased thereby increasing the margin of profit of the sellers still higher. Such cases do not manifest only in case of transporting jute to the Calcutta Port. In the inter-district operations also they are present due to the divergence of the standard weights in different markets inside the some district. In the district of West Dinajpur (West Bengal) I visited four important jute markets—Raiganj, Kaliaganj, Balurghat and Hili and it is quite interesting to note that while the standard of weights is 120 tolas=1 seer for Raiganj, 128 tolas=1 seer for Kaliaganj, it is only 60 tolas at Balurghat and Hili. Another noticeable feature of the markets in Balurghat and Hili is that there the seller is quite conscious of the difference between the local and the Calcutta weights and so he does not grudge the price deductions. Does it not become apparent that the merchants imparted this consciousness to their own benefit?

I am confident that various other malpractices can still be discovered after proper enquiry and strongest possible measures must be adopted for their removal. The standard of weight also varies commodity-wise. In the districts of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar, while the weight of 80 tolas is generally observed in case of jute, it is 93 tolas for tobacco. In these two districts, the system of *dadan* is gaining its stronghold every day and generally the cultivator taking *dadan* is compelled to sell his products to the creditor at a discount of 50 per cent than the prevailing market rates. In case of tobacco leaves another device is adopted to avoid the payment of the just price. Tobacco is brought for sale generally in the months of Chaitra and Baisakh (April-May) when hail-storm by the evening is a regular phenomenon. The grower coming from villages with a cart-load of leaves is made to wait the whole day under various pretexts and when the rain is about to come, an

abnormally low price is offered leaving the cultivator the only alternative of taking his merchandise back. The delicate leaves cannot even meet the jerkings caused on the uneven village roads while on cart and a shower is sure to bring total loss. The grower is obliged to accept whatever price may be offered ! The writer was an eye-witness to some such occurrences while the complaint was recorded from a large number of farmers.

An essential item before grading of jute

The system of agricultural marketing in India is saddled with a long chain of middlemen and the remuneration they charge for their services increases the burden of the consumer while the producers in general live below the subsistence level. The utility of the school of middlemanship cannot be ignored when we take into consideration the lack of organisation of our farmers and their economic weakness. Marketing of foodgrains is mainly done through governmental agencies and as such there is very little scope for the well-to-do middleman to operate in this sphere though the smaller ones are not totally absent. Four types of middlemen we now encounter in the agricultural commodity markets: 1. Faria, 2. Bepari, 3. Aratdar and 4. Baler. It does not require much imagination to recount all the abuses and the iniquities of this system, many of them are real and demand reform but some of them arises out of the chaotic state of marketing and lack of any organisation.

In the trade of jute and tobacco in the State of West Bengal, the *farias* roam from village to village, collect the surplus and hand it over to the *bepari* who is his immediate superior. Farias are generally paid a commission by the Beparis but it is not rare that a Faria is doing independent business of his own *thus bearing all the risks. The use of false weight and cheating in the process of weighing are too* common with the Farias. Adulteration either by damping the produce or mixing it up with that of inferior varieties is mainly done by the middlemen and this increases with the rise in prices and fall in supply. Indian Cotton Committee has pointed out that this type of malpractices is rampant in the ginning factories. From his personal experience the writer can well assert that the balers of jute in this part of the country are in no way lagging behind their counterparts in Bombay and M.P. In the district of Jalpaiguri for every 100 mds. sold, the grower is to part with extra 5 mds. of jute which is commonly known as *dalta*. In the district of Malda and West Dinajpur, though no extra quantity is to be paid, how the growers are being deceived has been pointed out earlier. Another characteristic of these markets that deserves mention here is that though grading is practised in almost all the baling centres, the growers do not get any premium for superior quality thus killing the impetus for growing better variety of crops. In some places, there is no difference in price between the capsularis and olitorius variety of jute and even where it exists, the price paid for olitorius variety of jute does not justify the extra care required in its growing.

In the secondary stage of marketing, the Aratdar or Baler plays a leading part in moving the produce nearer to the exporting or consuming point and keeping the market steady by arranging for storage and gradual adjustment of supply to demand. In the first Marketing Report published by the Indian Central Jute Committee, the predominance of the Aratdars as a separate group was stressed but with the gap of twelve years since the publication of the above report, Aratdars as a class have almost been eliminated and their contribution to the present chain of middlemen in the marketing of jute is not worth mention. The balers in the mofussil markets are of *kacha* type and their bales are to be re-baled with hydraulic presses at the exporting centre when they are called *pucca* bales. The weights of *kacha* bales vary from 1½ mds. to 3½ mds. while the standard weight of a *pucca* bale is 5 mds.

In the trade of tobacco, there is a tendency for the more prosperous ryots to buy up the produce from the poorer ones and start as a middleman. In the Dinhatta Subdivision of the district of Cooch-Behar, I found that a single ryot has purchased the entire crop of his own village. In Nowgaon (Assam), the Pradhans or Sarkars (headmen) of the villages exercise great power over the smaller peasants and jute and paddy in this region have to be marketed through them often at rates not favourable to the sellers.

In the marketing of fruits—mangoes in the district of Maldah and West Dinajpur and oranges in the district of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling—the common practice is to sell out the whole plantation while

in blossoms to the Bepari, the rate being fixed on an estimate of probable yield, the nature of demand and transport facilities. The prices are payable in full before occupation or by instalments, one-half at the time of signing the contract and the balance when the crop is harvested. An instance may be cited here to show the margin of profit of the middleman in the trade of fruit. In the village of Paharpur under Kharba P.S. (Maldah dist.) a petty cultivator sold out his total plantation consisting of 8 mango trees for Rs. 80 only while they were in blossoms to a Bepari who in his turn marketed the matured fruits to a merchant at Samsi (a distance of about 12 miles) for Rs. 240 only. The calculation is based on the presumption that an average plant bears 1,000 healthy

On way to the baling centre

fruits that were sold at Rs. 3 per 100. This merchant at Samsi exported the entire proceeds to Calcutta where those mangoes were disposed of by the retail dealers at the rate of 5 to 6 fruits per rupee. Thus even allowing 50 per cent wastage (an abnormal figure), the same quantity of fruits fetched Rs. 800 from their retail buyers. The cost on account of railway freight and packing may as well be deducted from the above sum and the actual profit by these intermediate agencies be better contemplated than described.

The districts mentioned above provide ample scope for starting fruit-preserving factories in which case the growers may expect a better price besides providing occupation to a good number of persons. Situation as it is, the grower is obliged to accept whatever price is available due to the peculiar tendency of these fruits of being rotten in no time. If properly organised, the Himalayan slopes as well as the Gangetic plains offer ample opportunity for growing fruits on a commercial scale. If proper marketing arrangements can be made, the economic condition of the growers will also improve in no mean measure.

The question of marketing finance is also of great importance. It is a known fact that due to their precarious economic conditions, the farmer cannot hold on his produce and is compelled to dispose of the entire production immediately or soon after the harvest at a comparatively low price. The introduction of the debt settlement measures has removed the source of getting money (however defective it might be) and nothing has as yet been done to fill up the vacuum. The connection between financing and marketing is very close in this part of the country as every intermediary in a smaller or greater degree is also a financing agency; hence the advances given

Jute cultivation—sown in rows to minimise operation costs

by the Bepari or Paikar to the grower to secure the latter's crop is very important. As a result of my investigations in the village of Belakoba and adjoining areas (Jalpaiguri district) I found that out of 46 farmers receiving loan or *dadan* at the time of sowing, 41 had nothing left with them after the harvest and of the remaining five, the balance after the repayment of the loans did not even come up to 20 per cent of the total harvested figures However, the popular notion that because the farmer has taken loan from the merchant or Bepari, he is completely under his control and has to accept any prices offered by him is not borne out by facts. This might have been a fact in olden days but at the present juncture, I have found everywhere that the cultivator is quite capable of asserting his rights. In undeveloped regions having no adequate means of communications, the grower is, no doubt, at a disadvantage in selling to the village merchant or Bepari but this is so, not merely because the buyer is also a creditor.

For the financial assistance rendered by the diffe-

rent grades of middleman the remuneration charged by them seems to be excessive in view of the risks they have to undertake and the absence of any organisation in the marketing business. The rate of interest in certain localities is as high as 20 per cent while 10 to 15 per cent is the general rule. Boyle has very well remarked that

> "Credit for agricultural marketing has been and still is largely a question of credit for the dealers."

With the forging of new links to the chain of distributing services, new methods of manufacture and supply of credit have been developed in other countries. In the U.S.A., the cotton dealer gets financial aid on his promissory notes, warehouse receipt, compress receipt, bill of lading, banker's acceptances and trade acceptances.

Jute bales being carried to the market on buffalo carts

Until all the units in our marketing system are organised it is, of course, not possible to expect to secure all the facilities of finance as enumerated earlier but nobody will dispute that immediate attention should be paid to the matter. Dr. P. J. Thomas in his minute of dissent on the recommendation of the Banking Enquiry Committee has pointed out that

> "The present system of financing marketing operations must be replaced by short-term credits which will keep money more mobile, bring down the rate of interest and enable the owner of the produce to market at the most auspicious time and the highest available prices. This is only possible by the creation and discounting of negotiable paper at every stage of the transaction."

Another difficulty presents itself in the shape of absence of any standard or grade in the agricultural produce of our country. The cultivator does not sell his produce not because he is unaware of its benefits but because he is not paid sufficiently for the extra trouble involved. There are no markets in which a good grade is in demand. The advantages to be obtained from grading can hardly be exaggerated. It enables him to dispose of the inferior qualities in the local markets and despatch the superior consignments to the exact places where they are in demand and thus the cost of distribution can be reduced. Besides reducing the cost of storage in the actual process of marketing, the necessity for personal inspection of each consignment is to a large extent avoided and unseemly wrangles and arbitrations caused by the claims for allowances due to variations from samples of exported commodities are totally eliminated.

Indian Cotton Transport Act of 1923 and the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act of 1925 have improved the condition of the marketing of cotton in India and the Indian Central Cotton Committee has supplied specimen bales of pure cotton grown in the Punjab to be kept for inspection and comparison both by the buyers and the sellers at the Cotton Exchanges maintained by the Liverpool, Manchester and East India Cotton Associations.

As regards jute:

> "The present form and methods of grading and marketing are in a hopeless muddle. The grower does not know these and the grading is done by the buyers and the exporting agencies who have branches in the outlaying stations."—(Bengal Jute Committee's findings).

As a matter fact, the actual grading is performed by the sorters or *jachandars* who are employed on a fixed remuneration and as they have no scientific training they carry on their work on a rough and ready knowledge of the fibre. The principle of grading, if any, is maintained as a trade secret and the growers receive no benefit from grading as they are paid at a flat rate. The Indian Chamber of Commerce was the first to demand governmental intervention in the fixation of standard of jute which was as early as 1928. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee was obliged to recommend that "the Local Government concerned should take prompt steps for the fixation of a proper standard for jute." Other sections of the trade including the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce voiced the same demand with no less vigour.

The present accepted grades of jute are: Top, Middle, Bottom and X-Bottom. Whatever may be the case at the exporting point, this standardisation has a tremendous elasticity in the mofussil markets. When the demand is high 'Middle' is often classed as Top and so on. Reverse is the case when a huge stock is accumulated with the balers.

In the marketing of rice, there is a rough and ready gradation into fine, medium and coarse but there is no uniformity in specimens of these grades

from different places. In case of fruits and vegetables, a rough classification of the articles is made before packing. It is usual to remove the fruits which are unfit for marketing and then to pack the container with fruits of inferior quality at the bottom, medium quality in the middle and a few layer of the best variety at the top. This can hardly be termed as grading and is better to designate it as "topping."

The introduction of the co-operative principles within the jurisdiction of marketing with a view to solve some of its difficulties has met with a considerable measure of success in the Western countries and it unfolds a new avenue of approach towards the identical problems in India. Before considering the scope of co-operative marketing in our country, it will not be out of place to make a rapid survey of the co-operative marketing in Europe. The most advanced country in this respect is Denmark and she has not only successfully remodelled her agricultural economy on co-operative basis but with State-aid she has built her marketing organisation with the main purpose of capturing the foreign markets.

> "Credit societies exist no doubt but sale and supply societies predominate. Primary societies are grouped into commodity associations which are in their turn federated into the Central Co-operative Council. These commodity associations have no share capital but are on the principle of unlimited liability. Every member has to enter into a contract for marketing his entire produce through the association for a fairly long period and the produce is pooled before marketing. Grading and testing of the produce is performed with great care and this accounts for ready demand which the Danish co-operative produce meets with in the foreign market."

The value of international contact to the co-operative movement is well-illustrated in the development of the wheat pools in Canada. Agricultural prosperity in the U.S.A. is linked with co-operative marketing in no mean measure.

> "The history of Co-operative Marketing in India is literally strewn with the wreckages of past attempts and it is a record of faulty organisation, ignorance of business knowledge and general inefficiency which converted in many instances seeming success into hopeless failures and put a brake on enthusiasm and progress. In the midst of these failures and general stagnation, a few bright patches deserve attention, *e.g.*, the Cotton Sale Societies in Bombay and Madras and the Commission shops in the Punjab while the failure of the first large-scale attempt to market jute co-operatively in Bengal (pre-partition) has a great lesson for the future."

Various causes may be held responsible for the failure of the co-operative movements in India but the most important of them is the fact that instead of making the cultivators conscious of its benefits so as to encourage their active participation in its formation. co-operation has been thrust upon them from above. As a result the farmer had very little faith in the organisation and so naturally he preferred

A scene in a village *hat* (vegetable market)

outright purchase by the society and was not agreeable to receive payment in instalments. This accounted for the tremendous failure in co-operative marketing in jute in pre-partitioned Bengal. The society was compelled to make outright purchase of the produce from the members and thus to shoulder all the risks from the time of purchase right up to the sale. The funds of the society were blocked in raw jute and when the prices went down it was confronted with a huge loss. In his remarks before the Central Banking Enquiry Commission, Mr. A. P. MacDougall has rightly pointed out that

> "Co-operative marketing is not worth doing if existing methods cannot be improved on. If it is to be of any real assistance to the producers in India then the whole problem must be tackled on entirely different lines. The co-operative movement throughout India has no clear line of advance. It is uncertain as to its future procedure with regard to marketing because it has no clear understanding of the goal aimed at; there is only one—clearing the line of surplus goods."

A NEW METHOD OF PASTEURISING MILK

By Dr. J. SIRCAR,
Bose Institute, Calcutta

The modern methods of pasteurisation of milk as practical in temperate climates are unsuited for a tropical country like ours where the temperature rises to 110°F in certain seasons.

It is specially so in a place like Calcutta where milk is produced in small quantities over a vast area and brought to Calcutta by private or public transport. The reasons are as follows :

(1) A modern pasteurising plant capable of handling 100 or 1000 mds. of milk daily is a huge affair and is very costly.
(2) It has to be established in a central place, where milk collected from a wide area has to be brought for pasteurisation.

A period of time, which is variable, is spent in collecting milk from different areas and bringing it to the central plant. During this period the bacteria in the milk multiply very rapidly as the conditions are optimum—such as unclean vessels, insanitary methods of milking, warmth of the udder milk where it gets contaminated by the milker, the warm morning or evening temperature—all favouring the rapid multiplication of bacteria. A bacterium dividing into two every half an hour produces a progeny of 281, 476, 587, 353, 856 members by the end of one day. In this condition—and the bacteria multiplying continuously—the milk is carried in open cans, over long distances, taking hours in some cases, to its destination either to the consumer or to the pasteurising plant. In the pasteurising plants, the milk after treatment may be stored in refrigerated room in bottles or other containers, till such time it is transported to the consumer, through the heat of the day in ordinary vans, where the milk gets reheated and bacterium starts multiplying again. Then it awaits distribution in centres allowing further multiplication, thus spoiling all the effects of pasteurisation. By the time the milk reaches the customer—he gets a very good "emulsion of dead and living bacteria in milk."

To obviate these practical difficulties, I propose the establishment of small pasteurising plants, in centres where there is good communication with Calcutta or any consuming area, and a decent quantity of milk, say 25 mds., could be collected in a very short period of time. By short period, I mean not more than 45 minutes or an hour. On reaching the plant, where everything will be kept ready, the milk will be immediately pasteurised in specially sealed cans within half an hour, and chilled to 10°C. The chilled milk in cans will be kept in ice cold water till it is ready for transportation to the consuming centre in ordinary vans fitted with a more or less insulated chamber. During transport, the cans will be sprayed *with circulating ice water from a small tank carried in the van.*

At the distribution centres, the milk will be directly transferred to the consumers' vessels, thus avoiding the necessary nuisance of imperfectly cleaned and insecurely sealed milk bottles.

All this could be achieved by the use of a specially devised milk can and a very simple and cheap pasteurising plant as described below.

Description of the Can

The main feature of this method of pasteurisation is the special can. It consists of a cylinder made preferably of copper for it conducts heat very rapidly but could also be made of brass or galvanized iron. Its size should be about 36 inches long and 7 inches internal diameter. The two ends of the cylinder are strengthened by two rings of brass or copper about ¼ inch thick and ½ inch deep. The ends are closed by two metal plates about 9 inches in diameter and three-eighth inch thick. In these plates there are two circular grooves to take the ends of the cylinder. At the bottom of the grooves there is a rubber gasket of suitable thickness in each plate.

Outside the groove, at 120 deg. distance there are three five-eighth inch holes in each plate. Three hexagon headed bolts—¼ inch thick, 3 ft. 3 ins. long, screwed at one end, pass through these holes. By means of flynuts the two lids could be clamped on to the cylinder, producing a perfectly air and water-tight container. The hexagon heads of the bolts are provided with suitable pins which engage in holes in the bottom plate, to prevent rotation. The fly nuts have holes drilled in their wings.

Of the two places one is for the top and the other one is for the bottom. The top plate has a hole in the centre, threaded for a ¾ inch gas plug. The plug has a hexagon head and a shoulder projecting ¼ inch beyond margin of the hole. Holes passing through the opposing faces and the centre are drilled in the hexagon head of the plug. The can as described is the ideal can as it could be cleaned very quickly and very thoroughly.

But another variety of cans could be used in which the bottom is permanently closed. These will be cheaper to construct, but will be more difficult to clean. The top plate will be the same as described and will be clamped on to the cylinder by means of three rods permanently fixed to the can.

Besides the above, there is a float. This is the most important item of the whole assembly. The float is about 4 inches long and one-eighth inch less in diameter than the inside of the cylinder. The float is air and water tight.

The cylinder is stood on the bottom plate (with the rubber gasket) through the holes of which the rods

are passed. The float is dropped in the cylinder and the top plate is put on with the R. G. in place allowing the rods to pass through the holes in it. The whole assembly is clamped on by means of the three fly nuts.

The hexagon plug with a rubber gasket on its shoulder is screwed in. This completes the cylinder or can. Galvanized wire is run through the wings of the flynuts and the hexagonal head and the ends are sealed with a lead seal. All the surfaces of the cylinder cover and float, that come in contact with milk are heavily tinned with pure tin and the other surfaces and articles could be galvanised.

After assembly of the thoroughly washed and cleaned components of the cylinder, but before plugging live steam is introduced to the bottom of the cylinder by a pipe of suitable size, and the inside is thoroughly scalded. After scalding the plug with rubber gasket is put on tightly and the can is sealed in the way prevously described.

All these operations should take place in a central place with copious water and live steam.

Action of the Cylinder

At the pasteurising plant, the cylinder (the above dimension will hold about 4 gallons or 20 seers of milk) is filled through the fillng plug with clean, strained, fresh milk, as quickly after milking as possible. The plug is replaced and sealed (with a special seal for each plant).

Now if the cylinder is stood in a can of water at 70°C very little heat will pass to the inside of the can. The float is now resting on the top of the milk. If the can is now inverted in the hot water, the float which goes to the bottom will try to rise slowly to the top, sending the milk below it. The milk can pass to the bottom of the float through the annular space between the outside diameter of the float and the inside diameter of the cylinder. This is only 3 mm (one-eighth inch). If the float rises axially a film of milk only 1.5 mm comes in contact with the wall of the cylinder which is at 70°C. Thus by inverting the cylinder several times every particle of the milk comes in contact of a surface of 70 deg. and thus the temperature of the whole quantity of milk is raised to that temperature. (In actual practice it has been found that the temperature is 2 deg. C below the surrounding temperature). According to the choice of the operator, the milk is kept in that temperature for the necessary period of time, and then the can is chilled by means of ice cold water, in the same way it was heated.

The chilled milk is kept in ice-water till the time of transportation to the distributing centres. On arrival at the distribution centre the milk is transferred directly from the cans to the consumers' receptacles, or if house to house distribution is indicated, this should be done, before the milk is warmed again by the surrounding temperature.

Pasteurisation

A rectangular metal box about six ft. long, 3 ft. 3 ins. high and 3 ft. wide will hold about 32 cans of the size mentioned above (16 mds. of milk). The box has a watertight lid and is mounted on turnions which are hollow. If the milk-filled cans are stood in this box, and water at the necessary temperature is circulated through the box which could be turned on the turnions, the pasteurisation is achieved very quickly. The time taken by the float to reach the top is noted, and as soon as the float reaches the top, the box is turned upside down. This is repeated continuously as long as it is necessary to pasteurise the milk. As the centre of gravity of the whole system is not shifted, the power required to turn the box is very little and could be done manually by means of gear wheels.

After heating the milk to the requisite temperature, ordinary water from a well or a tank is circulated through the box bringing down the temperature of the milk to say 30 deg. C (ordinary summer temperature). Then iced water at 0 deg. C is passed through the system to chill the milk in the cans to a temperature of 10 deg. C—a drop of 20 deg. C.

Same weight of ice will bring down the temperature of boiling water to 10.6 deg. C—a drop of nearly 90 deg. C. To cool the milk through 20 deg. C the quantity of ice necessary will be $\frac{20}{90} = \frac{2}{9}$ of 16 mds.—the actual quantity of milk in the cans.

Checking : It may so happen that the milk is not properly parteurised in one of the collecting centres and sent on to the distribution in that condition. Whether the temperature of the milk was raised to the proper height or not could be checked very simply. At the side of the 7 ft. diameter pasteurising can, a thin metal tube of about ½ in. diameter and the same height of the can is soldered. This tube is open at both ends. Near the middle of this tube for a distance of about six inches the wall of the tube is cut away to produce a slit. The slit need not exceed 120 deg. of the tube. A glass tube, 3 or 4 inches in length and a little less than ½ in. diameter and sealed at both ends, full of paraffin of M.P. 70 deg. and some red oxide pigment and a lead shot, is inserted into the side tube and held in place by means of two pieces of dowelling. The end covers of the cylinder will close the ends of the side tube.

By centrifugalizing the tubes in warm water and then chilling, all the pigment and the shot could be collected at one end of the tube.

Action : As soon as the temperature of the can rises to 70 degrees, the paraffin will melt and the tumbling of the box will distribute the pigment through the whole length of the glass tube. Before the red oxide powder will have time to settle down it will be frozen in place by the chilling of the cans. Then

by simply looking at the tube, the temperature reached could be ascertained. A second tube with 80 deg. C M.P. wax will check excess heating.

The following points may be noted :

(1) From the time the cans are sealed in the collecting stations to the time of distribution, the cans remain sealed avoiding any contamination at any stage.

(2) From the time the milk is chilled in the pasteurising plant to its distribution to customers, it is possible to keep the milk at a low temperature, retarding or preventing the growth of bacteria.

(3) The carbon dioxide which holds the calcium of the milk in solution can not escape, thus the calcium content of the milk remains constant.

———:O:———

A PICTURE OF BENGAL IN THE DAYS OF KAR TALAB KHAN

By KSHITIS C. SARKAR, M.A., B.L.

Among the valuable and rare manuscripts numbering nearly four thousand or so deposited in the collections of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi (East Bengal) mostly comprising Tantra, Purana. Jyotish, Lexicon, Grammar (Paninian), Kavya and others to stimulate scholarly interests, one of the manuscripts dated 1626 Saka Era, corresponding to 1704 A.D. reveals a glimpse of a picture of the economic and political condition during the administration of 'Kar Talab Khan', as the Dewan of Bengal.

The manuscript itself is a valuable lexicon *Sabda Ratnavali*. The colophon of the manuscript runs thus (in Bengali script) :

"अरंजेत्रो यदा पात्सा दिल्लीतक्थे महायशाः
कार्त्तलप् खां यदा देयान् वङ्गलायां प्रतापवान्।
भौमिका वेपित प्राणाः शुष्कजीवाः प्रजास्तदा।
सोनापातिल (?) (लात्) आरभ्य गोंडागाच्छा समापितं।
शकाब्दा १६२६"

The codex was commenced to be written from a village named Sonapatil, but was brought to completion at Gonragaccha. Both the villages still exist but the last-named village has undergone a phonetic change as Ghoragacchi. The places are not very far from the Nator Railway station on the E. B. Railway section in North Bengal. The find place from where this manuscript was recovered is a village, named Lochangarh which also is situated quite hard by in the district of Rajshahi. From this village, many other manuscripts have also been acquired by the Varendra Research Society.

The colophon is significant in view of the name and designation—*Kar Talab Khan*, as a Dewan of Bengal. History tells us that he was originally a son of a Brahmin purchased by one Haji Shafi Ispahani who made him a convert and named him Mahammad Hadi. He had distinguished himself and won the confidence of Emperor Aurangzib by his ability and honesty in many minor offices in the Deccan and was created—Kar Talab Khan. In 1701, from the Diwani of Orissa he was transferred to Bengal with the title 'Murshid Kuli Khan', but came to be recognised it appears by his former designation *Kar Talab* Khan' till later days in 1704 A.D.

The colophon refers to the plight of the zamindars as 'trembling in his presence'* and the subjects or the people as 'starving or famishing.'†

The colophon in the manuscript, therefore, justifies in a way, as a contemporaneous record, the remarks made by historians that the defaulting zamindars were put to unspeakable kinds of torture in order to make them pay the Government dues.

In fact, resources of Aurangzib had been exhausted by the continuous warfare in the Deccan with the Mahrattas and Murshid Kuli Khan in order to placate the Emperor, used to squeeze out and send large sums of revenue from Bengal. In one year, Murshid Kuli Khan sent two crores and thirty three lakhs in silver rupees and 16848 gold coins from Bengal to the imperial coffer at Delhi. For this act of faithfulness Aurangzib not only rewarded him highly but also assured him in writing that all his prayers would be recognised. It is said, that the defaulting zamindars used to be confined to a dungeon or a reservoir full of filth, improvised for the purpose, sarcastically called 'Baikuntha-bass' or a 'residence in Paradise'.

The *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (1785-89) by Ghulam Hussin Salim, an account in Persian of the Mahammadan History of Bengal confirms the torture and various privations the defaulting zamindars and the collector of revenue had to undergo during this period.

In the year 1704 A.D., when this manuscript was being written, Murshid Kuli Khan was promoted to be a commander of 2000 and a few years after the death of Aurangzib when the Government of Delhi declined, he declared himself as the independent ruler of Bengal.

The mention of 'starving people'†† in the maunscript gives a gloomy outlook of life and positively indicate that the material prosperity of the people of Bengal had also waned during the regime of Murshid Kuli Khan when the people must have lived in a distressing condition.

× भौमिका व्यपित प्राणाः।

† शुष्कजोवाः प्रजाः।

†† शुष्कजोवाः प्रजाः।

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

:ISTORY OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION -1951 : *By Jogesh C. Bagal. Indian Association, tta. Pp. viii + 262 + lxiii. Rs. 7-8.*

ne by one the stone blocks which will go to the ng up of a worthy history of that new life in ıl which we call our 19th century Renaissance, eing quarried, chiselled and displayed in our ies, waiting for the master writer who will make thesis of them. Our new education, new literature, religions and reform movements are being lly traced in a large number of monographs in ıh and Bengali. To this work, the contribution C. Bagal has been second to that of none else. compiling some authoritative college histories, ne on the liberty movement, he has recently ced this authentic history of the Indian Asso- n of Calcutta.

'oday it requires some straining of the imagina- :o visualise the society in which this Association ounded and the work that it set out to do. We ıowever, capture the atmosphere of that distant if we read W. S. Blunt's *India Under Ripon, A cal Diary*, or the lives of A. M. Bose and Bipin "With this Association true democracy entered h India,—democracy in the old and honoured of government by the elect, the leaders of the e, whose claim to leadership was a natural one ed from intellectual pre-eminence and disciplined cter. No longer was Indian life and thought to ıided by mere land-owners, the heirs of hoarded h, but by men who had risen from the ranks, ew aristocracy of the intelligentsia."

'his volume is fully documented and enriched accurate details and appendices of now rare ls which last cover 63 pages. It is thus a granary e utmost value to the student of our political ess.

.s we lay down the volume after reading it and er on the three quarters of a century that some have personally witnessed, we are struck by the e in the method of our political leaders. The chool,—all honoured names,—were not *democrats* g that word in the kindred sense of *demagogues*). were Liberals of the school of Gladstone and th, (not Radicals like Lloyd George). They almost entirely urban and they established no contact. The cynic may say that the Indian ls' sole work was to petition and weep before ien Government (as we read in a stinging satire abindranath Tagore). But the answer to such a e is best given in the words of M. G. Ranade . K. Gokhale. Justice Ranade was Gokhale's cal *guru*. When young Gokhale saw Ranade writing an elaborate, well-argued, well-documented representation to Government against some illiberal measure, he told him that he was merely wasting his time, as judging by all their past experience, the British rulers would not listen to them. The sage replied, "I know full well that our petition will not move the Government to grant our political demand. But I am writing this paper for the benefit of our countrymen; they will read it and will be politically enlightened by it. Thus a party in support of reform will grow up in the country and in the next generation the British will have to listen to them."

The Indian Association represents the life's toil of Surendranath Banerjea (its Secretary for 36 years and President for five years), A. M. Bose (President for ten years), Rev. K. M. Banerjea (President for seven years), Rash Behari Ghosh (President for three years). Many other selfless worthies have done silent work under it. Outside Calcutta, it fought for raising the condition of the Assam tea garden coolies. But on the whole, the fact remains that it was essentially an urban body, an assembly of *bhadralok* (men dressed in laundry clothes, *sufed posh*, as they say in the Panjab); it made no mass-contact, because the Indian masses were not yet awake. Therefore, in the end history repeated itself. The Jacobins devoured the Girondists : in his home constituency of Barrackpur. Suren Babu was defeated by Bidhan daktar !

What future has the Indian Association, as it nears its centenary ? Will it go the way of the Muhammadan Literary Society of Abdul Latif Khan, which held only one meeting in the year (to elect the same office-bearers) and every five years assembled once more to present an address of thanks to the retiring Viceroy or Lieutenant-Governor and another of welcome to his new-coming successor ?

JADUNATH SARKAR

THE GOSPEL OF THE GURU-GRANTH SAHIB : *By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). The World Gospel Series, Volume 3. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. cxciv + 278. Price Rs. 6-8.*

The aim of this series, as the author tells us in his short foreword, is to offer to the modern public "in a handy and attractive form the essence of each of the world's great Scriptures" based on the author's conviction "that all the great Religions and their Scriptures come from the one Divine Source—the authentic Word of God to man." The present work, dealing with the Scriptures of the Sikhs, opens' with a long introduction of over 160 pages in course of which the author traces with sympathetic insight the whole history of Sikhism from its origin to the present times and concludes with brief but important

notes on the fundamental tenets of the faith. This is followed by a short Catechism of the Sikh religion. The rest of the work consists of two Parts. In the first Part, the author gives us in his own translation extracts from the Scriptures under eight appropriate chapter-headings. The second Part contains a complete translation of the Japji, Guru Nanak's own hymn with which the Granth Sahib opens. Though the author has based his monograph in the first instance upon Macauliffe's great work entitled *The Sikh Religion* (in six volumes), he has added fresh extracts to fill in the gap, has re-arranged the material and has prepared a fresh translation of the whole, while giving full reference in each case to the original. As far as it is possible for us to judge, the author appears to have taken great pains to ensure the accuracy of his translation. He has further earned the gratitude of his readers by accompanying his translation with explanatory notes and comments. A good index and a select bibliography add to the usefulness of this volume which can safely be recommended as a valuable guide, based on first-hand study of the available material, to our understanding of one of the most interesting religions of modern India.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CHUGHTAI'S INDIAN PAINTINGS: *A collection of paintings, represented in 55 Plates, 27 in colour, with a Foreword by Dr. Tara Chand and Introduction and Notes by Principal S. Kashmira Singh, M.A., 21 pp. with descriptive sheets for each picture. Published by Dhoomimal Dharamdas, Connaught Place, New Delhi. 1951. Price Rs. 40.*

Chughtai's paintings are known all over the world as the important representative of the new movement in Indian painting, based on the oldest heritage of Indian painting and developed on new paths to suit the taste and conditions of the new age. It may be useful to recall that Chughtai was trained in the Mayo School of Art under Principal Samarendra Gupta and his works at one time formed one of the most reliable support of the movement initiated by Acharya Abanindranath Tagore. His art, therefore, belongs to the context of the new Renaissance of Indian painting begun about the end of the 19th century, and is an integral part of the Art of undivided India. Chughtai's genius is best revealed in the complicated but the harmonized orchestra of lines based on the finest traditions of the old master djraughtsmen of India. In the present album, planned and produced on a generous scale (16 inches by 12 inches), the publishers have reproduced in large size four-colour plates, a selection of his creations in the field of Indian sagas, with essentially Indian motifs, as will be evident from some of the titles, Usha, Nataraja, Ambapali, Krishna instructing Arjuna, Yasoda, Devadasi, Shakti-Devata, Visvamitra, Chitra-lekha, Chaitanya's wife. Though several Islamic painters of the Mughal School had painted Hindu mythological subjects and Ragini pictures with considerable success, the tradition of tributes to Hindu sagas by Mussulman masters was interrupted for many decades, before Chughtai revived the happy traditions. In the Mughal School, we have hundreds of examples of Persian classics and Islamic themes painted by Hindu painters of the Mughal Darbar, where the percentage of Hindu painters originally trained by the Persian masters ultimately outnumbered the painters *imported from Persia*. And the Mughal School was *the joint and co-operative* product of Mussulman and Hindu talents, for Art knows no frontier or divisions based on religious beliefs. A similar thing happened when Abanindranath Tagore started to rebuild Indian painting on an all-India national basis and his efforts received the enthusiastic support of talented artists like Hakim Khan, Shami-us-Zama and, a little later, by A. R. Chughtai and others. And very significant are the introductory words of the artist to this magnificent album: "These humble creations are redolent of those good old days when we were making efforts to live and dream with our brethren of this land." As pointed out by Dr. Tara Chand, the artist has consistently endeavoured to realize one aim, portrayal of the joy and beauty of India's wonderfully rich composite and variegated life as seen through the eyes of a poet-artist who has identified himself with all the aspects of this life and who has sought to rise above all differences of race and creed." We owe a compliment to Principal Kashmir Singh's excellently worded Introduction and descriptive Notes despite a few lapses, here and there, *e.g.*, when he naively asserts that "Indian painting first developed under the Mughals." Many will endorse his remarks that Chughtai's art is undoubtedly the outcome of his wide outlook and universal sympathy. "He transcends all political and territorial limitations. He paints the Hindu gods with the same astonishing vitality as he interprets Omarkhayam or Sadi or Hafiz. His work is steeped in primal race-consciousness." Professor Singh's introduction is marred by occasional exaggerations and hyperboles. It is doubtful if many will agree with his assertion that Chughtai is a unique artistic phenomenon of our age or that he represents the "highest achievement of Modern Indian Art." Everybody will agree that "his place is among the great masters who keep the artistic national spirit alive and make their achievements universal." But our warmest praise is due to the publishers for this expensive and generous tribute to an Indian artist presented in a sumptuous dress and offered at a price which is a marvel of cheapness in these times of expensive production costs. The album should find its place in every library in India and Pakistan.

O. C. G.

EMOTIONAL DISORDERS OF CHILDREN: *By Gerald H. T. Pedyson. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 18s net.*

The book under review may be considered to be a further elaboration of the topics discussed in the two widely known books written by the author in collaboration with Dr. O. S. English, *viz., The Emotional Problems of Living* and *Common Neuroses of Children and Adults*. It deals with the common neuroses and psychoses of children. The methods of studying psychiatric problems of children have been enumerated and almost all possible cases of neurotic and psychiatric disorders of children have been delineated. Of special value is the actual case records given in details by the author in illustration of particular types of maladjusted behaviours of children. The approach is psychoanalytic and as such the fundamental roots of the diseases have been sought out.

Almost all parents have occasionally to come across behaviours of their children which they completely fail to understand and do not know how to deal with. The author introduces to the parents many such possible situations, *e.g.*, delinquency, sexual perversions, etc., and shows them the whys and hows of the apparently surprising behaviours of their children. Of course he does not consider his task to be finished

by merely pointing out the causes of beahviour disorders but he gives definite and elaborate instructions regarding the means and methods of remedying them. Every parent will be benefited by reading the book. An elaborate knowledge of psychoanalysis is not required on the part of the parent to understand the contents of the book and follow the instructions of the author, but for the physician who proceeds to treat the emotional disorders of children a thorough grounding in psychoanalysis is an absolute necessity. The reviewer fully endorses the view that no other line of approach helps us better to understand the neuroses and psychoses of children than psychoanalysis. Everyone who has to deal with children, parents, teachers, physicians, social workers, will do well to familiarise themselves with the contents of the book before they undertake the most important task of their life, the most responsible of all their social duties, *viz.*, the bringing up of children in a healthy and proper way.

S. C. MITRA

MADRAS FINANCES—SIR WILLIAM MEYER ENDOWMENT LECTURES (1947-48): *Lecturer Dr. B. V. Narayanswami Naidu. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 5.*

Sir William Meyer was, we think, Finance Member in Lord Chelmsford's Executive Council during the first World War. He has not done anything special to be remembered by Indians. He was a Madras Civilian and his admirers there raised a fund which they placed in the hands of their University. This was the genesis of the Meyer Lectures.

Dr. Naidu has not cared to tell this story. Every lecturer should describe the qualities that lead to University Foundations and Commemoration addresses, annual or otherwise. This defect apart, the 1947-48 Meyer Lecturer has indicated for us the ruling features of the economic situation that have been confusing our national leaders since they took over from the British. These are well-known. But less known to the Indian public are the economico-social aspects of Madras life.

In pp. 30, 34, 36, 37, 40, 43 and 46 specially readers will find these. In Chapter III, pp. 49-60, the consequences of prohibition are described. Whether or not this reform has come to stay, one cannot say. But, Madras, as the pioneer, will learn by mistakes from which other provinces may profit. Since the lectures were delivered, things have worsened in this State. But the truth of Dr. Naidu's thesis holds good.

S. D.

FRENCH

L'INDE : HIER—AUJOURD'HUI—DEMAIN (India : Yesterday—Today—Tomorrow): *By Alexandra David-Neel. Librarie Plon. Printed in France. 1951. Pp. 311. Price 495 francs.*

Madame Alexandra David-Neel, a leading French Buddhist, well known for her books on Tibetan Buddhism, first came to India many years ago, fresh from her study of Sanskrit literature in Paris. She has visited India many times since and has actually lived there for several long periods, engaged on "the study of the profound aspects of the religious mentality of Indians." That has led her "to move almost exclusively in this world of mystics and pseudomystics, which extends from the very erudite pandits, interpreters of the Vedas to the haughtily agnostic sannyasins and the ecstatic sadhus."

Her book on India, while not a mere travel book, although much of the material is concerned with her experience of her travel in India, is a book intended less for the enlightenment of the professional orientalist than for the edification of the sophisticated lay reader. It sets out, in a series of word pictures, various aspects of the religious life of India. It gives a simplified although a learned account of the significance of certain esoteric ritual ceremonies. Western readers will be grateful to her for her personal evaluation of the tradition sustaining the ideal of sannyas and also of the personalities of the many gurus—Aurobindo Ghose and others, sadhus and sannyasins—Ramashram and others, with whom she has discoursed. Implicit in her description of the actual religious climate of to-day is her sincere desire to measure the influence of the moral power of the gurus and sannyasins on the political and social life of the India that belongs to the future.

Undoubtedly, the special interest of the book to her French readers will be in her detailed account of the various ceremonies at which she had been present. She is never content to rely on the accounts of others—she insists on seeing things for herself and if possible experiencing the very traditions for herself. She contrived to get herself invited to a kirtan celebrated according to the most orthodox of Chaitanyist traditions, to the representation of the entire Ramayana which used to be given at Benares every few years, to a display by "devadasis," to ashrams, to maths and to temples all over India. And all with the eyes of a disciplined and urbane mind which can distinguish the sublime from the ridiculous, the faith-evoking from the bizarre and describe them with a detachment which can make the readers feel the mystery and the magic of a profound religious experience and at the same time persuade them to take a kindly view of the eccentricities and make-believes which are the frequent sideshows of all ancient religions.

Her Indian readers will find the reactions of a European Buddhist to the orthodox Hindu ceremonies most interesting. Some of her adventures in connection with them are extraordinary even from the Indian point of view: some aged and learned Brahmins suggested Madame David-Neel that in order to show that she was truly engaged in the "mukti marga," she should emulate a yogini and practise total nudity. The authoress has made a detailed study of Shaktism and her comments on it are penetrating. Incidentally, she refers to the interesting conjecture that it may have been imported into India from Central Asia. Not satisfied with merely studying the texts of the different Tantras, which in itself is no mean achievement for a Westerner, she has assiduously gleaned information from the many initates she has come across. She has herself been present at the consummation of some of the rites. On one occasion she accompanied a disciple and his wife to a celebration of the "pancha tattva" as the "pujya shakti" of her friend. On another occasion her spirit of adventure led her to witness, unknown to the participants, a celebration of the "pancha tattva" rite which included a sacrifice and the "fifth element" in its material reality.

Her book is admittedly mainly concerned with religious life but her long sojourns in a religious milieu have caused her to over-remphasize the threat to secularism from some of the faiths expounded to her. For instance, she quotes a devotee of "Kali-Durga" in the South of India as saying, "We sacrifice goats to the Mother, she would prefer men but we cannot give them to her. The English forbid it," and goes on to express the fear, in her excessive and innocent simplicity, that it might become possible under the new political regime for such

individuals in remote parts to translate such wishes into acts. Again, she fears that there exists in the minds of certain people a feeling of morbid sentimentality for the rites of sati and comments, "The English who had enacted laws punishing ritual murders have left . . . . Has one reason to be perfectly reassureed for the future?"

The last two chapters of the book deal with post-war India. While her first-hand accounts of the famine, rioting and disorders are vivid and at times shrewd, her fellow countrymen will certainly receive a distorted view of some of the events, as her physical proximity to the incidents which she describes and her prejudices throw many of her contemporary comments out of perspective. In a book professedly devoted to the study of the religious face of India, the wisdom of projecting her views on extra-religious matters for the examination of which she does not appear to have any special competence or capacity is questionable—"Numerous are those who foresee the establishment of a communist regime in India, in a future more or less near. . . And as many of those who think in this way do not feel inclined to live under a communist regime, they contemplate ways of emigrating," is a statement regrettably facile and no less prone to cause mischief.

Deeply immersed in spiritual matters and insulated from the grim realities of economic struggle, she sees the future of India in terms of a possible religious reaction and gives herself hostage to gloominess. On this question as to what extent secularism will survive in India, one can at best only speculate, but rationalism is not divisible and once tasted appetites for it seem to grow. As Professor Arnold Toynbee (Reith Lectures, 1952) has said: "In our own day in India, President Ataturk's great Hindu contemporary, the Mahatma Gandhi, did realise that, in cultural intercourse, one thing insidiously leads to another. Gandhi saw that a myriad threads of cotton—grown in India, perhaps, but spun in Lanchashire and woven there into clothes for India's people—were threatening to entangle India with the western world in gossamer meshes that might soon be as hard to break as if they had been steel fetters". . . "When they had become used to spending their working time doing western jobs, they would take to spending their leisure on western amusements—movies, talkies, grey-hound racing, and the rest—till they would find themselves growing western souls and forgetting how to be Hindus."

The book is dedicated to the memory of Swami Bashkarananda.

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT

SHRI TUKARAMA CHARITAM: *By Pandit Kshama Rao. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay 1. Pp. 43 + 60. Price Rs. 5.*

A classical work, indeed, in every respect—in spirit, for it is elevating as can be the life of a saint like Tukarama of Maharashtra, in subject as can be the heroism of an aspirant after the Supreme Reality; in style which is marked by the beauty of economy and the economy of beauty. In ten cantos (together with an English translation by the eminent author herself) we have a vivid portrait of the devotee of the god Vithal as well as a simple presentation of his principal teachings. The Pandit has added one more laurel to the chaplet of laurels already won by her as an illustrious Sanskrit scholar.

G. M.

BENGALI

RABINDSA SANGITER DHARA: *By Subha Guha Thakurta. Dakshinee Prakasan Bibhag, 132, Rash Bihari Avenue, Calcutta 29. Price Rs. 5.*

Some of the books, recently published, on Rabindranath's songs are more or less in the nature of personal records or appreciations of their sweetness and variety. The present work attempts to be comprehensive and analytical. The author has indicated the basic character of Tagore songs, classified them in chronological order, marked out the three periods in their course of development and mentioned the influences that have worked on them. We would have liked this otherwise nice volume to be free from misprints. To include various Indian tunes and even Bengali folk-tunes in the chapter on "Bideshi Sur" (foreign tunes) is, in our opinion, highly inappropriate.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

KAVI-KATHA (About the Poet): *By Sudhir Chandra Kar. Published by Suprakashan, 3, Circus Range, Calcutta 19. Pp. 203. Price Rs. 3-3.*

This book of reminiscences of Rabindranath Tagore by Sudhir Kumar Kar has been widely praised in the Bengali-language press. The author starts with a particular day about 25 years back when he was appointed as a worker in the Santiniketan Library. Six months later he was asked by the poet to be one of his personal secretaries, to have the hang of the work from Shree Amiya Chakravarti. Thus a relation was established that enbled the author to observe the poet's habits, and think over their significance in the new age that was in the making before our eyes. This intimacy is the source of the many books that the author has written on Rabindranath, the most well-known of which is *Rabindra of the People* (*Janaganer Rabindranath*).

Today Rabindranath's Birthday Anniversary is celebrated all over the world. The author has done a little research work into the birth of this celebration. Though the Santiniketan inmates began to celebrate the occasion on the completion of his 49th Birthday, the poet had been always conscious of the significance of that particular day. In proof of this he quotes in pp. 165-66 of the book his prayer on the day in 1306 (1306 B.S.). The title is—A Birthday Song.

The author concludes with the assertion that the poet never acknowledged the truth of death, of its power over human life which changes but is eternal.

S. C. DEB

HINDI

PRITHIVI PUTRA: *By Vasudevasharan Aagawal. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi Pp. 237. Price Rs. 3.*

A saga of the delight, diversity and divinity of the earth, which is not a mere illusory appearance but instead, a veritable school for acquiring self-knowledge, self-expression and self-realization. The various essays contained in the book and written with the writer's proverbial profundity, combined with felicity, are a kind of an illuminating and elaborate commentary on the text in the *Atharva Veda*: "The earth is my mother and I am her son." They are, therefore, a passionate plea to the son to know the Mother first-hand: her flora and fauna, her folk-literature and folk-legend,—those undistorted mirrors of the people's visions, wisdom and ways of living, loving, laughing and working. For, thus known, the earth becomes indeed, the next-of-kin to heaven. The author has

written a great book to help us, Hamlets as we are with cloudland as our usual habitat, mentally, come down to the solid bedrock of our existence, the earth, and revelling intelligently in her glory proclaim to the world, "Behold the Mother!"

PANCHADASHI : *Compiled by Yashpal Jain. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi Pp. 128. Price Re. 1-8.*

A collection of fifteen essays from the pen of eminent essayists, led off by Gandhiji and Vinobaji, each personally impersonal and pleasingly effective, on a variety of subjects: Truth and non-violence; Life in the village; Hospitality; Aspect of happiness; Renunciation and charity, etc. Besides the selection,—a happy one, indeed—there is an introductory chapter by Yogi Hari and at the end, the contributor's "Who's Who" by Vishnu Prabhakar, both useful aids.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SITAHARAN : *By Chandrashankar Pranshankar Shukla. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. April, 1950. Price Re. 1.*

The author, a disciple of Kakasaheb Kalelkar, has spared no pains to present a picture of Sita made captive in a new setting. The volume is designed to help school students realize the greatness of the episode in the Ramayana. The prices are small and forcible, and the select notes on words that occur in the text will help the young learners a good deal. In the excellent Introduction written by Mahadev Desai, we are told that the author has taken liberally from various sources—the Sanskrit Kavyas not excepted. The result is a blend, particularly suited for children for whom it has been meant.

P. R. SEN

SAMYAVAD : LOKSHAWVAD : *By the Rev. Dr. W. Graham Mullijan, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., of Bhavnagar Para. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 64 : 57. Price four annas each.*

These are two lectures, 17th and 18th on Communism and Democracy, of a series of lectures on the Philosophy of Religion (*Dharma*) planned by the Rev. Doctor. Both the subjects, which are the interesting topics of the day, all over the world, including India, are discussed from every point of view, and the discussion brought up-to-date from olden times. The language is easy enough considering that the matters are technical and above the head of the ordinary reader.

GANDHI BAPUNO PAVADO : *By Kavi A. F. Khabardar, Bombay. Printed by the Associated Advertisers and Printers, Bombay. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 85. Price Re. 1-4.*

Pavados are historic songs, in the nature of epic poems, narrating the adventures of warriors and great men. In three parts and 149 stanzas, Poet Khabardar has epitomised the activities of Gandhiji, in his characteristic style, and paid his heartfelt tribute to one whom he knew from 1915 onwards and helped with his poetic genius.

K. M. J.

New and Enlarged Edition ! *Just Out !!*

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

A choice collection from the eight volumes of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA which gives us a glimpse, at least partially, of the strength and sublimity of the great Swami's teachings which have deeply influenced the minds of people all over the world.

A companion volume to the TEACHINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA—Excellent for presentation purposes.

Pages 272 Price Rs. 3

TEACHINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA

A collection of about one thousand teachings of the Great Master.

Pocket Size Price Rs. 5

SUBSCRIBE TO ***PRABUDDHA BHARATA*** (ENGLISH MONTHLY)

Founded by Swami Vivekananda in 1896—Now in its 58th Year

Annual Subscription : India, Burma and Ceylon Rs. 5

For a detailed catalogue please write to :

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

INDIAN PERIODICALS

WHY LINGUISTIC PROVINCES ?

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S. (London)

The Danger of Balkanisation of India

The cry is being raised with increasing volume that India should be cut up into homogeneous self-sufficient administrative units, each using one language only and gathering all the children of that speech into one State. It would not be the work of statesmanship to dismiss this claim with a blunt refusal as a doctrinaire's dream or to ignore it with contempt as a vulgar electioneering trick. It is all that, but something else, something more ominous, too. Farsighted thinkers cannot help feeling that this attempt at Balkanisation is the greatest danger that now threatens a country which geography and history, war and culture, alike have moulded into one, overcoming its continental vastness. We must ponder on the pros and cons of this movement, and analyse the feelings that lie at its bottom and the effect of its success on the defence and economic growth, education and administration, power generation and irrigation, of the nation as a whole, before we yield to it.

The polar difference between Hinduism and Islam in theology did not, in actual administration, divide India into two mutually exclusive nations in the past, in spite of Jinnah's misapplicaton of the term *nation*. Hindus and Muslims have been only two *sects*, and have lived and worked together under the same political structure so long as the sovereign was wise or indulgent and guarded himself from intolerance at the dictation of fanatical mullahs. No provincial separation was dreamt of during the six centuries of Muslim rule, but rather integration and expansion. The British followed the same wise policy during the first century of their rule (1800-1900), and it was only the "sedition of 1905" that drove them in despair to try the *divide et impera* plan. Such integration of India was possible, because the Centre was strong and acted as the common, if autocratic, father of all the provinces, the system of administration was uniform all over India, and only one official language was used, it being under Muslim rule Persian, the easiest of Asiatic languages, and in British times English, the simplest of European tongues.

Moreover, the State in the past undertook only a few functions and left all other spheres of human activity to the public, with full local option in all non-essential matters. Society was stationary; do as your ancestors did, was the rule. But the modern Government is dynamic. The State today is all-pervasive: its agants have multiplied a hundredfold in number and penetrate to every branch of human activity—work, travel, food, the rearing and even the begetting of children. Hence, the threat of provincial separation to national solidarity is infinitely greater today, unless the unifying influence of the Centre is made paramount. This fact has dictated the complete change in the working of the American Constitution from sacred State rights to Federal paramountcy. The same trend is bound to assert itself here, if India is to survive in the modern world.

The Forces Leading to Separatism

The better minds that support language as the sole bond of union in a State, are moved by a feeling that is quite understandable. They honestly believe that though forming a majority in their own sub-area (say, the Andhra districts of Madras) they cannot rise to the full height of their growth under a government conducted predominantly by the speakers of another togue (Tamil), who are naturally ignorant of their peculiar needs and usually devoted to the interests of their own political supporters in Tamilnad. Such too are the feelings of the Kannad-speaking majority in the Belgaum and Dharwar districts of the composite Bombay State. They see their only relief in snapping their political tie with Madras (or Bombay), annexing the adjacent Andhra (or Kannad) speaking districts of neighbouring States, and thus forming a new viable State of their own. Megalomania then seizes the politicians carving up India ; there must be a greater Kannad stretching from Karwar across the Peninsula and embracing Mysore, the Kannad-speaking two districts of Hyderabad and the large Kanarese area of the present-day Madras Presidency. Similarly, Greater Maharashtra, shorn of Gujrat and Kanara, must swallow up Berar as a compensation. Greater this and Greater that, but not a thought for Great *India*.

What lends a solid basis to this feeling is (I must admit) the short-sighted and contemptuous (rather than dishonest) attitude of the ruling party in a multilanguage State towards the minority leaders and their ignoring of the special needs of the sub-area.

Again, there is no denying that a one-language State where it is practicable has some advantages. It makes

education and administrative work cheaper and somewhat more efficient by cutting out the cost and time necessary for the translation and duplicaion of documents and the bifurcation of teaching of the same subject in the same school.

* * * *

One of the topmost I.C.S. officers in Bombay told me that he did his district administration work quite well in Marathi (his mother-tongue) and Gujrati (which he had learnt). But when he was transferred to Kanara, his ignorance of that language at first led him into a pitfall. In a small matter he rejected a widow's petition written in Kannad, because his Kannad-translator had been bribed by the opposite party and misrepresented the facts of the case to him. Happily the pertinacious widow waylaid him one afternoon and gave him a glimpse of her case by means of the few Kannad words that he then understood. Next day Mr. B. on coming to his court had the widow's petition translated by another clerk who did his work honestly; justice was done to the widow, and the dishonest translator fell down on his knees when threatened with sacking.

Again, when a world crisis comes, "the country in danger" is proclaimed, a *levee en masse* is ordered, and the tocsin is sounded, the masses must be harangued in the tongue they understand; that work cannot be done by the classical Urdu of the Lucknow drawing-rooms nor by the classical Hindi which Seth Govind Das used to dictate to the House of the People.

But let me come down to the brass tacks. The impelling power behind this Balkanisation cry is not that of saints and philosophers, but the caucus of professional politicians, who find in this type of agitation the best engine for their own elevation to the rank of State rulers, distributors of control in essential commodities, givers of offices, and, more than any material gain, the gratification of their pride as leaders of a nation, and heads of public bodies like Universities, High Courts, permanent Commissions, and learned societies, all created at their doors. It is a most tempting bait, and success is very easy; they have only to eject their rivals (who are "foreigners", because their language differs from the language of the majority in that sub-area), and then they themselves will automatically fill those vacant thrones.

Homogeneous Linguistic Provinces Impossible

Apart from the good or harm done by forming separate States on the basis of language alone, do any clear-cut homogeneous areas speaking only one language exist anywhere in India, when we rise above the taluqa or village level? In every province where one language is spoken by a majority of its people, other speeches are the mother-tongues of minorities who are often not negligible either in number or in cultural contribution. And none of our capitals—and even very large industrial centres like Kanpur or Jamshedpur has a majority of their inhabitants speaking the language of the rustic population of the State.

In Calcutta-Howrah less than 50 p.c. of the people speak Bengali, in Bombay City barely 50 p.c. speak Marathi; so also, in Madras City Tamil is not the overwhelming people's speech. It is the inexorable facts of geography and economics that make Calcutta the capital of Bengal, Bombay of Maharashtra, and Madras of Tamil-land, and not the imaginary linguistic preponderance of the Bengali, Marathi and Tamil languages among their citizens.

And even within the same province is the so-called provincial language really one? A glaring example to the contrary is supplied by Lucknow, the capital of the U.P., and the home of the spectre of all-conquering Hindi linguistic domination. Even the cultured classes of the U.P. do not speak the same dialect. On 2nd April, 1941, I attended the All-India Women's Conference in Bombay, by invitation, and kept my philological ear cocked on the rostrum. First came Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, who spoke impeccable Urdu, which would have made the members of the Anjuman-i-Tarakki-i Hindusthani of Lucknow stroke their beards and cry out in ecstasy, "Wah! Wah! The days of Wajid Ali Shah have come back. This is the very language which the Houris use when they welcome the Faithful to the mansions that Allah has built for them in heaven." Then came Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, who spoke in Hindi, and in one sentence I caught her using three words which I challenge the long-bearded ones of Lucknow to explain without the help of a Sanskrit dictionary; it was—*unnati ka marg jo hamara dhyeh hai.*

If language is the means of correctly communicating thought and persuading the reason of the listener, then the language spoken by Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru was not the same as that used by Mrs. V. L. Pandit. Can we hide this difference by putting one label *Hindustani* on both? Therefore, in strict logic you must cut the U.P. up into two sectors, speaking the two languages in their respective areas.

Lucknow City has a population of just under five lakhs, but only 53 p.c. of its people speak Hindi, while as many as 27 p.c. speak Urdu. How can "Hindi *written in the Nagari script*" be called the language of these 27 p.c. of Lucknow citizens? Would it be wise for the State Government to "liquidate" these Urdu-speakers who are numerically more than half the strength of the Hindi in the Nagari script group and culturally much more?

Strictly mono-lingual States (which would inevitably crush out all minority tongues within their area) being undesirable, nay impossible, the division of India into self-contained political units must be based on economic, geographical and military considerations only.

Proposed Remedies

This new danger of Balkanisation is advancing against India with growing momentum. Where lies the remedy? A force can be counteracted only by a stronger

opposite forces. Therefore, we must strengthen the unifying forces already existing among us. The factors that make for India's unity are (1) The Central Government and its powers of inspection and correction in the provinces, (2) The all-India services, (3) The Defence Forces, and (4) All-India educational institutions (school, college, and university) functioning in every province and conducting their work through the medium of the English language, with some vernacular freely chosen as a subsidiary. For this last I have long pleaded in public, though as a lonely voice crying in the wilderness.

Above all, Public Schools of the British type and Defence Academies are the best agencies for grinding down provincial angularities and so-called special cultures, differences of speech and meals, and fostering a standardized Indian citizenship and social *camaraderie*. Catch them young and throw them together under the same band of teachers, in the same mess, playfield and examination hall. Compel every province to send there its quota of the most promising lads, and when they have passed out with the all-India stamp on their life and thought, post them to any province at random, and thus stifle the mad cry of *mulkis* and *ghair-mulkis, domiciled* and *non-domiciled*. All higher administrative offices will be opened to only such as have passed through this unifying process.

* * * *

For the immediate present, relief needs to be afforded by a constitutional provision that every linguistic minority is entitled to keep its own schools in a linguistically "foreign" province, and that province is bound to pay it subsidy *per capita* of pupils at the same rate that it does to the schools of the dominant language, out of the public taxation. Let only a working knowledge of the majority language be insisted upon in the case of all candidates for public employment, but let not language dominate the entire public service examination curriculum.

All the measures suggested above are acts of State and therefore external. Our ultimate hope must lie in a cleansing of hearts; the leaders will have to rise above the American spirit of "the spoils to the victor" after a general election and think in terms of all-India; and the common people must realise the basic oneness of India which Hinduism has always taught and which we are fast forgetting in the present machine age.

On a distant view, I see some reasons for not despairing. There can be no denying the fact that since Independence—I prefer to say, after World War No. 2,—the iron chains of caste are being loosened, while the vastly increased inter-provinical travel forced on us by our new Plans and Projects, economic development and cultural world conferences, has been silently acting as a steamroller, flattening the old provincial angularities in dress, food and manners. Time is on the side of the reformers, but will the Western World give us the time?

—*Hindusthan Standard.*

George Santayana

A Great Modern Thinker

Nirmal Kumar Lahiri writes in *Careers and Courses*:

In the death of George Santayana this century has lost one of its wisest men. A great thinker of modern times, Santayana, breathed his last on Friday, September 26, 1952 at Rome. He was aged 88 at the time of his death. Born at Madrid (Spain) in 1863, he left for America at the age of nine. He spent his boyhood days in America and graduated from the Harvard University in 1886. He served Harvard from 1889 to 1912, first as an instructor and later as a professor of philosophy.

The striking things about this modern philosopher are his life-long bachelorhood and his mastery over the English language: a language which has received the gift of all his works.

Santayana left Harvard in 1912 and moved about in the continent and Great Britain. He was the Hyde lecturer at the Sorbanne University in Paris during 1905-6 and was the Spencer lecturer at Oxford in 1923.

In 1894 he published *Sonnets and other Poems*. This was followed by smaller volumes of poetry. His poetry has the warmth and emotionalism of poets from the sunny land of bullfighters but they have also a sense of Latin restraint about them.

First Essay in Philosophy

But today he is famous as a thinker and as a philosopher and his first essay in philosophy *The Sense of Beauty* was published in 1896. *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* appeared five years later. He worked for the next seven years and produced his five volumes of *The Life of Reason*. These five volumes, *Reason in Common Sense, Reason in Society, Reason in Religion, Reason in Art, and Reason in Science*, made Santayana a prominent figure in the period just before the first World War and its conclusion four years after. These works are not purely philosophical nor absolutely literary; they stand on the borderline between philosophy and literature.

Between 1918-1935, George Santayana almost faded out of limelight but came back to the focus in 1935 with his only novel *The Last Puritan* which is believed to be autobiographical in character. The volume is important as material for understanding his philosophy. It is a literary maserpiece in so far as its style is concerned, which is at its best here.

Latest Philosophical Work

His latest work on philosophy which is an outstanding book of its kind is entitled *Dominations and Powers*. An ambitious work of 500 pages, the book deals with politics. In it the readers are likely to find the "glimpses of tragedy and comedy played unawares by Governments." The author has described the contents of the book as "a continual intuitive reduction of political maxims and institutions to the intimate spiritual fruits that they are capable of bearing."

With an unusual sense of penetration the author analyses in its pages the maladies of the modern age and the problems that confront the United Nations. There is here a thought-provoking discussion on the future of Russia and the Western democracies.

But it is far more than a tract for the times; it presents a comprehensive and ordered philosophy of living.

In the course of the book Santayana observes:

"My own sympathies go out to harmony in strength, no matter how short-lived. The triumph of life lies in achieving perfection of form; and the richer and more complex the organism that attains this perfection, the more glorious its perfection will be and the more

le. I would gladly extirpate all the crawling
s in the world in order to obtain anything lovely.
ie love of beauty, in an intelligent creature, runs
nto concern about the causes and the enemies of
autiful, into a study therefore, of these Domina-
ind Powers in whose train the beautiful lives and
ose decline it withers. Moreover, as the beautiful
nark of vital perfection and live everywhere its
ents, there is potential beauty of all sorts latent
world; and the Power or Domination that roots
ie beauty plants another; so that through the
of the historian there often comes a smile and the
g of one civilization is the morning of another."
. the words the "evening of one civilization is the
ig of another," is revealed the crux of Santayana's
phy. He is not a defeatist in thought: nor is he
imist. He has hope for humanity; he believes a
world can come. The world for him can still
out on the threshold of a new civilization.
his attitude reveals in him the sympathy of a poet
ie tolerance of a sage.

SOBER OUTLOOK ON LIFE

ntayana had a sober and sensible outlook on life.
ared to that notable thinker Bertrand Russell he
s to have been less influenced by the impact of
and its tremendous progress in our century.
bout religion Santayana had a very tolerant out-
He said: "Religion is human experience inter-
by human imagination.. Matters of religion should
be matters of controversy.... We seek rather to
the piety and understand the poetry embodied in
fables."
ntayana can be called (almost) Aristotelian in his
its. He says: "In Aristotle the conception of
nature is perfectly sound. Everything ideal has
ural basis, and everything natural an ideal fulfil-
His (Aristotle's) ethics, when thoroughly digest-
d weighed, will seem perfectly final."

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION LIKELY

is believed that the world has not seen the last
s great philosopher's book. The two titles (i)
s and Places and (ii) *The Middle Span* in the
The Background of Life, will be followed by
humous publication.
he last of the series, it it comes, will deal with
contemporary personalities about whom Santayana
t want to express his opinion during his lifetime
ence the book could not come out then.
he scant respect paid to this great modern philoso-
by outstanding dailies in this country reveals the
that we know of our great thinkers.
ntayana will remain an outstanding thinker of our
In him knowledge was great, scholarship profound.
what strikes one most is the fact that a study of
ork, makes the reader feel that he was born a
man: that wisdom was his heritage, a part of his
eing.

Jain Studies in Italy

The following article is published in the *in Cultural Digest*:

ain research in Europe did not start at the very
of Indology. Colebrooke and Wilson, to whom
ve the first hints at the religion of the Jains, gave
newhat inaccurate accounts.
he wealth of religious and profane Jain culture
ts antiquity were revealed only later. The wide
nce Buddhism enjoyed from the very beginning
one Jainism somehow, and led a few to think of
terms of a minor Buddhist sect, a delusion into

The crest which adorns the literature, forms and advertisements of the Hindusthan since its inception has a story behind it. The map of India in outline serves as the background of the romantic history of India's struggle for economic freedom—and the Hindusthan can rightly claim that it has done all the pioneering works with an outlook of national service. It is Indian in ideal and outlook, Indian in capital and management—it is cent per cent Indian in everything so to speak. The crest therefore serves to throw into relief the patriotic endeavour of the great men of the time to bring economic salvation to our nationals.

The crest is the symbol of economic security, protection and peace and is significantly tied up with the life of our nationals.

HINDUSTHAN

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LTD.,

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,

4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA-13

which they were drawn the more easily, as both religions began in the same historical age and looked to some extent alike.

That the only essential feature in common was the doctrine of the world whirl (samsara) and a spiritual law to save man from it, a law that did not stop at the stage of philosophic system, but spread among the masses as a religion, also became apparent later. But as research delved deeper, it became clear why Buddhism had become a universal religion, whilst Jainism remained exclusively India's. As such, Jainism grew side by side with this country's art and thought, and struck deep roots in her culture, thus embodying more and more of her literature, architecture and sculpture. Only the number of its followers stayed at the same level.

The great German Indologic school of the later half of the last century grappled decisively with Jainism as a subject by itself. In 1865, Weber published his *Ueber Ein Fragment Der Bhagavati*, in the Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy, starting a long series of studies and works in which shared Jacobi, Leumann, Klatt and R. G. Bhandarkar. Weber himself ordered, studied and catalogued the Ms. of the Berlin Library, while Jacobi finally established the different origin of Buddhism and Jainism, having recognized in Mahavira a distinct historic personality not to be mixed up with Sakyamuni.

An Italian pupil of Weber's in Berlin, Pulle, was the trailblazer of Jainism in Italy. He published a three-volume work entitled *The Jaina Literature and Some Sources of the European Short Story*, where he showed, on the wake of Weber's, Jacobi's, Klatt's and Leumann's researches, how much European tales and short stories, especially in the middle ages, are indebted to the Indian sources as embodied in the Jain canonical texts. Such a work, presented in the way of a general research, roused the interest of Italian scholars in Jainism. Pulle himself continued to work in that line and edited Haribhadra's *Suddarsanasamuccaya* with Gunaratna's tika. These works were published in the *Giornale Della Societa' Asiatica Italiana*. Till the end of the century Pulle carried on his work on the Jain short stories and produced essays on Rajasekhara's *Antarakathasangraha*, where he detected an ancestor of the Italian medieval popular figure of Bertoldo, a good-natured peasant jester, full of pep and horse sense. His book *I Novellieri Giainici* (1879-98) shed further light on the Indian short story and its relationship to the medieval fund of European tales. Pulle also reviewed and listed such Jain manuscripts as are contained in the Italian libraries.

The same subject attracted a much younger Italian Indologist: Emilio Pavolini, who wrote essays on the Prakrit tales of Mandiya, Agaladatta and Muladeva. The fine story of Bambhadatta, belonging to the commentaries of Santyacarya and Devendra-suri to the Uttara i hayana found in Pavolini, its first European translator according to the text as edited by Jacobi in his *Ausgewachlte Erzaehlungen in Maharashtri*. But Pavolini also made known in Italy another genre the Jains had treated: sayings and sentences. He translated part of the Gathakosa of Municandra-suri, the Prasnottaratnamala and the Sinduraprakara.

E. L. di Stefano, a pupil of Pavolini, also studied at Florence, whose library is rich in Jain Ms., and translated the story of Madirvati. A. Ballini, who died recently in Rome, a disciple of Pulle and Jacobi, followed in the footsteps of the masters. His first essay was on the queer story of Agadatta, according to the two Ms. versions given by Jacobi. Shortly afterwards he translated the first fifty tales of the Pancasatiprabodhasambandha. Between 1904 and 1910 he published an Ita translation of Siddharsi's Upamitibhavaprapancaka an allegoric tale of human life with the stress on salvation, the first known Indian allegoric work after Buddhist dramas discovered in Turfan, which were wri one thousand years earlier.

To Ballini we further owe an accurate study of life of Siddharsi and of Vasupujya, the twe Tirthankara, an edition of the Vasupujyacaritra, an translation of the Vivagasuyam, the eleventh chapte the canonical literature on the fruit of human acti His two final works were treatises on Jainism in gen its features and contributions to the developmen Indian culture.

L. Suali, also a pupil of Jacobi and still a profe at the Pavia University, translated Haribhac *Lokatattvanirnaya*, and soon afterwards *Suddarsanasamuccaya* with Gunaratna's commentary, further edited *Dharmabindu* and *Yogabindu*.

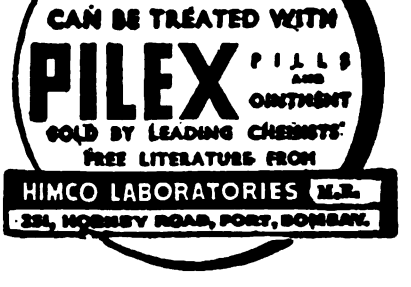
Still alive and active is *F. Belloni-Filippi*, ano disciple of Jacobi. He gave a critical editon of pa the *Yogasastravrtti*. Hemachandra's didactic poem, a complete edition of *Munipaticaritrasaroddhara*. He wrote a general treatise on Jainism (Pisa, 1941) an article on the modern svetambara Dharmavijayasuri, was born in 1868 and headed the Tapagaccha, calling the reader's attention on the present activ of the Jains.

In 1939, a young Italian Indologist died n unknown in Bikaner. He had a short and bril career but, as he was in the employ of the Br Government, most of the Ms. he was engaged in at time of his death could not be traced any more. had learned Marathi and was busy with an edition translation of Tukaram's works.

His name was L. P. Tessitori. Before dying had had time to publish the first Italian translatio the Prakrit anthology *Bhavavairagyasataka*, and a cri edition of Dharmadasa's *Uvaesamala*. Further news Tessitori, from which the whole purport of the w he left unfinished on his deathbed will perhaps be tr back one day, are contained in the archives of Italian Consulate in Calcutta.

From this short and necessarily incomplete acc it is already apparent how many among the outstan Italian Indologists of the former generation felt attra by the old traditions of Jainism, the most Indian an Indian religions. Their example has contributed to r the Jain community known and appreciated in Italy, will not be lost among the younger scholars of country.

(*Adapted from an article by Mario Vallauri East and West, III, 2*)



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

olga-Don : A Great Economic Factor

Academician A. Winter writes in the *News and s from the Soviet Union*, September, 1952 :

new splendid triumph has crowned the peaceful uctive labour of the Soviet people : the Volga-Don ing Canal has opened for service. Together with Tsimlyanskaya Hydro-Electric Station and the rigation works have begun operation.

his first of the great construction projects of Com- m has been named after the founder of the Soviet V. I. Lenin, under whose direct guidance the ning was laid for extensive hydrotechnical develop- in young Soviet Russia.

. I. Lenin time and again pointed out that the unist society can be built up only on a powerful al-technical basis, by the wide electrification of ry, agriculture and the transport services of the State. "Communism," V. I. Lenin taught, "is power plus electrification of the whole country."

As early as 1918 the Soviet Government, on V. I. s initiative, passed a decision to contact the Volga ie Don by a canal. But at that time the country nable to effect this plan : the Civil War and foreign ention interfered. They compelled temporarily to the work that was begun on the construction of the Don Canal.

ow the Volga-Don Shipping Canal has been built instruction and under the guidance of J. V. Stalin, illiant disciple and continuer of Lenin's cause.

nd the canal has been built in record short time This has become possible thanks to the fact that nstruction job was amply provided with first class building equipment and highly qualified specialists. -seven per cent of all earthwork and more than cent of all construction work on this project was l out with the aid of machinery.

he V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Shipping Canal is a ô example of multipurpose utilization of natural es, which is a distinctive feature of Soviet hydro- al development. The canal is a great factor for rther growth of the productive forces of the USSR solves a number of essential economic problems.

rst of all, the Volga-Don Shipping Canal makes e further rapid development of river transportation USSR. The canal has linked into an integrated ort system some 43,000 inland waterways and has possible through navigation between five seas of the an part of the USSR, namely, between the Northern and Baltic seas with the Southern Caspian, Azov lack seas. Moscow and all the big cities along olga, the Don and on the Caspian coast have now e ports of five seas.

ie opening of the Volga-Don Shipping Canal for r passenger and cargo traffic has made for a large ie of cargo tran-portation over the major waterways Soviet Union and at the same time has raised economic importance. Already hundreds of is of cargo ships have sailed the new waterway and tens of thousands of passengers have travelled over it.

From the Volga rafts of timber now go through the canal to the Don and further south, chemical fertilizers from the far-away Northern Kola Peninsula, ore from the Urals, oil from Baku, machines from the central districts of the country, automobiles and tractors from the Trans-Volga cities.

In the opposite direction through the canal to the Volga flow barges with grain of the new abundant harvest grown in the Kuban, with Donbas coal and metal, with rolled steel and pipes from the southern metallurgical plants. In four years, cargo transportation through the V. I. Lenin Canal will increase more than five times compared with this year, while the transportation of such essential cargo as Donbas coal and Ural timber will increase tenfold.

The Volga-Don Shipping Canal is substantially cheapening cargo transportation both from the Volga to the Don and in the opposite direction. Thus, for example, the prime operating cost of carrying oil over the Volga-Don waterway will come down to nearly a

fourth, and timber to a sixth as compared with the cost of railway transportation. Besides this, the canal takes a considerable load off the railways that connect the Donbas with the Trans-Volga area and releases some 400,000 railway wagons for other needs of the national economy of the USSR.

Simultaneously with solving the problem of navigation, the Volga-Don Shipping Canal and the Tsimlyan-skaya hydropower system connected with it, solve a great national-economic problem of irrigating and providing a water supply to the arid districts of Rostov and Stalingrad regions. The first 100,000 hectares of arid land in Rostov Region have been irrigated already this year. The water have come to the fields over the new irrigation network extending for more than a hundred kilometres into the steppes. And the neighbouring collective farms have raised bumper harvests of grain and industrial crops never before heard of in these parts.

Construction of the irrigation and water-supply network of the Volga-Don Canal is planned to be accomplished in a space of five years. Such a high tempo is unknown in all history of irrigation development. By 1956, an area of 2,750,000 hectares of arid steppeland will be irrigated and provided a water supply. As a result of this the Soviet Union will every year produce additionally more than 1,250,000 tons of wheat, 100,000 tons of rice, over 600,000 tons of potatoes and vegetables, and so on. On the irrigated land of Rostov and Stalingrad regions cotton and other valuable agricultural crops will be raised.

An abundance of fodder will make for a tremendous upsurge in animal husbandry and for improvement of the livestock herd. The cattle herd, for example, will increase by about 200,000 head. And production of milk, butter and meat will step up at least three to four times.

Thus the Volga-Don Canal makes for an abundance of consumer goods and a further upswing in the well-being of the Soviet people.

The Volga-Don project includes the Tsimlyan-skaya Hydro-Electric Station with a capacity of 160,000 kilowatts. Joined with the general electric network, the power of this station now goes to Donbas mines and to the industrial centres of the south; powers the mechanisms of the locks, and pumping plants of the canal and the pumping installations of the irrigation system.

The cheap power produced by the Tsimlyanskaya Hydro-Electric Station is beginning to be widely used for the all-round electrification of collective farms, state farms, and machine and tractor stations in the area of the canal. Greatly lightening labour and making it more productive, it will increase the incomes of the collective farmers and raise still higher their standard of living.

In Rostov and Stalingrad regions, construction is already being launched of new enterprises for processing agricultural products which will be produced abundantly on the irrigated and watered land. There will greatly develop such branches as textile manufacturing, vegetable oil extraction, sugar refining, wine making, starch and yeast production, leather and dye manufacturing, and other industries. A distinguishing feature of these enterprises will be a high level of electrification by electricity and automatization of production processes. Thus the Volga-Don Shipping Canal raises Soviet economy to a new and still higher stage.

OUTSTANDING
PRODUCTS OF
HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM : Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course ; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM : General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7 8 for one week ; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks ; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM : Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION : An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, iching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL : A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON : The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injuriour, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50 ; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL : The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA : For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM : The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. NOVUM SIMPLEX. Rs. 12-8. NOVUM FORTE. Rs. 50; NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. CIVITA : MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100 ; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25 ; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO : An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit : Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE : We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61 263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. 'Phone : 242972

The Unique Economic System of Yugoslavia

Vlajko Begovic, Director, Yugoslav Planning ›ard, writes in *Tanyug*, October 1952 :

"A pauper sitting on a chair of gold" is an unhappy rase more than one country could use to describe itself. goslavs— ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-cloth despite ir nation's wealth of human and material resources— ıld use it well. But they would add that the pauper bestirring himself after centuries of oppression, and ıt the phrase will someday be nothing but a bad mory.

The natural riches of this country are endless. Its 700 square miles of farmland yield all the luxurious ops of Central Europe and the Mediterranean plus a ciety of subtropical plants. Forests of high-grade od stretch over another 33,649 square miles. The rents of water that pour down Yugoslavia's mountains ıld generate some 40 billion KWH of electric power. own coal deposits reach 11 billion tons, while Slovenia, oatia, and Montenegro contain rich oil fields; in these aluable resources the country already rates as one of richest in the world—and prospectors are regularly ealing new wealth. There are impressive deposits of uxite, copper, lead, zinc, antimony, pyrites, mercury, lybdenum, chrome, manganese, wolfram, asbestos, ignesite, gypsum, rock salt, and iron.

During the country's struggle against the Nazis, pitalists and landlords who had collaborated with them re expropriated in each newly liberated area. By the d of the war in 1945 over half (54 per cent) of lustry was under state control. Twenty-seven per nt was foreign property under provisional state nagement and the remaining 19 per cent was still private hands.

Agrarian reform was carried out at the same time. rge holdings were distributed among the peasants ıo had farmed them—particularly among those taking rt in the People's Liberation Struggle. But the land is not nationalized. It remained under private or cooperative ownership. Nor were the artisan shops tionalized.

The mantle of nationalization thus covered a rge portion of Yugoslavia's economy when the nation be- n the herculean task of repairing its war-devastated onomy.

These conditions led naturally to a state, or administrative, type of socialism. The state took direction not only of the nationalized sector of the economy but of the nation's entire economic life, a centralistic system of socialism which was embodied in the State Economic Plan (SEP). The SEP determined the flow of country's resources into production and investment. It did more than this. It not only planned what goods and services were to be produced, but directed the individual phases of production—raw materials, fuels, manpower, etc., and controlled the distribution of the final product. This detailed direction of the economy was made necessary by the collapse of a free market based on supply and demand. With little or no supply and an enormous demand profiteers would have reaped benefits at the country's expense without rigid controls.

This first phase of socialism in Yugoslavia was considerably influenced by practices in the Soviet Union, where direct state management of the economy has long been a fact. And before long the negative aspects of this system started bobbing up. The bureaucratic machine became top-heavy; economic enterprises lost their freedom of action and thus their efficiency and profitability; state control of distribution led to poor quality and limited range of products.

This unfortunate phase lasted until 1951. By that year the country had regained its economic legs. Rehabilitation and capital construction were progressing well, supply had climbed toward demand to permit a reasonable stable market, and the country's balance of payments problem had been solved with American and other foreign aid. The country was able to move on to a new and happier phase in which the state gave up many of its controls and granted ever-wider freedom to citizens in their economic activities.

Workers' councils were established, and the enterprises they managed were given independence. In addition to this fairly comprehensive freedom for individual enterprises, the state abolished its over-all direction and distribution plans.

Economic decentralization was paralleled in the political realm. Jurisdiction passed from Federal to Republican departments and from there to Districts. This process led in 1952 to a strengthening of local self-government in districts, cities, and communes. These are now responsible, through their elected representatives and committees for the conduct of social, economic, and cultural activities in their paricular areas.

Such are the basic contours of Yugoslavia's new economic and social system. Representing a profound detente in the administrative power of the state, it is a movement to bring socialist democracy to the country's

DIABETOX TABLETS
for
DIABETES
At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
HIMALAYA DRUG Co.
251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY. M.B.

Just Out ! *Just Out !!*
BENOY KUMAR SARKAR
(A Study)
By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE
With Foreword by
Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.P.
Price Rs. 2/- :: Board-bound Rs. 2-8
DAS GUPTA & CO.,
54/3, College Street, Calcutta
and
other leading book-sellers

economic life through workers' councils and local self-government; to grant freedom and initiative to enterprises while co-ordinating their general activities; and to establish a free market for producers and increased competition among them. Under the new system, workers and other personnel in the economy are under hire to no one; they produce a net profit for distribution amongst themselves.

(Abridged from *United Nations World*)

Centenary of a World Faith

Bahai Jubilee Celebrations Committee publishes on the occasion of Bahai Centenary the following life-sketch of Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Bahai World Faith:

If we study the story of the "ascent of man" as recorded in the pages of history it becomes evident that the leading factor in human progress is the advent from time to time of men who pass beyond the accepted ideas of their day and become the discoverers of truths hitherto unknown among mankind. In no domain is the supreme importance of the great man and his message more clearly evident than in that of religion. All down the ages, whenever the spiritual life of men has become degenrated and their morals corrupt, the most wonderful and mysterious of the men, the prophet, makes his appearance. Every few centuries a great divine revealer—a Krishna, a Zoroaster, a Moses, a Jesus, a Muhammad, appears in the East, like a spiritual Sun to illumine the darkened minds of men and awaken their dormant souls. And in this chain of spiritual evolution the Baha'i Faith declares the advent of the 'Educator of mankind' in the noblest self of Baha'u'llah, the last link in this chain of spiritual revelations.

Born about the middle of nineteenth century in Persia, the Baha'i Faith (or the mission of Baha'u'llah) was assailed from its very infancy by the forces of religious fanaticism. The Middle East at the turn of the 19th Century was unlike Europe, in a state of decay. Ignorance, and slothfulness re-inforced by fanaticism, were the order of the day. And Persia (now called Iran) had reached the extreme depth of this condition. It was in this social and political set-up that an enlightened youth of Shiraz, the Bab, the fore-runner of Baha'i Faith came forward in 1844 and challenged the old order. His mission was twofold: as an independent manifestation of God and to herald one greater than himself (Baha'u'llah), who was to inaugurate a new and unprecedented era in the religious history of mankind.

The dusk before the dawn of this era witnessed the blackest of deeds that the human history has so far recorded. The Bab became the centre of

M.B.SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS

167, C.I.C.I BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA. (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNC.)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

DHOLE & CO.
RINGWORM & ECZEMA OINTMENT
BARNAGORE·CALCUTTA

n fiercer even than that which raged around the · of Christianity. In the course of a few years llowed, tales of magnificient heroism illumined lood-stained pages of Babi history. Twenty ıd men, women and children were martyred in stances of horrible cruelty, at the hands of the ıx church functionaries and their followers. ab himself, after continuous persecutions for ırs, was sent to the scaffold and subjected to at the hands of a firing squad in 1850. The silenced with death, the orthodoxy hoped to the urge of the devotees, but the Babis came l to suffer and be persecuted in thousands, ıt whom were many crusaders of the calibre and ion of the Qurat-ul-Ayan, Tahirih the world Joan of the East, the poetess-heroine of Qazvin. d in these stormy and tumultuous times came l Baha'u'llah—the Glory of God, the World or, whose advent, Bab had proclaimed with His ɔd. Baha'u'llah, born in Tihran, on November 7, hailed from one of the noblest and wealthiest s of the period. His father was a minister of As a child Baha'u'llah revealed extraordinary of attraction. His amazing knowledge, ed with an innate modesty, proved irresistible people around him. He was known for his e acumen in discussing religious subjects even at der age of fourteen. Kind and generous, he had erent love for nature and spent most of his time gardens and shrubberies.

ı the death of his father when he was only of refused an offer to succeed him in the court of ah as a dignatory. To this the then Prime r remarked: "He has some higher aim in I cannot understand him, but I am convinced : is destined for some lofty career. His thoughts t like ours. Let him alone."

ter sime two years of Bab's martyrdom a fresh of terrible persecutions broke out. A youthful r attempted to assassinate the Shah. Though ssful, he was not only put to death, but this ed by the officials as a pretence for a new re of the Babis. Baha'u'llah was at that time countryside. He decided to ride to the camp h, to vindicate His position, in, that this stray t was not the result of any Babi conspiracy, but ts arrested on the way and kept in prison in . What followed in the next four months can tter judged from Baha'u'llah's own account: ere in no wise connected with that evil deed ır innocence was indisputably established by the ls. Nevertheless, they apprehended . . . . and ted us on foot and in chains, with bare head re feet to the dungeon of Tihran . . . . The n was wrapped in thick darkness, and our fellow rs numbered nearly a hundred and fifty souls: assassins and highway robbers . . . . No pen can depict . . . . nor any tongue describe its loathsome smell."

After four months of imprisonment in this underground cell, through the intervention of the Russian minister, Baha'u'llah though released, was exiled to Baghdad. His properties were confiscated. With Baha'u'llah's banishment, the Persian Government of the time thought that the roots of the Babi movement were torn up. Little did those mortals know, that He was carrying with him into exile, on an agonizing journey, over snow-covered mountains, the roots of a noble cause, soaked in the blood of the martyrs, which were destined to blossom into Persia's greatest contribution to mankind.

Shortly after arriving in Baghdad, Baha'u'llah withdrew himself into the wilderness of Sulamaniyyah, where for two years, as Christ in the wilderness, Buddha in the forests of India, as Muhammad in the fiery hills of Arabia. He became prepard for his momentous task ahead.

Baha'u'llah returned from the solitude, more

USEFUL BOOKS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

Salesmanship, Sales Management & Advertising

M. Satyanarayana, M.A. (Com.), B.L.

In 27 chapters covering 500 pages the author deals with every topic on Salesmanship and Advertising and lucidly explains with numerous examples the difficult art of selling and advertising goods.

It is a first book of its kind written by Indian Author keeping in view Indian conditions. The art of Advertising is illustrated and technical details are explained with Numerous specimens of advertisement of Indian Manufacturers. Rs. 7-8

Company Secretarial Practice

M. Satyanarayana, M.A. (Com.), B.L.

A standard text-book on law and practice of Joint Stock companies and their day to day management with all forms of notices, Resolutions, Minutes, etc.

An ideal reference book for Students, Secretaries, Company Promoters, Directors, Share-holders, etc. Rs. 10-8

Indian Cotton Textile Industry

During Twentieth Century

By N. H. Thakkar

VORA & CO. PUBLISHERS LTD.,

3, Round Building, BOMBAY 2

AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!
Estd-1893
RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., PO. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

effulgent with hope and astoundingly prolific in his writings. His return to Baghdad in 1856 kindled new hopes in the hearts of Babi crusaders. His fame spread far across the land. Not only the Muhammadans, but also Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians came to hear him speak.

To Israel He was neither more nor less than the incarnation of the "Everlasting Father," the "Lord of Hosts" come down "with ten thou-ands of saints"; to Christendom Christ returned "in the glory of the Father," to Shi'ah Islam the return of the Imam Husayn; to Sunni Islam the descent of the "Spirit of God" (Jesus Christ); to the Zoroastrians the promised Shah-Bahram; to the Hindus the reincarnation of Krishna; to the Buddhists the fifth Buddha.

From Constantinople after four months he was moved to Adrianople where he remained in exile for four and a half years. Here He publicly proclaimed His mission.

In 1868, Baha'u'llah and his companions were sent into a yet more distant exile, this time to the 'Holy Land'—to Akka, at the foot of Mount Carmel. Here under dreadful conditions, they lived for some years.

After forty years of exile and imprisonment, this noblest of crusaders for the cause of truth, passed away in the Holy Land on May 28, 1892, with the spirit "I have Oh my Lord, offered up that which thou hath given me, that thy servants may be quickened and all that dwell on earth be united."

The Divine Mission founded by Baha'u'llah was henceforward carried on by His son Abdu'l-Baha. Gentle and wise, humourous and just, a healer to every sick one, a comforter to the oppressed, he was known to one and all as the Master. Ever since his childhood he was the closest companion of his father and shared all his sorrows and sufferings. He remained a prisoner until 1908, when the old regime in Turkey was overthrown and all religious and political prisoners throughout the empire were liberated. After that, he continued to make his home in Palestine but set out to take the message of the new day to the western world undertaking extensive tours in Egypt, Europe and America explaining and exemplifying the spirit of the new Message. Abdu'l-Baha passed away in 1921, after a luminous career of service to humanity.

And now in the wake of the sacred legacy left by Him, the first Guardian of the Faith, Shoghi Effendi, His eldest grandson is the pivot of Baha'i activities both in the East and the West with his headquarters at Haifa (Israel). And today in over 126 countries of the world, the members of the Baha'i World Community drawn from various nations, religions and races are proclaiming the message of unity and hope. They are becoming effectively instrumental in creating a heaven of liberty, where search for truth is free and orthodoxy and pejudice forbidden. Through their peaceful and spiritual approach, and a vision of a brighter and better world these crusaders following in the footsteps of their prophet are marching forward to make through love and persuasion, the earth as one country a single unit bereft of injustices and inequalities. *That is their mission, that is their hope and that is their vision, which these pioneers of peace are struggling for.*

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M R.A.S. (London) of International fame. President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e. g., in **England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore**, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. **This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist,** Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11. **Bagalamukhi Kavacha** :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalled Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special with life-long effects Rs. 184-4. **Mohini Kavacha** : Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8 Special Rs. 31-2. Super-special with extraordinary life-long & speedy effects Rs. 387-14. **Nrisingha Kavacha** :— It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. **Saraswati Kavacha** :— Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English

"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Samrat : Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

H. O. :—105 (M.), Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta. 5. Consultation Hours 8:30– 10-30 A.M. **Phone: B. B. 3685**

Branch Office:—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065.

LONDON OFFICE:—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS**, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

Printed and published by Niharan Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Jawaharlal Nehru performing the opening ceremony of Aijal-Lungleh Road, during his recent visit to Aijal (Lushai Hills)

Jawaharlal Nehru inspecting a Guard of Honour provided by a contingent of Burmese troops on the occasion of his recent arrival at Singkaling (Burma)

Cover (*pata*) paintings in the oldest MS. of the *Buddha-Charita* found in Nepal (*circa* 9th century)

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Courtesy : Sivanarayana Sen

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1953

LXXXXIII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 557

NOTES

an Affairs

h the dismissal of the Nazimuddin Cabinet, irs of Pakistan have entered into its third since the inception of that State. This change come with the suddenness of a *coup d'etat,* on ld outside Pakistan. There might have been d planning and intrigue inside Pakistan but ld outside had no inkling.

re have been floods of contradictory news and ts to explain the why and wherefore of this r *coup* it is without doubt—but somehow the und seems to be as yet full of gaps. Urdu both in Pakistan and in India, have gone in for ion on a large scale, in regard to the conse- as also regarding the probable causative factors. ne of Feroze Khan Noon has appeared in some s being the main factor in the overthrow of imuddin regime. There are other comments rely show that Nazimuddin was a victim of ances, the main villain of the piece being hman.

atever be the factors that led to this drastic he issues as yet seem to be uncertain. Khwaja ddin is an old hand, although in the past all iguing was done for him by his brother ddin, now the Governor of the N.-W.F.P. the same it is clear that he does not intend to d resign himself to fate. He has a considerable g—and a good few enemies—in East Pakistan, ot altogether without any strength in the West, with Feroze Khan Noon back in Punjab Quayum in the new Cabinet, the odds there y against him.

lish papers in Pakistan are taking an ultra-cautious line in commenting on the change. That seems to indicate some apprehension on their part that the last scene has not yet been rung down on this act.

Thus the weekly *Star* of Lahore says in its April 25 issue :

The dramatic dismissal of the Nazimuddin cabinet and the formation of a new Government at the Centre headed by ex-ambassador Mohammad Ali has not only been generally welcomed in West Pakistan but even produced a 'good riddance' feeling in the people. If this feeling of relief is born of a mere passion for *change,* it is hardly an attitude worthy of a politically-mature people. Thanks to the mounting discontent and frustration in the country, the desire for a top-level change was as natural as patriotic, but downright condemnation of the old regime bracketed with undue eulogy of the new team cannot possibly establish our ability for a rational approach.

Sanity demands that we welcome the new Government not because it is sure to work a miracle and change overnight the face of the country but because a new set of men from amongst us have been given a chance to serve the people. Since they have been given a chance, let us try them and not pronouce judgements before they had the time and opportunity to prove their worth. Let us remember that fonder the hopes we pin in the new Government, more the disillusionment, if they fail to deliver the goods. All that we can say is that Mr. Mohammad Ali's men enjoy a uniquely propitious position, as their predecessors had created a general public impression of a government which had tragically allowed itself to be ruled by a policy of drift, indecision and procrastination.

The paper further quotes its representatvies in Karachi as saying that the political observers there

advise a policy of Wait and See, regarding the new Cabinet's actions and results. Further he says :

"Then there were others who reacted to the news. Some said that it was "best news" they could have heard. Others predicted the solution of the problems in no time. But I was surprised to read the statements of those who had till yesterday basked under the sunshine of Khwaja Sahib's favours. Such people vie with each other in issuing statements against the outgoing Ministry."

Reactions in the political spheres of India are diverse and not quite crystallized in effect as yet. Many are frankly skeptical about the ultimate results, so far as Indo-Pak relations are concerned. Others are a bit hopeful, though even there, most are somewhat cautious in the light of the slippery behaviour of Pakistan authorities during the last five years.

The new Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, starts with a clear slate. We in India have had very little to do with him and as such he carries some credit though based on negative considerations. Indian papers have given the following interview with him considerable prominence :

Pakistan's new Prime Minister Mohammed Ali has sent a communication to Prime Minister Nehru in an effort to place India and Pakistan on a friendly basis.

Discussing home and foreign affairs with *Press Trust of India's* correspondent at Karachi he said he looked upon Mr. Nehru as "an elder brother."

He expressed "optimism" that Indo-Pakistan differences could and would "be settled peacefully and amicably."

He said after settling the Indo-Pakistan disputes and creating a "favourable atmosphere" India and Pakistan could very well sit down and discuss the possibilities of "joint defence of India and Pakistan."

The Premier said that left to himself he would like to meet Mr. Nehru "the soonest" but then he said he thought the meeting might not take place until after the Queen's Coronation in June.

He said during the month of May he was wanting to tour the country and then to go to London. He said while in London he would "naturally" take the opportunity of meeting Mr. Nehru.

Then the correspondent said to him : "Sir, may I ask a rather touchy question ? Political observers and diplomats in their discussion with me say it is all very good that you sincerely and whole-heartedly desire peaceful settlement of all Indo-Pakistan disputes but then they argue 'are your officials, your politicians and your press unanimous and determined in the desire for a peaceful settlement with India.' To put it in other words, do you think you will be able to carry your country with you in your determination to make friends with India ?"

With the clarity and firmness so characteristic of *him, he replied, "I think that all right-thinking people should and will support me. In any case I am determined* to go ahead to make friends with India." He then said that he would like to appeal to the press both in Pakistan and India to help create a "favourable atmosphere" for placing India and Pakistan on a friendly basis.

Pandit Nehru's comments as yet are surprisingly brief, as the following news report indicates :

Shri Nehru referred to Pakistan and said economic situation in that country at the present moment was rather disturbing. He made clear that he would like Pakistan to progress and be strong. He said what happened in the neighbour State had always interest in this country. Everything was in favour of Pakistan especially the food position after the partition. They had plenty of food and could even export. But today they were deficient in food and thousands of people in that country were hungry. "Here we must remember that what good we were able to do to our people in the past five years was because we stood steadfastly to our principles," he said.

Of course there is a quaint section in our Congress circles that always is on the look-out to build hopes on empty prospects. Such frothy speculations as appended below, are quite common in those quarters, which unfortunately are too near Pandit Nehru :

Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Indian Parliament, writes in the Lahore weekly *Star*, that India and Pakistan were spending more and more amounts on defence because of mutual suspicion. But even that vast expenditure would not be of much use against a big power. "By having a joint defence," the writer says, "we will be able to make a huge cut in the Rs. 380 crores which India and Pakistan are spending over defence. This huge amount can be best utilised by spending it on development projects. Something more beneficial can be achieved by bringing the Middle East and South-East Asian countries closer to each other, thus to materialise the idea of third Area."

Certain foreign powers were bent upon fomenting ill-will and discord between the two countries. The U.S.A., according to Dr. Mahmud, was interested in the formation of South-East Asian bloc which "may play a second fiddle to her dictates. On the other hand, there is the bait of MEDO. It is the last mentioned trap that the American strategists are trying to drag Pakistan into." And, unfortunately, a certain section in Pakistan was also favouring the MEDO. Warning of the dangers of Pakistan's joining the MEDO, Dr. Mahmud writes that "it will not merely be a serious loss to Pakistan's own interest but also to the Arab-Asian unity as such."

The military-*cum*-political strategists of the Big Powers were trying to divide the strategic areas into several blocs. That would weaken India's position which was a great danger to the larger Asian-African interests. "If," he asks, "India and Pakistan are likely to be made pawns in the hands of big powers then why

not evolve a system of common defence between India and Pakistan ?"

From the statement of the Pakistan Governor-General it seems that the main causative factors for the necessity of a change were two-fold. Scarcity and want, prevailing all over Pakistan was the major one. Foods crops had failed to a disastrous extent, and cash crops fetched not even the bare costs, so low were the prices and so poor the demand. The second factor was the widespread anti-Ahmediya riots, which resulted in thousands being killed, women being raped and abducted in thousands and loot and arson being rife, Lahore, Karachi, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi being the worst affected areas. Law and order having collapsed, martial law had to be proclaimed over large areas. It is said that over 10,000 persons have been killed, either in the riots or in the quelling thereof by the military, over 25,000 persons are under arrest, and that more than 5,000 women have been abducted or are as yet untraced.

The second factor, though far more disastrous in its consequences, seems to be an outcome of the first. In the past, whenever there has been widespread want or discontent, cries of *jehad* were raised by those in power, with dire consequences on the poor helpless Hindus in Pakistan. Now that the Hindu has been almost completely driven out of West Pakistan, new victims have to be found. The Ahmediyas are well-to-do, well-placed and a mere half-million in number, so the bolt has fallen on them !

It would be interesting to learn the reactions of Zafrulla Khan. ardent champion of Pakistan, at home and abroad, both before and after the Partition.

Linguistic States

On April 28, at Belgaum, Prime Minister Nehru assured the people that a Commission on Linguistic States would be appointed. The Commission would be set up after the formation of the Andhra State and watching its progress for "some time, say, one year," Shri Nehru told a public meeting of 50,000 people.

Shri Nehru said the Commission's terms of reference would include feasibility of redistributing States on a linguistic basis and also whether any such State after the formation could be an economic and viable unit.

Shri Nehru added that the Commission would examine all aspects of redistribution on linguistic basis and recommend measures for the creation of these States. Then the Government would draft a bill on the basis of the Commission's report and call for public views on the bill, he said.

The Prime Minister expressed himself as not against the formation of linguistic States but said : "I am certainly against anybody trying to draw a line between two peoples living together." For instance, he said, "In Belgaum itself two languages were being spoken and when a State was formed on the basis of one language they could not drive out the people speaking the other language." In forming linguistic States, "we should not become instrumental in encouraging communal and parochial elements," he said.

Quite so, we agree on that point. But when there is an attempt to suppress, by foul methods, the use and the learning of a mother-tongue as in the Bengali districts of Bihar, or an attempt to deprive a very large section of a State's population of their rights because of a difference in the spoken language, as in Assam and a few other places, then what should be the remedy ?

Shri Nehru said : "We have to give careful thought to social and economic considerations in the formation of linguistic States. We should not force any division anywhere in the country any more. We have to see what harm has been done to the country by the partition to create Pakistan. When are we going to learn lessons from history ? Are we still immature ? Are we going to ask for our weakening by demanding divisions in the country ?"

The Prime Minister impressed on the people the need for attaining national consciousness and said : "Are you going to gloat over achieving linguistic States and call yourself Karnataki or Andhra or Maharashtrian or are you going to be known as an Indian ? We have a sacred duty to uphold the prestige of the country and every citizen must be Indian first and last. Ours is a vast country and people on the Assam-Burma border or in Ladakh in Kashmir may look different and speak languages which might sound strange to others of the country but it is a fact they are all Indians."

Here again the exhortation is misdirected. If the majority in each State could be persuaded to act along fair and democratic lines, if their office-holders could distinguish between right and wrong in the treatment of linguistic minorities, if the Centre could force fair-play on depraved, power-blinded Ministers, then there would be no demand for linguistic States. In the absence of all that, such statements are mere incongruities.

Prime Minister Nehru made pointed reference to the demand for Karnataka State and said there was never any doubt about the case for a separate Karnataka State. Karnataka was to be formed by merging Kannada districts in Bombay and Madras States with Mysore. But Mysore did not accept this suggestion and he would never force Mysore to accept something by force. "Where there is no agreement we will not force the issue and we shall leave the matter to the people. When all the concerned agree the Government would certainly consider how best it can be brought about."

He deprecated a tendency to coerce the Government by fasts and hunger-strikes. "If you think Andhra

State is being formed because of Potti Sriramulu's fast you are in a fool's paradise. The Government had decided to form an Andhra State long before his fast. If anything, his fast has slowed the process of the formation of the new State."

"Government's policies are not going to be influenced by fasts," he gave a warning and added, "If we are to decide our policies this way then the whole Government will be a farce. We are not going to be deterred by fasts and such things. I am not going to take notice or take seriously any fast undertaken demanding the creation of Karnataka," he declared.

Prime Minister Nehru said: "We cannot be childish. Remember our policies are mature. We cannot be coerced.

"If you are in the middle of an ocean we could separate you and form a State but you are in the midst of other people who are Indians. We are doing a disservice to the nation by propagating linguistic differences."

The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee meeting at Garbeta (Midnapore) on April 25, last urged the Indian National Congress and the Central Government to take early steps for extending the boundaries of West Bengal.

The Committee felt that the urgency for extension of the State boundaries rested not only on the linguistic principle but on other factors including the administrative necessity of connecting the three separate parts of West Bengal and refugee rehabilitation.

Earlier, addressing the meeting, Mr. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary, of the AICC, expressed the hope that the Central Government would appoint a high-power commission to study the question of redistribution of States dispassionately and present a plan to solve the question and not to shelve it.

He said it was wrong to think that the Congress desired to shelve the question of reorganization of States on the basis of language and other considerations. The Congress always stood for a more rational reconstruction of States in which language would natually play an important part. But there were some other considerations which had also to be taken into account —economic and financial factors which could not be neglected.

The reorganization had to take place as early as possible, but there was "need for caution, restraint and broad thinking."

Mr. Agarwal said they should regard this question primarily as a matter of convenience for education and administration.

It was not proper to talk very much about State cultures. They should be proud of "our one, rich Indian culture." If they could emphasize on this underlying national unity, there was no reason to think that the reorganization of States on a linguistic basis would lead to any disintegration.

The Language Controversy

We append below the translation of Vinobaji's speeches in Manbhum as given in the *Harijan* of April 25:

"Here in the Manbhum District the Hindi-speaking and the Bengali-speaking people have come together. The districts which lie on the border between two provinces and where therefore two or more languages meet one another are, I should say, extremely lucky, because the people have there the God-given opportunity of loving one another and learning not only their own language but also those of others. But quite unfortunately we find that these different languages are not given each its due place and honour. One of them is sought to be imposed on the people in suppression of others or all are equally neglected and English allowed to retain its present position.

"Bengali is a rich language and its modern literature perhaps stands superior to that of any other language of India. On the other side Hindi is not a rich language but our accepted notional language. If the people of the area, where these two languages have met together, demand that the students there should be taught through their own language, their demand cannot be dismissed as wrong. It is quite just and proper. There are at present two or three different views in the field on this question. There is a powerful section of public opinion which holds that the provincial language should be the medium of instruction at every stage of education. Others say that while the provincial language should be the medium of instruction in the primary stage, it would be well thereafter to take recourse to Hindi for every purpose for which at present we use English. Hindi is the national language and if students all over India receive their education through it, all will be equally benefited. There are still others who hold that Engish should not be rejected because it is a very rich and widely spoken language. It should be continued as it is at least in the university stage. Thus there are three different views with regard to this question and each can count among its advocates, distinguished scholars and servants of the country.

"In my opinion while the entire education from beginning to end should be imparted through the provincial language, the national language should be compulsorily taught to all along with the former. When professors from one university are invited to another for delivering a course of lectures, they may, if they do not know the provincial language, speak in the national language. I have expressed this view quite frequently and I feel tthat this will be better able to serve our best interests than any other. This will not retard Hindi in any way. On the contrary I hope it will promote its growth and expansion. Most of these provincial languages are quite developed languages and they are possessed of the genius to develop new words and expressions. If they are adopted as the media of

instruction each in its own area and the national language is taught compulsorily alongside of them, the latter will not suffer any diminution of importance and both will enrich each other. Unfortunately there is disagreement among the scholars about it and it has led to some bitterness. I would like, however, that in this part where fortunately Hindi comes into contact with Bengali which is a rich language, the latter should be compulsorily taught along with the former. I would go even further and say that those whose mother-tongue is Hindi should be compulsorily taught some other Indian language. While formerly I merely wished that this should be so, I now insist on it. I am sure that if those who are concerned with this question will look at it from the educaional point of view, they will agree about the desirability."

—(From the speech at Purulia, 18-3-53)

"The workers in the Manbhum District are greatly agitated over the language policy of the State Government. Whatever the justification for their feeling of discontent, Bengali and Hindi are mere words after all and one cannot eat words. People are hungry for bread and hunger will not be satisfied with Hindi or Bengali. The question can be solved only through love and kindness. Given the atmosphere of love for one another, all our problems can be met quite easily. I therefore urge those of you who love the poor to apply themselves to the Bhoodan work. When the house of our neighbour is on fire, we do not insist on the solution of our minor differences as a condition precedent to offering our services for extinguishing that fire. There are certain things which cannot brook a moment's delay and must be immediately attended to. The solution of the land-problem belongs to this class of things. Bengali and Hindi are both old languages. Who can suppress the Bengali of Rabindranath and Chaitanya and Ramakrishna? There is therefore no question of any danger to the Bengali language. But the land-problem is more important and must be given precedence over others."

—(From the speech at Garhjaipur, 20-3-53)

It is too much to expect power-drunk people to listen to the words of *rishis*. But it would solve a world of problems if Congress authorities could absorb a little of the wisdom in the above quoted words and enforce attention to them from the aforementioned political inebriates.

Governmental Inertia

We have received a circular letter over the signature of Shrimati Mira Behn. The letter speaks for itself. We append below the part relating to her negotiations with the India Government. The letter is addressed to the readers of the *Bapu Raj Patrika* which has not appeared for some time. We agree with Shrimatiji in regard to the necessity of the operation. But where is the surgeon that can trim into shape the swelled heads of the unworthy?

"Please forgive me for my long silence, and let me explain as briefly as possible what has happened during this time in which no issue of *Bapu Raj Patrika* has appeared.

"Last October, as horses were not available, I had to abandon my idea of riding though the villages. Fate had quite a different programme in store for me. I accepted it as it unfolded itself before me day by day. At the end of October I went to Wardha and Sevagram to meet all friends there and discuss the situation. It so happened that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came there also for some conferences, and I took the opportunity of putting before him my idea of a Project on Bapuji's lines for the interior of the Himalayas, of which I have spoken two or three times in *Bapu Raj Patrika*. As a result of our talk I proceeded to Delhi for further discussions on the subject. These discussions took some two or three weeks, and, since they were satisfactory, I went to Lucknow to see Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. From there I had to go all the way to Bombay to satisfy a long-standing call from Shri Devadas Gandhi for assistance in a documentary film of Bapuji. This was to have taken only five days, but the work actually lasted three weeks. From there I took the train straight back to Delhi to continue the negotiations for the Project. At last we reached the stage where I could return with the papers to Lucknow. I thought everything would now go through in a few days but the work took over a month. Inspite of my sad experiences in the past of the Government machinery, I had miscalculated its capacity for delays and complications! At last, weary and worn, I reached Tehri at the end of February for a final conference with the district officials. Again difficulties arose. It was beyond me to go back to Lucknow, so others took letters for me, and I came on up to Gopal Ashram. Another three weeks passed, and now, as I sit here in the Ashram writing this letter (March 22nd), still one more conference is taking place in Tehri, which the Deputy Commissioner Planning has come from Lucknow to attend, but to which I am physically unable to go, as I am quite worn out and cannot manage a two days' trek on foot and horseback down burning hot valleys, and then another two days' trek up again. However, I have full confidence that all will be well in the end, because the Government really wants the Project to materialize. The Government itself becomes paralysed by its own machinery, just as a man becomes helpless if his body does not function properly. Surely it is time to perform a major operation on the diseased body of the Government!"

Peace Prospects Brighten Up

The political firmament seems to be distinctly less overcast, as a result of the moves and statements of the successors to Stalin in the Kremlin. It is as yet

too early to determine whether it is but a temporary lull or whether the world is entering into a new phase in international relations.

Statements made by world figures on the situation as it develops day-by-day is as yet very cautious as no one wishes to be caught out in a state of undue optimism. But even so the tone of such declarations is clearly more hopeful than it has been in a matter of years. President Eisenhower has put forward some tests in a speech which, if fulfilled, will give the lull a more permanent aspect. Pandit Nehru speaking at Belgaum on April 25 also sounded hopeful.

Mr. Churchill said that the Kremlin's recent moves had brought "sudden hopes" to the whole world. He said : "New men have obtained a supreme power in Moscow and their words and gestures and to some extent their actions seem to be token of a change of mood."

Mr. Bevan, the Left-wing British Labour leader, said in Paris on April 11 that he thought the latest Russian peace moves were dictated by self-interest.

The improved situation was reflected in the almost unanimous election of Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld as the new Secretary-General of the U.N. Another indication was the general agreement in the U.N. over Burma's complaint against the K.M.T. forces operating on her territory. M. Vyshinsky, the permanent Soviet delegate at the U.N., while commenting on the unanimous vote in the Political Committee, is reported to have said that "rays of sunshine are visible through the clouds."

President Eisenhower in his first major foreign policy speech on April 16 outlined his terms for a settlement with the Soviet Union and asked the U.S.S.R. to agree to :

1. Sign the treaty with Austria freeing it from economic exploitation and military occupation.
2. Free and secret elections looking towards a free and united Germany.
3. Freedom and independence for eastern European nations.
4. An end of the flow of arms from the Soviet Union to aggressive forces in Asia and of direct and indirect Communist attacks upon the security of Korea, Malaya, and Indo-China.
5. Free elections in a Unified Korea.
6. Acceptance of United States disarmament proposals now before the United Nations.

The United States, in particular, would agree to :

(*a*) Devotion of the world savings from disarmament to a global fund for aid and reconstruction including the Communist world.

(*b*) An end of the present 'unnatural' division of Europe including expansion of the benefits of the present Western Europe community of nations to include the Eastern European nations.

The Prime Minister in a short reference to world affairs said peace had not yet "come to stay" in the

d. India had to be careful and should not swerve from her path of neutrality if her voice was to be heard in the councils of nations. "All we want is peace here and peace elsewhere. If we can do anything to establish peace, we will do our utmost."

New hopes of a settlement of the international disputes have appeared on the horizon. On March 28, Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and Peng Te-huai, Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, sent a letter to General Mark Clark, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces fighting in Korea, expressing their agreement to his proposal for the exchange of sick and wounded war prisoners. Two days later followed a statement by Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, who announced on behalf of the Chinese and North Korean Governments their acceptance of Gen. Mark Clark's proposals and declared that "it is entirely possible to achieve a reasonable solution of this problem in accordance with the provisions of Article 109 of the Geneva Convention of 1949." He also proposed the reopening of the armistice talks and the repatriation of all the prisoners insisting on repatriation and handing over the remaining prisoners to a neutral State. On March 31, Marshal Kim Il Sung supported these proposals. M. Molotov, on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, also expressed "full solidarity" with these proposals.

As a result of this it was agreed to exchange 600 United Nations prisoners for 5,800 Communists and the first convoy of 12 British and 30 American sick and wounded prisoners exchanged on April 20. The truce talks also were resumed on April 26 at which the Communists made the following suggestions :

(1) Within two months after an armistice is signed both sides repatriate those prisoners insisting on repatriation.

(2) Within one month after that both sides shall "be responsible for sending the remaining prisoners to a neutral State agreed upon through consultation by both sides."

(3) Within six months after the arrival of prisoners in the neutral State parties to which they belong shall be free to send personnel to explain matters relating to the return to their homelands, "so as to eliminate their apprehension."

(4) Within six months of arrival in the neutral State those prisoners then requesting repatriation shall be repatriated by the neutral State.

(5) After a six-month period any prisoners remaining shall have their fate decided by a political conference dealing with the entire question of peace in Korea.

(6) All expenses of persons during the stay in neutral State including travelling expenses shall be borne by the nation to which the prisoners belong.

Since then, there has been an *impasse* over the neutral country question. U. N. proposals suggest that prisoners unwilling to be repatriated be kept in Korea or their present quarters in the custody of Switzerland, a neutral State. The Communists say that they want an Asiatic neutral and further, they require that

prisoners should be transferred to that State's own terrain. This *impasse* shows some signs of solution at the time of writing.

Cambodia Must Be Given Freedom

The Indo-Chinese struggle has suddenly taken a serious turn for the French forces. The Laos area has been penetrated deeply by the Viet Minh forces and there does not seem to be much chance of stopping their advance in the future.

This situation has resulted in the release of the pent-up feelings of the nationals of Indo-China, submerged as they are under the ruthless colonialism of France. The following news is an indicator :

The Cambodian Premier Penn Nouth said in a statement to the Press at Paris on April 29 that France should grant his country the same independence that Britain had given to India and Pakistan. He said he was making this statement following instructions from his King, who wanted to clarify the declarations he had made during his recent stay in the United States.

"If France does not grant Cambodia the attributes and prerogatives of independence which the whole nation has charged the Sovereign to demand, the Cambodian people might revolt against the French authorities if difficulties arose, at the moment when Vietminh pressure might make itself felt as in Laos," the Premier said.

"If France has the wisdom to grant in time the powers we are claiming, the common defence against Communism would be strengthened and we would win the mass support of rebel nationalist anti-Communist leaders," he said.

"Our Sovereign considers that the French and American authorities as well as those of the other nations of the free world should be warned about the need for a solution to the crisis in Cambodia which, together with South Vietnam, constitutes the last bastion of resistance to Communism, which will submerge north and central Vietnam as well as Laos."

The French Minister for the Associate States, M. Jean Letourneau said today, conversations with the Cambodian Premier were still continuing. There were no problems between the two countries for which a mutually satisfactory solution could not be found, M. Letourneau said in an interview with the evening newspaper *ParisL Presse*.

Racial Discrimination in South Africa

37,000 Indian children in Natal Province of South Africa alone were refused admission to schools this year according to information received in New Delhi. This is considered to be one of the by-products of the Apartheid policy of the South African Government. African children have hardly any facilities for education. Facilities in their case exist for only about 40% of the children of school-going age.

The reason for thousands of children being without schools is stated to be the neglect of the Natal Provincial Administration—a body composed of white people—in building sufficient schools to meet the demand over the years.

In sharp contrast to this discriminatory policy, education is compulsory for European children of school-going age under 16 and European parents are liable for criminal prosecution if they neglect to send their children to school. This policy makes it obligatory on the authorities to build sufficient schools to accommodate all children but there is no such policy in regard to Indian and African children and therefore the Administration does not feel obliged to build sufficient schools to meet the demands of the Indian and African children for accommodation.

The second big factor influencing the acute shortage of schools is the fact that non-whites have no say in the expenditure policy of the State or the Province. It has always been the policy of the Union Government to discriminate in the subsidies allotted for European and non-European education. The ratio of money spent by the Union Government was for a period of over 20 years, three to one in favour of the European. The Province too has continued to follow this policy of discrimination and figures for the last few years will bear ample testimony to the fact that expenditure on European education has been between three to four times as much as on non-white education.

For a period of 25 years, when education was subsidised by the Union Government, the Province of Natal received a grant of more than £16 for each European child but only £5 each for an Indian child. This policy of spending three to four times as much on European education as on Indian education has been continued by the Provincial Administration ever since. In 1947-48, the Province spent £2,224,922 on European education and £541,148 on Indian education.

In 1950-51, the amounts were £2,916,449 on European education and £834,154 on Indian education. The result was that in 1951, there were 357 European schools including 27 Government-built schools as against only 199 Indian schools including 167 Government-built schools. Last year, the Natal Provincial Administration had voted £170,000 for European schools in the Durban city area alone.

The official records support the above statements of facts. The official year book of the South African Union published under its authority says at page 341 :

"European education is mainly public or State education, *i.e.*, it is administered and financed by the State ; private or local enterprise playing a very diminutive role, while non-European education is mainly *State-aided* education. That is, it is partly supported and controlled by mission enterprise. The relative contribution of the State, therefore, for non-European education is very small in comparison with that for European education.

"European and non-European children do not attend the same schools. While segregation is difficult in other respects, in education it is complete."

Even in regard to such facilities as medical inspection and joining of the Cadet Corps, non-Europeans are not allowed any facilities.

Kenyatta Trial Judgement

Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenyan African Union, was sentenced on April 8 to seven years' hard labour in prison for 'managing and being a member' of the Mau Mau Society. The five other African leaders charged with him were also given the same sentence for assisting in management of the society and of being members of it. Kenyatta declared that he did not accept the verdict.

Commenting on the judgement, the London *Times* wrote : "It is true that the trial took place in an inconvenient and inaccessible spot so that it imposed a considerable strain on all those taking part." Still the paper commended the manner in which the Kenya Government had brought the African leaders to the trial.

The *Manchester Guardian,* though "rather surprised" that all the convicted men received equal sentences, approved the Court's verdict. The *Daily Telegraph* wrote that the African leaders were "given a trial of scrupulous fairness."

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, General Secretary of the Kenyan African Union, commenting on the judgement, said in New Delhi on April 9 : "The inefficacy of British justice has been amply demonstrated to us right through the emergency in Kenya, the arrest of Walter Odede, a most moderate leader in Kenya and acting President of the Kenyan African Union, and the judgement in the Kenyatta trial proves our conviction that the settlers in Kenya hold the reins of Government."

Dewan Chamanlal, who together with Mr. D. N. Pritt defended the African leaders, said : "The Magistrate appears to have misconstrued the evidence depending for his verdict on solitary prosecution witnesses who have been contradicted by the very persons named by such prosecution witnesses, but never produced by the prosecution.

"A great deal of absolutely inadmissible prosecution evidence has gone on the record. The conviction is wrong. The sentence of seven years' hard labour is outrageous."

He said that an appeal would be filed against the judgement. Mr. D. N. Pritt was also proceeding to Kenya to prefer the appeal.

Colonialism dies hard, particularly in the case of ante-diluvians like Britain and France. The plain fact *is that the* British have been badly shaken at the *reaction of the Kenya Africans* who have suffered in *dumb agony decades of* expropriation and ruthless exploitation. We are not surprised at the comments in the *Times* or the *Daily Telegraph*. They have always applauded dragooning of helpless people. But the reaction of *Manchester Guardian* is rather curious.

India's Case for Water Dispute

For some time charges and counter-charges are being made over the Indo-Pakistani water dispute. Pakistan is pressing for arbitration by third parties, while India suggests that a commission composed of an equal number of representatives from each side should settle the dispute. India considers her water to be her own, and there is no rule of international law imposing any obligation on an upper riparian State for the benefit of a state lower down the river. It may be pointed out here that the USA was not prevented from building the Boulder Dam over the Colorado river because Mexico was adversely affected. Such water disputes between the upper and lower riparian states should be settled by bilateral agreements or commissions, and not by arbitration.

Notwithstanding the fact that India has unrestricted right over the Indus water, she entered into an agreement with Pakistan in 1948 by which she undertook not to reduce the supply of water to Pakistan all at a time, but progressively, so as to enable Pakistan to develop alternative sources. India claims that she has kept this agreement, but that Pakistan repudiated it in 1950. Pakistan stopped the payment of "seigniorage" charges and the capital costs of certain works which she promised to deposit with the Reserve Bank of India.

Taking the Indus basin as a whole, Pakistan has 2.2 crores of population and 4.5 crore acres of cultivable area, and India has in the Punjab (I) 2 crores of population and 4 crore acres of cultivable area. Pakistan has 1.8 crore irrigated acres and 6.6 core acre feet of irrigation water as compared with India's 50 lakh irrigated acres and only 90 lakh acre feet of irrigation water.

India in fact has not yet followed her rights under the 1948 agreement. There are only two canal systems in dispute out of a total of 31—the Central Bari Doab from the Ravi and the Dipalpur from the Sutlej. No new canal works have been built by India to use Ravi water, and the Harike and the Bhakra-Nangal works which will use the Sutlej water are not yet ready. The Harike weir and canals will be completed in 1954, and the Bhakra project in 1959. This season there has been drought in both the Punjabs and the flow of the Ravi and the Sutlej were below 45 per cent of the normal. Pakistan consequently received less water—and this is purely due to drought. India did not cut water supply to Pakistan.

Before partition, the west Punjab and Sind were better irrigated than the east Punjab. The British preferred to undertake irrigation works in west Punjab and Sind, as they were partly paid for by selling land. In the east Punjab land being mostly privately owned, the cost of irrigation works had to be paid by the Government and as such they did not undertake much

a works in this region. India's point is that an five million refugees migrated from west to ıjab after partition and they have to be rehabili- ı underdeveloped and unirrigated areas. On arian ground India requires the Indus water flow- ıugh her own territory and Pakistan is quite ed in basing her claim on grounds which re- ısupported by international law.

the six rivers in the Indus basin, India gets ıter from the Indus and from the Jhelum. The :arries more than half the total amount of water by all the six rivers put together and these two low only through the mountainous regions of · where no use of their water can be made. t present does not get anything from Chenub. ıwever hopes to use 3½ million acre feet of water by erecting a tunnel through from the to the Ravi and therefrom a link canal to the Himachal Pradesh. India will however make the water flowing to the sea, and not from ı's water. The Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej ave among them less than one-fifth of the water ndus basin and this water India expects to divert ıkistan in due course. Pakistan cannot reason- ıdge if India makes use of this one-fifth of the asin water as she will have the rest. The Harike ıuld divert 8½ million acre feet of Beas water Bhakra dam would store 1½ million acre feet :j flood waters. Some flood waters of Ravi may :e of time be diverted to the Indian Upper Bari ystem.

ler 1948 agreement Pakistan has undertaken to canal across the Punjab for the purpose of bring- er from the Indus and Jhelum over to Pakistan ıd Sutlej and this will replace the water that cut off by India. Pakistan has already dug a ıd another will be completed shortly. But instead, lding up the other canal, and necessary cross Pakistan is now engaged in using its Indus ın new barrages in upper Sind and at Dehra Khan in the Punjab. This is an attempt by n to keep its own water and at the same time India under the compulsion of international to supply her with Indian water. Pakistan is ring to have both ways to her advantage.

:ther, in recent years, there has been a consider- itch in Pakistan from wheat to cotton cultivation tton needs water for maturing when the wheat et it for sowing. The water scarcity in Pakistan :fore also due to change-over in vegetation. Sikhs partition held onsiderable land in Pakistani olonies and they were farmers of irrigated land. uslim refugees from India who have now taken lace are mostly labourers and a small number of ıre farmers and are used only to dry farming. n's case therefore for more water from the Indus s made by outside wire pullings in order just to keep India embarrassed. In this dispute Pakistan seems to be a scapegoat to behind-the-scene politics.

Taxation Enquiry

The Government of India have set up a Taxation Enquiry Commission to investigate and report on the taxation structure of the country. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows :

(1) To examine the incidence of Central, State and local taxation on the various classes of people and in different States.

(2) To examine the suitability of the present system of taxation—Central, State and local—with refrence to (a) the development programme of the country and the resources required for it, and (b) the objective of reducing inequalities of income and wealth.

(3) To examine the effects of the structure and of taxation of income on capital formation and maintenance and development of productive enterprise.

(4) To examine the use of taxation as a fiscal instrument in dealing with inflationary or deflationary situation.

(5) To make recommendations, in particular, with regard to (a) modifications required in the present system of taxation and (b) fresh avenues of taxation.

The Government have indicated that they expect from the Commission far more than a report on taxable capacity and distribution of tax burdens. The appointment of the Commssion was long overdue as in the changed political set-up a thorough investigation of our taxation structure was more than imperative. In Britain recently a committee was appointed to report on the taxation structure of that country and the committee has already submitted its report.

In recent times, three main trends in taxation of a country are discernible : (i) Central taxation has greatly increased in importance as compared with local taxation ; (ii) progressive income taxes levied on total personal income from all sources have tended to take place of the older systems of "scheduled" taxes levied at fixed rates on different types of income, which have proved wholly inadequate as instruments of a modern tax policy ; and (3) in the field of taxes on outlay, the most important development is the large-scale application, in nearly all countries, of general taxes on production and turnover, and a corresponding decrease in the relative importance of the traditional taxes on specific commodities.

In India, the basis of taxation is crucially important in securing greater social justice, and also in securing internal stability of prices and incomes. Taxation in India, as in other modern States, should be viewed from three broad purposes. Firstly, comes the need for raising State revenues for running the administration of the country. Administrative purposes include also the normal defence measures of India. Secondly, the aim of taxa-

tion as a measure of deliberate democratic instrument is to even out the distribution of income and property. There should be the realization in the Indian taxation structure that a tax should not so fall as to be a higher proportion of the poor man's income than of the rich. The third major aim of taxation should be to secure internal financial stability, that is, full employment without bringing about a steeply rising cost of living. Of course, this aspect of taxation is more ignored in India than observed. It may be pointed out here that in the United Kingdom it is only since the war that the taxation side of the budget has been deliberately directed towards securing financial stability, and that this has become the main criterion for deciding the level of total taxation, and the size of surplus or deficit at which the Chancellor should aim. It is now increasingly being realised that the size of the Government expenditure on capital and current account, and the amount of private incomes which it withdraws by taxation is bound to affect decisively the level of spending and hence the level of prices and employment.

The achievement of full employment, reduction of inequalities of wealth and income and the fight against inflation or deflation should receive the major priority. The other objects of the Commission will be to show what are the evils resulting from the unplanned development of our tax system under pressure of expediencies of different types during the last two decades and how the system can be improved so as to assist the development programmes of the country. As regards indirect taxes, no attempt has been made till now to estimate the extent of their incidence on the middle classes in the country, particularly in the urban areas. These are within the terms of reference of the Commission and their findings will be awaited with interest.

Commonwealth Development Finance

The incorporation of the "Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd." is a recent event of considerable importance. The object of the Company is to finance the development of economic resources of countries in the Commonwealth. It may be remembered that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in December last made recommendations that within the limits of the Commonwealth savings, development should be undertaken towards expanding its resources and strengthening the sterling area's balance of payments position. The formation of the Company is a sequel to that recommendation.

The Company has an authorised capital of £15 million, divided into 8.25 million "A" ordinary shares of £1 each and 6.75 million "B" ordinary shares of £1 each. The "A" shares are to be subscribed by the leading industrial, commercial, mining, shipping and financial interests, and the "B" shares by the Bank of England. Although the whole of the authorised capital *is being offered for subscription*, only up to 10 per cent *of the capital will be called up in the initial stages.* The Company's own resources will however be inadequate for its business. It will therefore finance its projects by borrowing in the world capital markets, including the IBRD. It can borrow up to an amount equal to twice its issued capital, that is, up to £30 million. Its operations will be mainly financial through the operations of this borrowing power. Sir Frederick Godber, Chairman, Shell Petroleum, "Shell" Transport and Trading, Trinidad, has become the Chairman of the Company. The projects seeking financial assistance from the Company will have to satisfy three conditions. Firstly, they will have to be shown to be directly relevant to the sterling area's dollar balance of payments. Secondly, they will have to be shown to be firmly earthed in ordinary commercial prudence. Finally, they will have to be shown not to have been brought to the new company as a means of by-passing the ordinary and existing channels of international finance. In short, the Company will be the financial lender in the last resort when ordinary sources are exhausted and its financial assistance will be directed towards improving the sterling area's dollar position.

The Company's aim at financing the exploitation of the resources and strengthening the balance of payments of the sterling area is commendable. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, British capital flowed freely into the colonies for industrial and business development. With the disintegration of the colonies and the abolition of the gold standard, British foreign investment progressively deteriorated and the two world wars completely exhausted Britain's surplus resources. The sterling area is no longer co-extensive with the British Dominions and Colonies. British goods are met with hard competition everywhere outside the Commonweath and Britian is awakened to the danger of the economic disintegration of the sterling area. She sees the red light in the horizon where American aid is gradually infiltrating and this would mean ultimately the entrenchment of American goods and services in the aided regions. This Company will be the regional counterpart of the IBRD in the Sterling area and by means of financing it will strike its roots in member countries. It will be just a counter-thrust to the American expansionism.

Expanding International Monetary Fund's Facilities

While presenting the annual report of the Fund recently to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Mr. Ivar Rooth, the chairman and managing director of the International Monetary Fund, made a significant comment on the future policy of the Fund. He indicated that directors and officials of the Fund had been engaged for some time in working out procedures designed to facilitate a more extensive use of the Fund's resources as a means of providing secondary reserves for member countries. The Fund has revised its scale of charges so as to make the use of its resources for short period less expensive. The initiative taken in June 1952 to make "standby arrangements" for the sale of currencies

elgium has now been generalised. If a member
y expects to experience temporary balance of pay-
difficulties, it may now establish, for a period of
onths, an account on which it can draw in case of
These developments however do not throw the
wide open to increased co-operation between the
and the European Payments Union. Mr. Rooth
ted that though many proposals were made for
g the Fund's Articles of Agreement, "there was
that the Fund could usefully and sensibly do that
at present prevented from doing by its existing
s."

ne main hurdles to its more effective intervention in
monetary affairs have been the essentially political
ter of its administration and its dominant concern
the danger of world inflation. The late Lord
s at the christening ceremony of the Brettonwoods
sounded this note of warning that if these two
ions were dominated by political considerations,
ere doomed to failure. The general belief among
tions are that these two are now the national pre-
of the USA and unless the power and influence of
sentially political executive directors is in any way
shed, the IMF will go the way of its predecessor, the
for International Settlement, Basle, Switzerland.
Rooth has issued an invitation to all member
es of the Fund to join in the task of improving
hniques and attitudes. Members should take this
nity to put forward the pleas that the Fund should
ected towards achieveing those purposes for which
created. It should be the clearing house in the
f the nations and increasing facilities for overdraw-
uld prevent the world trade from being a one-way
which it is now—all gold find its way towards the
an coffer.

ob Peter to Pay Paul

ne Khadi and other Handloom Industries Develop-
Additonal Excise Duty on Cloth) Bill, 1953, passed
y by Parliament, reflects a new departure by
ment in the sphere of taxation. The existing prac-
the Government of India has been confined to the
cesses on a few agricultural commodities, the pro-
of which were specially used for the purpose of
h and intensification of production and marketing
commodities so taxed. This is perhaps the first
nat Government have taxed a particular commodity
purpose of assisting the development and expan-
other rival industries.

the statement of objects and reasons, Government
nat both the Khadi and the handloom industry have
ite place in the economy of the country. Khadi will
ute towards the relief of unemployment and provide
lementary source of livelihood to the agricultural
ion of the country, and the handloom industry will
e the supply of textiles in the country. "Both
ndustries, however, have been suffering from many
ips of late, mainly in finding an adequate market
for their products. They have to cater to certain special markets and to individual and local tastes. For this purpose, they need assistance in order to obtain adequate supplies of cotton and yarn at reasonable rates." The purpose of the Bill is to encourage the adoption of improved methods of manufacturing khadi and other handloom cloth by promoting research in the technique of prodution and designs, assistance to the maintenance of institutions which have similar objects, improvement of the marketing of these products and introduction of standardisation and quality control measures in the production of khadi and handloom industries. For the purpose of financing these industries towards the achievement of above-mentioned objectives, the Bill has proposed to levy a cess of three pies per yard in the form of an excise duty on mill cloth other than cloth exported out of India.

The Bill evoked considerable opposition in Parliament. Nobody would deny that our agricultural population need alternative and supplementary sources of occupation; but will the spoon-feeding measure enable the khadi and handloom industries to stand on their feet without continued aid from the Government? This is a debatable measure and may benefit neither the handloom industries nor the consumers, not to speak of the mills who stand to suffer. While the Five-Year Plan leaves to private initiative and enterprise to develop our industries, it is a question whether Government should place planned hurdles before the large-scale private industries. In an economic order which is neither socialistic nor communistic, small-scale industries are doomed to wither away against the speed and technical superiority of large-scale industries unless they have intrinsic worth of their own. The statutory cut in the production of mill-made cloth has already shot up the price of dhuties by a substantial margin and by levying a cess, Government will unnecessarily impose a burden on the community. The khadi and the handloom industries can never hope to compete with the mills nor can they be expected ever to fill up the gap in the short-fall of production in mill-made cloth. Government should have realised the plain fact that the cotton textile industries are vital to our economy and instead of curtailing their production, they should have been given further scope for increasing their production. It would have been much more judicious if subsidy were given to the khadi and handloom industries—not of course by levying a cess on mill-made cloth, but from the national exchequer. To impose the cess is to punish the mills and the consumers as well. The Government suffer from a defective vision in their approach to our national problems. With the consumers, cheapness with quality is a great consideration and this advantage the khadi industry lacks at present, the handloom industries if properly organised, without fanaticism, can stand on their own. That is why in recent years the demand for khadi products is progressively on the decline. But handloom industries will survive and to protect them against the onslaught of the speed of the mills, industrial co-operatives should be formed with State

assistance. The levying of the cess is a mere stop-gap arrangement and the evasion of the real problem. It seems that speed is a *bete noir* with our Government. No one should wonder if they curtail the railways by taxing the goods and passengers in order to preserve our bullock carts, the primitive survivals. The handloom industries will appeal to selective tastes and will have selecive markets—they cannot claim to command general markets and they will survive if given good dyes and fine yarn.

India's Adverse Trade Balance in 1952

In post-war years, chronic trade deficits have become a feature in India's foreign trade and the year 1952 makes no exception to that. In 1952, India had a deficit in her foreign trade to the extent of Rs. 170.93 crores, as against Rs. 59.06 crores in 1951. It must however be pointed out that the total balance of payments deficit in 1951 was Rs. 129 crores. It is therefore quite likely that the deficit in our balance of payments position in 1952 will be considerably higher than the trade deficit. The total imports into India in 1952 were valued at Rs. 791.17 crores as against exports valued at Rs. 620.24 crores. In 1951, India's total imports amounted to Rs. 843.03 crores as against exports of Rs. 783.97 crores.

On the import side, the value of imported foodgrains in 1952 amounted to Rs. 233.87 crores in 1952 as compared with Rs. 215.42 crores in 1951. In the manufactures group, imports were marked down from Rs. 325.61 crores to Rs. 297.20 crores. In the raw material group, imports were sligthly higher at Rs. 233.68 crores, the previous year's figures being Rs. 224.68 crores. The import of vehicles increased from Rs. 29.39 crores to Rs. 31.40 crores and that of electrical goods from Rs. 9.16 crores to Rs. 12.92 crores.

On the export side, there was a marked decline in the value of a number of goods exported from India. In the food group, the value of exports declined from Rs. 162.50 crores to Rs. 146.46 crores—a fall of about 10 per cent. In the raw material group, exports dropped from Rs. 160.83 crores to Rs. 147.78 crores. In the manufactures group, there was a marked decline in the value of exports—the exports declining from Rs. 416.86 crores to Rs. 294.07 crores—a fall of more than 25 per cent. Exports of tea came down from Rs. 96.85 crores to Rs. 80.90 crores, the quantity decreasing from 450.24 million lbs. to 409.13 million lbs. Exports of mica and quarry products dropped from Rs. 14.62 crores to Rs. 10.49 crores and those of lac by nearly 50 per cent from Rs. 18.30 crores to Rs. 9.17 crores. Despatches of manganese moved up from Rs. 16.19 crores to Rs. 38.57 crores. Exports of jute goods declined from Rs. 240.09 crores (1951) to Rs. 162.54 crores. The sharp fall in the prices of jute goods and the substantial reduction in the export duty on them are responsible for this marked drop in the export of jute products. Exports of cotton piecegoods yarn dropped from Rs. 94.07 crores to Rs. 73.15

The UK continues to be the best customer of Indian goods. Indian exports to the UK in 1952 were valued at Rs. 126.48 crores, as compared with Rs. 196.14 crores in the preceding year. Next to the UK comes the USA which imported Rs. 119.76 crores of goods, as against Rs. 137.05 crores in 1951. Japan has become the third best customer, her offtake from this country being Rs. 26.48 crores worth of goods as compared with Rs. 15.55 crores in 1951. Exports to all the Commonwealth countries amounted to Rs. 284.57 crores, as compared with Rs. 382.12 crores in the previous year.

In the sphere of import trade, the USA continues to be the best seller to India. It has now become the principal supplier of foodgrains and raw cotton to India in recent years. Total imports from the USA stood at Rs. 272.34 crores, as compared with Rs. 201.69 crores in the preceding year. Imports from the UK rose from Rs. 144.11 crores to Rs. 149.74 crores. In her foreign trade, India is a debtor to both the USA and the UK. After the stoppage of mineral oil imports from Iran, her exports to India sharply declined from Rs. 32.82 crores to Rs. 3.93 crores.

"Rethinking Our Future"

The *Science and Culture* for April, 1953, commenting on the Five-Year Plan, writes that the failure of the plan to ensure a higher living standard for the people was "mainly to be attributed to the industrial policy adopted by the planners on the advice of its invisible advisers, for, in a country like ours, it is only a bold plan for forced industrialisation which can pull the country out of the depression in which it has fallen."

The National Planning Committee headed by Pandit Nehru himself and including Big Business had envisaged a 200 per cent increase in national wealth in ten years whereas the present plan showed an increase of 30 per cent only in 25 years. Pandit Nehru, the paper writes, had written in his *Discovery of India* that industrialisation was the essential prerequisite for the solution of the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and economic reorganisation in general. If India had to do away with the extreme pressure on land, a plan was necessary providing for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and small industries.

The paper regarded the industrial policy of the Planning Commission, headed by Pandit Nehru, as surprising and mystifying in the content of the well-known views of the Prime Minister. The Planning Commission had accorded industrialisation third priority and all the initiative had been left to the private sector.

Summarising its findings the paper writes:

"(a) The plans for industrialisation are absolutely inadequate and on ridiculously small scale.

"(b) The Planning Commission's classificatio

of industries adopted from the Government's Industrial Policy of 1948, is hopelessly confused, for they have laid more stress on consumer industries than on capital goods' industry, but it is obvious that consumer goods' industry cannot flourish without the prior development of capital goods' industry, just as irrigation canals are of no avail, if the river feeding them is without water.

"(c) By consigning the development of industries—consumer as well as capital—mainly to the private sector, the Planning Commission has committed the blunder that in a country like ours, development of industries can take place in the same way as in the U. K. and U.S.A. out of the motive of private gain."

But it was not possible without a colonial empire which could yield the surplus for capital formation. The only alternative, relying on the policy of the Planning Commission, was to fleece the people.

"We submit in all humility," continues the editorial, "that the present planners and their visible and *invisible* advisers have created round themselves a Moral Prison-House," and "no liberal and fruitful idea can penetrate the barriers created by them."

"In fact," the editorial concludes, "if the industrial policy is not radically altered, it is feared that India will remain for all times to come 'a producer of raw materials and raw men' as it has always been under British Imperialism."

In short, this much-vaunted Plan is only a plan of drift and meander, with no promise of relief for the present and little hopes for the future. We agree.

The Industrial Policy of the Planning

In an article under the above title in the same issue of the magazine, Prof. M. N. Saha examines the effect of the Government's industrial policy of 1948 on certain classified industries.

He first takes up the case of the iron and steel industry which he describes as *"the key of key industries."* The iron-foundry industry was almost in a state of collapse because the country required at least 600,000 tons of pig iron, while only 200,000 tons were available from the country's factories. India's requirements of iron and steel had been estimated to be 2½ million tons in 1949. The Sub-committee on iron and steel of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1950 had calculated that the probable demand would be 2.9 million tons by 1954. The estimates were clearly inadequate "if a more progressive industrial policy, as was wanted by the Prime Minister in 1942, were to be adopted."

Prof. Saha felt that India could easily consume 10 million tons of iron and steel. Even if the whole of the quantity could not be consumed, she could earn dollars by selling it outside and the margin of profit by export would be about 30 crores of rupees per million ton.

The ridiculously small production of iron and steel could be readily appreciated if it was remembered that the U.S.A. produced 110 million tons annually. The U. K. forced up her steel production from 11.8 million tons in 1945 to 16.3 million tons in 1951, in spite of the fact that she had to buy ores from abroad. Soviet Russia provided the most spectacular example. In 1920, she produced only half a million tons and by 1939 she "built up an industry producing 21 million tons of steel and 18 million tons of pig iron. . . . Even Australia has built up an iron and steel industry producing 2 million tons, though she has no good ores."

Therefore Prof. Saha regarded the members of the Planning Commission as shortsighted when they planned to increase the production of iron and steel from 1.32 million tons to 2.30 million tons after five years through private sector. That was the speed of the tortoise when the world was moving with the speed of Achilles.

The fixing of such a low target seemed particularly queer when it was considered that India had advantages in the field of production of iron and steel which to quote Prof. Saha, "no other country in the world has got." We have the best of iron ores and in plenty. We have the best raw materials needed for the industry within economic distances; and experience of the last forty years of working has shown that since 1943 we are producing iron and steel at half to two-third of the cost in other countries."

"As a matter of fact," continues Prof. Saha, "in 1949, the cost of production in India was Rs. 166 per ton which was the lowest in the world, and the cost price of steel was less than that of imported steel by Rs. 400 per ton." As for technical skill, on the testimony of the Koppers' Corporation, one of the biggest specialist firms in Europe and America in the manufacture of iron and steel, in India, "A well-trained operating organisation has attained a background of experience which enables it to function with very little or perhaps no guidance from non-Indian technologists."

He then illustrates an example how the question of forcing up production of iron and steel was handled by the Government of India. In 1949, the Ministry of Industries in a communique declared that Government intended to set up new works for increasing the production of indigenous steel by one million tons a year and that decision would be taken in three months. According to Prof. Saha, "Complete plans were ready to start two factories in C. P. and Orissa respectively, and sites were also chosen, but no action has been taken for 4 years . . ."

He urged the Government of India to inculcate self-reliance and says that "the growth of iron and steel industries in Soviet Russia and Japan should convince the Government that after the erection of

one or two factories with the aid of foreign experts and foreign machinery, the technique of duplicating everything can be evolved if there be the will for work." India was in a much better position than Soviet Russia had been at the initial stages and "what Soviet Russia has done can be repeated in this country," provided our Government develops sturdy self-reliance. "But in this country, the financial jugglers are mistaken for experts and on account of the Government's pathetic dependence on them, no progress has been so far possible."

Prof. Saha commended the way the Soviet Union financed all the great five-year plans amounting to Rs. 50,000 crores up to the stoppage of the third Five-Year Plan, a period of 13 years. "This was done mainly by the imposition of a new kind of tax, known as the Turnover Tax. It provided 60 to 70 per cent of the capital required to finance the projects." The turnover tax was dismissed in a single sentence in the voluminous report of the Planning Commission, However, the "Programmes for Industrial Development, 1951-1956" recommended the imposition of turnover tax. And it was really distressing that "the Government planners have taken four years to realize its importance."

The Government today has no Brain-Trust worth mentioning. Private advisors of the calibre of Prof. Saha or John Matthai are excluded on ridiculous political considerations. The private sphere of industrial enterprise is overrun today by intrusive elements that are mere speculators, with no background of industrial capacity or acumen. They understand only quick profits by adulteration and black-marketing.

The Government relies on so-called experts in the bureaucratic sphere. Such persons were discredited even in far more efficient governments abroad, as they move extremely slow, and plan for extravagant expenses in the expansion of the office-holders' field only, regardless of expense and economy in production.

Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee

The Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Government in October, 1951, "to examine the supply, consumption and reserve stocks of coal on railways and to make recommendations for economy in expenditure for coal used as fuel," have submitted their report to the Government. The committee was presided over by Shri Durab Cursetji Driver.

The Committee revealed an interesting fact that the Indian Railways were now consuming nearly one-third of the total annual coal production of the country.

This, incidentally reveals the urgent necessity for evolving methods for the effective utilization of poorer *grades of coal and lignite* for railway traction, either *by comprehensive electrification* or adaptation of latest *fuel-technique for boiler-firing.*

The Committee took sixteen months to submit their report. They made a detailed investigation on the various aspects of the problem and paid special attention to the problem of the South.

Regarding increasing the production of coal, the Committee suggested immediate steps to be taken to develop the outlying fields, particularly in Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad in order to meet as far as practicable the requirements of Western and Southern India and a part of Rajasthan. Northern India and the rest of Rajasthan might draw upon the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar. The lignite resources in South Arcot, Madras, should be developed without delay and the Government should give high priority to it. In this connection steps should be taken to draw upon the experience and knowledge of brown coal-mining in Germany, where the problems of water infiltration and handling had been solved. The Committee also suggested that Assam and Orissa should be self-sufficient in their coal requirements; and production of high grade non-coking coals should be increased in the Raniganj and Karanpura coal-fields in order to release coking coals for (*a*) metallurgical purposes and (*b*) feeding the export market. Different types of pilot washing plant should be installed at the Fuel Research Institute without delay to obtain evidence of the most suitable and economical types for coals of different washability characteristics and government should explore the possibilities of coal-washing and set up plants at selected sites.

An official committee has been recommended to be set up under the Coal Board to examine in detail new proposals for coal grading and pricing. The Fuel Research Institute and the Ministry of Railways should be represented on this committee.

Regarding loco coal supplies, the Committee's recommendations were :

"The railways should in future select their own coals by inviting offers from collieries and by arranging for supplies on contract basis.

"A standing loco coal committee should be set up to undertake all work connected with the framing of loco coal programmes, inviting offers from collieries for scrutiny and acceptance, and the allocation of their approved offers according to the supplies and transport available. The committee should consist of representatives of the six Railways, the Ministry of Railways and the Coal Commissioner. The Chairman of the Railway Board or his nominee may act as chairman and the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board, as member secretary of the standing loco coal committee.

"In order to simplify and rationalise transport and to ensure regular and reliable supplies of coal to Railways, steps should be taken to introduce the system of grouping collieries, with distributing centres to serve as primary receiving points in respect of supplies to railway zones ;

"To meet the fuel requirements of the South, the Government should give priority to the development of Talchur, Singareni and coalfields in Madhya Pradesh ; and

"The Ministry of Railways should immediately ıdertake the development of the junction yards ıd line capacities along the rail routes from the ›ove-mentioned outlying fields to the South."

ı "standing coal transport planning committee" has been recommended to be set up, consisting of the ɜentatives of the Ministry of Railways and ıction and of Planning Commission to ensure due importance was given to coal transport in the ımic development of the country. Other sugges- for improving the transport position included the ntment of a railway officer of senior adminis- e rank who should function as Liaison Transport r and make day-to-day allotment of wagons in ›oration with the Coal Commissioner, and the fication of the existing practice of allocating coal ɜ and wagons to give effect to regional distribution al.

'he Committee also suggested the evolving of a e and effective system of fuel accounts for adop- on all the Indian Railways and to enlarge the of railway fuel statistics so that the effects of ıs direct and indirect factors affecting coal con- tion were adequately brought out by the statis- figures.

'arly action should be taken to set up a "standing ıy power and electrification planning committee," ɜting of representatives of the Ministry of Rail- the Planning Commission and the Central Water Power Commission, for ensuring co-ordination g the authorities responsible for industrial, power, ›ort, fuel, and other national developments; ting, scrutinizing, and recommending the execu- of railway electrification and dieselisation schemes specified order of priority; and examining the ›ilities of indigenous manufacture of machinery omponents to meet the maintenance requirements ɛctric, diesel, and other types of traction.

flore attention should be given to provide proper ıng facilities and stacking ground and to the ıate stacking of all supplies of coal as a check on mption and pilferage; and immediate steps d be taken to set up (*a*) six Regional Fuel Con- Departments, (*b*) a Central Fuel Directorate, ix Regional Training Schools, and (*d*) a Central ing School, for giving effect to the proposed ›my measures. These can broadly be divided into ontrol over consumption, and (*b*) power and fuel ɛch.

'he control measures should be the function of 'uel Control Organisation, and power and fuel ɛch should be the concern of the railway testing ɛsearch centre, working in collaboration with the Research Institute.

ın Railways and the Five-Year Plan

hri F. Ç. Badhwar, Chairman, Railway Board, ı that *competing interests*, such as industry, agriculture, trade and commerce and passenger asso- ciations, were naturally pressing for those railway facilities which affected them most. Conceding that the majority of the demands were neither unreasonable nor unjustified, he says that still their fulfilment was not possible within five or even ten years. Besides, the railways themselves had their parti- cular requirements connected with the removal of operational and engineering difficulties and with the need for achieving self-sufficiency in respect of special- ised components which they used. Moreover, the nature of the country's railway requirements had also changed since partition.

A total sum of Rs. 400 crores had been allotted in the Five-Year Plan for the Railways, "this figure being based on the assumptions that the Railways will them- selves contribute 320 crores, representing the estimated difference between their gross earnings and their total working expenses during this period, and that the remaining 80 crores will be found from Central revenues.

"During the first two years of the plan period, expenditure of a capital nature on Railways has amounted to about 150 crores, thus leaving approxi- mately 250 crores for the remaining three years. Rail- way programmes, therefore, have to be contained within an average overall annual expenditure of about 83 crores during 1953-54 and each of the two succeed- ing years. Any downward fluctuations in net earnings, or tightness of funds in the central balances, will tend to slow down, or curtail, such programmes, while increased railway revenues will enable quicken progress to be made, or additional items to be included."

The Railway programmes, according to Shri Badhwar, "must necessarily concentrate on rehabilita- tion and some opearting, technical and productivity improvements next, with a few of the more urgent expansions being added, if funds permit."

"Some indication of the benefits that has already been obtained from such measures is provided by the average monthly net ton miles carried in 1952-53 as compared with 1948-49. The increase has been over 40 per cent, though the number of locomotives and wagons in the total holdings of railways was practically the same throughout this period. The increase in performance by railways, during the same period, of which the train-miles run is an index, was also sub- stantial. The monthly average passenger train-miles went up by about 16 per cent while goods train-miles rose by about 25 per cent. These figures show the significant efforts made by railways, since partition, to get the best out of the equipment they have had to work with."

Closely related with this task of rehabilitation and improvement was the task of training the staff and providing them with better living and working condi- tions. Stressing the importance of this aspect he writes

that "there has been much loose talk about the low productivity of Indian workmen without a fair and objective analysis of the conditions under which they have to live and do their work and the physical and nutritive factors that must affect them." Provision had, therefore, been made "to obtain increased output and higher efficiency from the existing staff by better training and improved working and living conditions as well as modern equipment."

"The more urgent operating improvements being undertaken include the provision of about 40 per cent increased line capacity between Bezwada and Madras, various items essential for the additional rail movements required for the expansion of our two steel works."

Next in importance were additions and expansions of new rolling stock and new lines. According to Shri Badhwar, "There were 8,209 locomotives, 19,193 passenger carriages, and 1,99,049 wagons in service on March 31, 1951, and of these 3,956 locomotives, 9,916 carriages and 73,371 wagons will be overage at the end of the Plan period, *viz.*, on March 31, 1956, many of them being of obsolete types." On account of financial limitations "it has not been possible to plan for more than 1,444 new locomotives, 6,166 new passenger coaches and 52,662 new wagons during these five years." He agreed that the doubts expressed in certain quarters regarding the adequacy of the provision for progressive increases in the movements of goods and mineral traffic were "therefore, not without some foundation."

Demands for new lines were many, but the magnitude of the problem could be appreciated only when it was remembered that the inclusive cost of a new line through average terrain was near about at Rs. 4 lacs per mile—it was less for metre gauge but somewhat more for broad gauge—and on this basis each 100 miles of new line would cost about 4 crores. These figures did not include the cost of the additional rolling stock that would be required to work those sections. Where mountainous country, or heavy bridging, had to be faced the cost might well rise to about nine to twelve lakhs of rupees per mile. "Construction to austerity standards, designed for light traffic only, may reduce first costs by 10 to 15 per cent," writes Sri Badhwar, "but there is still the question of working expenses, *i.e.*, recurring costs, to consider as new lines can seldom even pay their way for the first six to a dozen years. Therefore, finance would, necessarily, restrict construction of new lines."

"Electric trains would be introduced in the Calcutta suburban sections which had reached saturation point with steam traction. The extension of electric traction from Igatpuri to Bhusaval, on the main Central Railway line serving Bombay, would also be undertaken before long."

The Railway Board, after careful consideration of the various aspects of all the problems, had, according to Shri Badhwar, decided on a distribution of the 250 crores they expected to get for expenditure of a capital nature during the next three years under which Rs. 193 crores were allocated for Rehabilitation, including steps to attain self-sufficiency; Rs. 33 crores for operating and technical improvements and amenities for passengers and staff; Rs. 30 crores for additions and expansion under rolling stock and new lines (including works in progress); and Rs. 4 crores for miscellaneous, including investments in road services, etc.

The "single most urgent and vital requirement of Indian railways," says Shri Badhwar, was a "blood transfusion" of about 500 new locomotives and 20,000 new wagons, which our existing line capacity could easily and usefully absorb, would enable Indian railways to move fully practically all the goods traffic offering today. "Without this replenishment, however, it may take some time, beyond the Plan period, to equate the carrying of Indian railways to the increased production aimed at in the Five-Year Plan," concludes he.

Let us hope that the occasion will arise and that the Railways would be able to cope with it within this century. Our stocks of optimism are nearly run out.

Abolition of First Class in Railways

First classes in all the Indian railways would be abolished by October 1, 1953, according to the decision of the Ministry of Railways. Various factors prompted the Government to take this decision. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister for Railways and Transport, writes that economic and other considerations justified the step. Many people inside and outside the Parliament were demanding the abolition of first class. In other countries generally there were only two classes whereas in India besides the air-conditioned, there were four classes. Again he did not doubt that a large number of third class passengers, also favoured the measure and the number of passengers travelling by third class at present was 1,192 million out of a total of 1,232 million passengers.

The abolition of first class coaches would release money for improvement of other class coaches. Besides, the first class traffic on ordinary passenger and other branch trains was very poor. *Though there would be some immediate loss,* he was sure, *in the long run "even from the financial point of view this move will be found to be a sound proposition."*

The decision to retain the air-conditioned coaches was justified on commercial grounds, and for providing more comfortable travelling facilities to foreign tourists. According to the information furnished by Shri Shastri, the number of tourists had gone up from 20,000 in 1951 to more than 25,000 in 1952.

He had proposed a gradual abolition as "undue hastening of the process may cause substantial loss. At the same time the process should not be allowed to work itself out over an indefinite period."

Ve can quite realise the urgent necessity to pro- some sop to allay the "popular" clamour generated iob psychology. But why hurry into undue finan- oss in this fashion ? It will not silence the clamour st corruption and inefficiency.

es of Factory Workers

ri Prem Chand writes in the fortnightly *Economic w* that the rise in real earnings of the workers not kept pace with the rise in money earnings. there has been a rise of 68.5 per cent in the y wages between 1944 and 1949, real wages have only by about 22 per cent during the same l. It has to be borne in mind that the rise of cent in real wages has been arrived at by taking is the base year . . . real earnings had declined lerably during 1939 and 1944—a decline which, ly, has not been compensated by the above- oned rise in real earnings between 1939 and

comparison of the indices of the earnings of the y workers between 1939 and 1949 revealed that had been a narrowing down of the regional nces in the levels of their earnings. A similar though less conspicuous, was also indicated by dex number of different industries.

could not be definitely said "that there has been lition to the total welfare of the factory workers, ie to say so involves the intricate problem of the ersonal comparison of utilities. Nevertheless if ume that the utility of money to lower income is higher than the utility of money to higher- groups, it can safely be concluded that the trends indicate an increase in welfare in 1949 npared to 1939, in so far as the factory workers ncerned. Of course, this conclusion is subject to mitation that possibly real earnings of factory s in 1949 were lower than their real earnings in is had been already said."

course this does not take into consideration the of subsidised rations where such systems exist, y do in a fairly considerable section of labour ain areas.

Oil Refinery at Visakhapatnam

ie Government of India have concluded an agree with an American firm, Caltex (India) Ltd., for ction of a modern oil refinery at Visakhapatnam. ing this the *American Reporter* writes :

his agreement, the third with a foreign oil firm, ie basis for a modern petro-chemical industry, g numerous by-products of the refineries according Government announcement. 'Direct benefits to the exchequer in the shape of taxation are also likely considerable.'"

e agreement with Caltex (India) Ltd., which is at an important distributor of petroleum products, follows the general lines of agreements reached in 1951 with the Standard Vacuum Oil Company of New York and the Burmah-Shell group of companies.

"Caltex (India) will form an Indian firm to own and operate the proposed refinery. Indian investors are to have an opportunity to subscribe 25 per cent of the capital. Construction of the refinery, to have an initial annual capacity of 500,000 long tons, is expected to start within two years.

"The three refineries, when completed, will have a combined output of some four million tons a year. The figure is about equal to India's present imports of refined petroleum.

"The Government of India has given Caltex certain assurances to facilitate the project, it was announced. In return, Caltex has agreed to a programme for employing and training Indians, using Indian tankers, if available, and providing suitable housing for its labour force.

"Caltex affiliates are producing crude oil in several countries within economical distance of the proposed Visakhapatanam refinery. Should India's oil production increase, some of this presumably would be refined at Visakhapatanam also.

"In the course of the negotiations, which began in 1951, the company surveyed possible refinery sites at Cochin, Madras, Calcutta, and Visakhapatanam. Of these, Visakhapatnam proved to be the most suitable, particularly for the berthing of modern tankers drawing 32 feet or more of water, and it was selected."

We realize that the oil-companies will benefit, some few undeserving Indian profiteers would benefit and the Government of India will have some more money to waste. But how would the Man in the street gain, anyway ?

Conflict in the Madras Congress Assembly Party

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports : "Some disturbing trends within the Madras Congress Legislature Party were brought to the fore by the elections to the Upper House held recently.

"The bye-election was caused by a writ filed by one Mr. Subramanya Bhat for declaring the election of a panel of 24 members null and void consequent on the rejection of his nomination papers on improper grounds. In this panel of 24 members whose election was declared null and void, 10 were Congressmen.

"The Congress Party which had only 153 members last year put up only 10 candidates then. Since the present strength of the Congress Party is 170, it was decided to put up 12 candidates to contest this bye-election. The Congress Party Secretariat assigned, after very careful thought and planning, the minimum number of members required for each of the 12 Congress contestants to come out successful. Thus each Congress candidate was given the number and names of Congress Legislators who had been asked to vote for each one

of them. It was deviced in such a way as to ensure success to all the 12 Congress candidates. But on the day of voting the entire plan went awry.

"Barring Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, who got all the 15 first votes assigned to him, none of the Congress candidates secured the assigned votes in full. On a calculation it was found that 28 Congress Legislators failed to cast their votes as per instructions of the Congress Legislature Party Secretariat."

Since Rajaji took over the original strength of the Congress Party, which was 153, was increased to 170. According to the paper's Madras correspondent, "Even if these 17 new members could be taken as having failed the Congress candidates, the conduct of the 11 original members who seem to have betrayed Congress interests requires examination." As for the reasons, the correspondent adds that it was freely rumoured that money, political pressure, communal considerations and personal friendship had brought about this debacle.

As the paper remarks : "Whatever it is, this situation provides lurid commentary on the calibre of Congressmen who are members of the Congress Legislature Party."

And, what is even more significant, it shows how soon Pandit Nehru's chickens are coming to roost. You may fool the country by high-falutin' sentiments expressed at pre-election speeches, but can you change the thoroughly debased metal of the Congress thereby?

Bihar M.L.A. Proposes Car Advance

The *Behar Herald,* dated the 11th April reports that Mr. Prabhunath Singh, a Congress M.L.A., had brought a resolution in the Bihar Assembly proposing that the Government should advance loans of Rs. 10,000 to the M.L.A.'s to buy cars to tour their constituencies. He had also demanded a car allowance for members like the one given to Deputy Ministers.

Commenting on the proposal the paper writes, "Loan is euphemism. Once the M.L.A.'s get Rs. 10,000 from the Treasury it will be easier to draw blood out of stone than to make them repay the amount."

The Bihar Assembly does provide a good few outstanding examples in political criticism.

Ferment in Rajasthan

Rajasthan is in a political ferment. The recent visit to that State by Dr. Kailashnath Katju, the Union Minister for States and Home Affairs, from the 3rd to the 5th April was politically significant, writes the *Vigil.* There had been much agitation against the inclusion of Sri Kumbharam in the Cabinet reconstituted by the Prime Minister, Sri Jaynarain Vyas. Even a section of the Congress did not conceal its utter disgust for Sri Kumbharam. In this context the object of the visit was presumably one of solving that political tangle.

The Vigil reports that "Local executives put *obstacles in the way of the* people who tried to place their grievances before Dr. Katju who was always kept aloof at the instructions of the Chief Minister of Rajasthan." The Chief Minister "rushed to Bikaner eight hours before Hon'ble Katju and ordered the executive officers to suppress the anti-Kumbharam demonstrations at any cost. . ."

Even papers were influenced to blackout the news of those demonstrations. But all such attempts failed. The people were able to put their views before Dr. Katju who assured a public meeting held at Bikaner on the 5th April that he would apprise Sri Nehru and his colleagues of the situation. But, the *Vigil* concludes, "All this, we are sure, cannot prevent the Chief Minister from including Sri Kumbharam in the Cabinet. So wooden and unresponsible to public opinion has he become that he shames the memory of our foreign masters."

If the comments be correct then the degeneration in the mentality of Sri Jaynarain Vyas has been lamentable. But then, it is not an exceptional case where Congress politicians are concerned.

Lucknow Hospital Affairs

The Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent of the Gandhi Memorial and Associated Hospital have been put on compulsory leave without pay and eight contractors suspended for their involvement in a conspiracy to defraud the hospital funds in a systematic manner covering a period of three years beginning with 1948-49, which resulted in a loss amounting to Rs. 81,485 to the hospital. An enquiry committee has also been appointed to go into the matter.

According to a report published in the *People* of April, 4 :

"A probe into the irregularities by the Local Fund Audit revealed a very clever devise adopted for giving contracts to a favoured contractor. The estimate for supply of costly fruits was unduly inflated. The contractor quoted much lower rates for them and higher for other ordinary fruits. His tender naturally was lowest and was accepted. In actual practice, however, the former kind of fruits were purchased in negligible quantities, and the contrator derived huge profits by supplying cheaper fruits at higher rates.

"Not infrequently the tenders of the favoured contractors were accepted, even though they were not the lowest, without any justification. There were deliberate manipulations and alterations in the Diet Abstract Sheets relating to supply of fruits. The loss on this account alone amounted to Rs. 19,483 during the three years.

"Similar irregularities were noticed in the case of other commodities. The ration card was handed over to the contractor and no check was ever exercised to see that the rations drawn were not misused. A comparison between the ration drawn and that actually supplied to the hospital by the contractor disclosed differences and the surplus in all probability went to the blackmarket.

Rupees one thousand were misappropriated

ing ghost diets for discharged patients. In the medical stores the accounts were maintained in the most irregular manner and in the retail sections medicine costing Rs. 4,872 were fictitiously shown as consumed.

"Eight bottles of French Brandy valued at Rs. 240 were misappropriated and efforts were made to conceal msappropriation by manipulating the stock-books.

"A huge shortage of medicines valued at Rs. 6,773 was brought to light during checking. No paper accounts of even costly medicines like streptomycine were maintained. Medicines for the private use of the Superintendent were also irregularly purchased out of hospital funds."

Free treatment "was extended in an unauthorized manner to the private patients of hospital doctors and to high-placed and influential personalities and authorities. This was responsible for a recurring loss which totalled Rs. 16,647."

The report put the responsibility to all the irregularities on the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent. In fact, some of the irregularities were quite within their knowledge but they failed to take cognisance thereof. To quote the *People*:

"Even the rules of accounts were ignored by them. The former grossly abused his position and bestowed favours on contractors at the cost of the hospital. His daily domestic requirements like wheat, coal, vegetables, etc., were supplied by the contractors. They were even required to pay the monthly salary of his servants."

This is democracy in Pandit Nehru's home province.

Expenditure Habits

The fortnightly *Economic Review* of the All-India Congress Committee reports the following:

"The National Sample Survey for the period of July 1948 to June 1949 revealed the spending habits in various parts of India. According to it, an average South Indian spent Rs. 136.63 on all food items. Pan, tobacco and intoxicants accounted for Rs. 9.61 and other non-food items for Rs. 56.31.

"With per capita expenditures of Rs. 5.98, Rs. 7.57, Rs. 1.01, Rs. 9.39, Rs. 3.80, Rs. 1.10 and Rs. 1.66 on vegetables, meat, egg and fish, salt, spices, pan, utensils and amusements respectively, South India ranked first in respect of these articles. It was second in the matter of per capita expenditure on edible oils, refreshments, tobacco, miscellaneous cloth, toilet service, education, newspapers and periodicals and medical service with Rs. 9.61, Rs. 5.50, Rs. 4.63, Rs. 1.67, Rs. 1.37, Re. 0.84, Re. 0.16 and Rs. 1.34, respectively. It stood last with regard to per capita expenditures on bedding (Rs. 1.22), foot-wear (Re. 0.54), ceremonials (Rs. 8.46) and house rent and taxes (Re. 0.52).

"An *average North Indian* spent Rs. 142.69 on all food items during the same period, while pan, tobacco and intoxicants, accounted for Rs. 4.88 and other non-food items Rs. 55.87.

"North India headed in respect of per capita expenditure on pulses with Rs. 10.36. It was second with regard to per capita expenditure on bedding with Rs. 2.55. It ranked last in the matter of expenditure on refreshments (Re. 0.53), spices (Rs. 4.26), toilet articles (Re. 0.58), educational service (Re. 0.32), newspapers and periodicals, medical (Re. 0.090), medical service (Re. 0.043), miscellaneous household articles (Re. 0.81), domestic and other services and utensils (Re. 0.75)."

We do not know how far accurate these figures are. But they open up a new field of investigation regarding the standard of living in different parts of India.

Sonarpur Scheme

The *Weekly West Bengal* reports the completion of the first part of the Sonarpur-Arapanch drainage scheme. The scheme was part of the Master Plan (mapped out by a committee of Technical experts before partition for solving the drainage problem of Greater Calcutta) and was initially framed for the drainage of an area of 105 square miles, partly by pumping and partly by gravitation. Later the scope of the scheme was reduced and confined to an area of approximately 57 square miles.

Drainage by gravitation being no longer possible, drainage was done by pumping. Land drainage by pumping was a novel thing in India though the system was prevalent in Holland, Italy and England and some other countries. The Sonarpur-Arapanch drainage scheme was the first project in West Bengal and perhaps, in India, under which good cultivable lands turned swampy were proposed to be reclaimed and brought under cultivation once again by means of pumping.

According to the paper, "Pumps to drain off the unwanted water on land, every inch of which is now precious to West Bengal's farmers are working full steam. The net expected yield of foodgrains including *rabi* crops is nearly five lac maunds." In addition it would be possible to have an equal quantity of straw. The money value of the total yield was estimated at Rs. 44 lacs per annum.

The main feaures of the scheme, to quote the paper, are: "(i) Installation of four electric pumping sets of capacity 250 cusecs each or a total capacity of 3,75,000 gallons per minute; (ii) Excavation and improvement of drainage channels aggregating 25 miles in length; (iii) Tapping electrical energy to the extent of 3,000 k.w. from Majherat, and carrying it by means of an overhead high voltage transmission line operating at 33 Kv; the length of the transmission line will be approximately 19 miles; (iv) A number of structures connected with tre drainage system.

Chandil Sarvodaya Conference

Sri Suresh Ramabhai, giving an account of the fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Chandil in

Manbhum district of Southeast Bihar on March 7 to 9, writes in the *Harijan* that the conference was an object-lesson in simplicity. All arrangements were quite simple. The two thousand delegates attending the conference were given rooms having their walls and roofs made from palm leaves. Simple straw called *pyal* served as their bed.

"The conference sitting twice everyday, was presided over by Shri Dhirendra Majumdar, the well-known president of the All-India Spinners' Association. The Sarvodaya exhibition was opened by the veteran and indefatigable constructive worker of Orissa, Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, with a brief speech. The presidential address was briefer still. Dhirendrabhai (as the president is lovingly called) drew the attention of his audience to the high hope of the Indian masses and the warning of the death-man. If the former was not fulfilled, he declared, the latter would swallow us all; and it was for the conference, he concluded, to devise ways and means to realize that hope. Thereafter the report of work done since we met last was submitted by Shri Shankarrao Deo, the General-Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj."

Among the distinguished visitors were Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, and Sri Jayaprakash Narain, the Socialist leader. President Prasad declared his firm belief in the Sarvodaya ideal, but felt lost and wayward and could not act up to it. He confessed that the expectations of the people has not been realized at the advent of Swaraj and the future also was uncertain, people in power were not courageous enough to attain the desired objective. Sri Narain appealed to all to come forward in Vinobaji's "Bhoodan Yajna" movement and asked the students specially to abandon their schools and colleges for one year for the sake of "Bhoodan." Sri Kakasaheb Kalelkar, President of the newly formed Backward Classes Commission of the Government of India, called upon the young men to come forward and help him in the work of ameliorating the lot of the down-trodden and the oppressed without which there could be no Sarvodaya.

In a hundred-minute speech on the first day Acharya Vinoba Bhave outlined "the objective, the method and the programme. The objective was to generate an independent public force which ran counter to violent force and differed from legal force." According to Sri Ramabhai, "Vinobaji remarked that the said objective could be achieved by following a two-phased method. Conversion or thought-administration and work decentralization. For this he had a four-fold programme: (*i*) organisation of constructive work institutions into one well-knit body, (*ii*) collection of five crores of acres of land in the Bhoodan Yajna by 1957, (*iii*) Sampatti-dan Yajna or wealth-donation, and (*iv*) *Sootanjali* or Yarn-gift."

Many women attending the conference donated *their ornaments.*

Clarifying his attitude towards Government schemes and political parties, Vinobaji said that the essential difference was in approach and outlook, but he discouraged mere criticism. Criticism must be constructive. In the concluding speech Vinobaji dwelt upon the shortcomings of the workers. Again to quote Sri Ramabhai, "Firstly, he pleaded for tolerance and humanity. Secondly, he urged upon them to study and continue enhancing their knowledge thoughtfully together with work. Thirdly, they must see things as a whole and not confine themselves to the solitary aspect. Fourthly, they must vitalize their daily prayer which was more like good behaviour rather than act inspired by real faith. Finally, he asked those who could devote whole time to Bhoodan Yajna work to give him or the provincial conveners their names."

Yehudi Menuhin on Indian Music

Mr. Yehudi Menuhin, the well-known violinist, who visited India last year, writes in the American literary magazine, *Saturday Review of Literature* that in India he "found there was so much new and satisfying to me as an artist that I cannot resist a feeling that in India the equilibrium of life is better balanced than elsewhere, that a greater unity of thought and feeling prevail than in the West." In his view Indian music, Indian culture and Indian philosophy "are quite self-sufficient, soundly conceived, and adequate for the needs not only of India, but capable of being beneficial if adopted in a wider sphere of humanity." The essential differences between the music of India and the music of Europe were, according to him, that the Indian music "is a traditional, crystallised form of expression in which the performer and auditors partake of a resignation to environment and fate. It is a more contemplative, meditative, and passive form of music. It does not allow the surges of emotion and fury, the interplay of opposing forces to mar its detachment. It invited the listener to attain a state of meditation, of oneness with God.

"The music of the West, of course, proclaims and asserts the personality of two individuals: one absent (the composer), the other present (the performer). This stimulates, by communication, the personality of each listener in the audience. It spurs him to proclaim in like manner his domination over, or at least his wrestling with, his fate and his environment."

He thought the West could learn from the Indian musician's dedication to his art. The intense sensitivity of the Indians to rhythm, the freedom of their melodic pattern might provide new resources to the Western composers. If Indian music should become as familiar in the West as Western music in India, Mr. Menuhin was of the opinion that "Indian music would require a profound readjustment of the sense of time by which life is ordered in the West, the opening up of an awareness of completely different tangible and tangible factors."

ASSEMBLED INDIA

By PRABUDDHA N. CHATTERJEE

ı Government in India has ended more than ars from now, but we are still a long way off ny semblance of political stability. Of course, ision of India has been a tremendous shock, but ıen our house could have been put to some sort er by this time. But this has not been done. l of consolidating what remains of India after ɔn, fissiparous tendencies have been and are allowed to grow. Acute dissensions among ıt peoples in the provinces and in the country /hole are taking serious proportions—when they have been wiped off at the outset by a ɔous policy of reconciliation and consolidation. ot only impossible but actually harmful to over- he present distrust and ill-feeling, even rancour peoples of India—and the blame for this state ıgs lies on the Government of India led by ehru.

ɔnsolidation of India cannot come without dis- of the claims of the different peoples of India, truggling for self-realisation and self-develop- on a national basis—yet within the frame-work Indian Union. Let us be frank about it and face The aspirations of these peoples have been l as antagonistic to our nation by Mr. Nehru. ı this so? Is the formula of linguistic redistri- of States within India, embodying these aspira- -so many times in the past solemnly adopted by ıd an National Congress—antagonistic to the ıt of the Indian nation? Will the acceptance of ɔmula disintegrate India? The answer to these ɔns depends upon a careful analysis of the factors contributed to the origin and the growth of the nation itself.

hat is this Indian nation? India's inhabitants from a remarkably variegated stock. Her citizens e people of pure Aryan origin as well as people Mongolian and Negroidal blood. Viewed from a ɔerspective, the Indian nation is not simply a ıion of individuals; it is also a collection of ɜ and subnationalities. It is a result of the com- on of subnationalities like Bengalis, Marhatis, ɜ, Tamilians, Punjabis, etc., with one another. existence—a very real and ancient fact—must be ıised. Each has its "own distinctive culture and ation, language and literature, art and archi- e, names and nomenclature, food and dress, ns and calendar, character and appearance, sense lue and proportion." The difference in these re- among them probably is even greater than any ponding difference among the nations of Europe. his is certainly no suggestion to parcel out India ɛ various independent subnationalities. That be a sacrilege. For, however may the Indians vary among themselves, Indian nationhood is a real concept.

Neither community of language, nor that of customs and culture is an essential ingredient of nationhood. If they were so, Americans in the United States of America could not have developed into a nation; a very large proportion among them would have separated long ago and fused with the British. On the same assumption the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic also would not have endured. The only element that can be called indispensable to nationality is the common desire among its members to organise themselves into or remain a separate independent State. Common struggle against a tyrannical power, foreign or domestic, has in numerous cases, welded a heterogeneous people into a single nationality. The 'esprit-de-corps' born of the united resistance to tyranny breaks down the barriers of narrowness and prejudice among the subjects, and creates in them a common aspiration to build a liberated State of their own—no matter how different they may be in point of language, customs, and manners. A new vision opens out before them.

The history of India has witnessed common sufferings in the struggle against foreign exploitations in which all the subnationalities of India participated. The unity of Indian history is the result of the battles these subnationalities fought in common so long against their foreign masters, by stirring up discontent, disturbances, open rebellions, taking and giving lives. The aspiration of the Indian subnationalities to form a common State is the reward of their common struggle for independence in the past.

The desire for a united State of India thus born of historical antecedents has been strengthened and made natural by the peculiar geographical configuration of India. India (with Pakistan) spontaneously forms a distinctive entity in a physical map of the world. The lofty mountains on the north, east and west have separated her from the rest of Asia. In the south, she is encircled by waters from the Indian Ocean. This markedly separate geographical entity is the second important basis of Indian nationhood.

There are also certain other circumstances, for example, common interests—commercial as well as diplomatic—which would strengthen the union of different subnationalities of India into the Indian nation.

Nevertheless, the main thing is the desire of the people to form a common State. Nationality is essentially a spiritual sentiment which exists in the

mind of men as a *fait accompli* in spite of polemics, often in disregard of contrasts.

Thus there should not be any defeatist mentality as to the nationhood of India. It is not a brittle thing. It is the outcome of political factors working for a long time.

But this should not blind anybody to the variations among people in different parts of India. On the contrary, these should be recognised for the sake of stability of the State, as the basis for the formation of provinces. Talking of parochialism—parochialism would be weakened rather than strengthened by this policy. If the demands of the subnationalities are reasonably met, their self-centredness will lose its edge and they will be able to live together in easy fraternity. On the other hand, to ignore their demands is to add to the strength of parochialism. Disappointed provincials would feel that their province has been betrayed. In a vast country like India, where provinces differ so much from one another, regard for one's province is comparable to regard for one's country. Like all egotism, it thrives on a sense of grievance from being unjustly baulked of opportunities for self-realisation and self-fulfilment. The dissimilarities with other peoples are then emphasised, the similarities overlooked and a separatist sentiment springs up. The bottom will be taken out of the parochial chauvinism, if subnational demands are met halfway. People will then learn to think more in terms of conciliation and compromise in matters affecting provincial interests, and strong provincial antipathies will die a natural death.

Now, what are the real demands of subnationalities? It is this, that within the framework of the Indian Union, the demographic integrity of each subnationality should be recognised. That is subnationalities should have the right of self-determination. The guiding principle should be one subnationality, one province.

This claim may not have been made so clearly in so many words. But it reflects the general will, conscious or sub-conscious.

The delimitation of provincial boundaries in India is not scientific. To draw the boundaries on scientific lines, one must take into account the homelands of the various subnationalities.

For about 200 years, India was under the subjugation of the British. Today we have entered into our heritage. What does a householder do after ejecting a trespasser at considerable expense and sacrifice? The trespasser has, let us assume, out of neglect, or minding only his personal convenience, worn out the floor, set up a partition here, demolished a wall there, creating on the whole a grotesque effect. When the householder comes into his own, he would naturally want to refashion the house tastefully *on scientific lines, he would like* to rearrange the *system of walls and partitions to* secure the symmetry of the rooms. The time has come today for us Indians to set the house of India in order. Its rooms should be arranged in a well-considered, elegant and systematic manner. This means that we should in many places drastically alter the plan of the erstwhile rulers of our country. The British were not interested in all-round and symmetrical development of India. Hence they planned provincial boundaries in their "Indian Empire" mainly with an eye to administrative expediency as suited them. They did not bother for the consent of their subjects. Consideration for the political progress of their Indian subjects certainly did not very much affect their decision in this matter. Hence, it is, that the provincial boundaries are so placed pell-mell, that they do not correspond with the hopes and aspirations of our people. It is true that if provincial boundaries have now to be adjusted systematically on the basis of subnationality, there would be some violent changes in the position of boundaries of some existing Provinces or 'States.' But once the process is complete, the system of division of India into 'States' will plainly be on a far more logical and simple foundation than is the case today.

The apprehensions in this regard felt by the Linguistic Provinces Commission under the chairmanship of Shree S. K. Dar, a retired Allahabad High Court Judge, were ill-founded. The Commission was appointed a few years ago, to examine the prospects of creating linguistic States in the Deccan. It was alarmed at the adverse effect which the possible creation of any new or additional provinces would have on the general economy and finances of India. It expressed concern at the possibility of splitting up the three then existent provinces of South India into six provinces as a result of a change in the *status quo*. (Cf. *Dar Commission Report*, para 132). But then, apparently it was not in a position to visualise that some unwanted existent States could disappear altogether, if the principle of subnationality was properly applied. For example, at present there are the following 'States' in South India: (1) Madras, (2) Travancore-Cochin, (3) Coorg, (4) Mysore, (5) Bombay and (6) Hyderabad. Of these, Hyderabad should be divided among the three peoples inhabiting that 'State'—Telugus, Marathas and Kannadigas—who would join their respective subnational States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak. Mysore and Travancore-Cochin should go to form the major portions of the 'States' of Karnatak and Kerala respectively. Thus, out of the six cumbrous and mostly heterogeneous 'States' will arise not more than five compact, well-knit and homogeneous 'States' in the South—Maharashtra, Karnatak, Kerala, Tamilnad and Andhra. Likewise, for the whole of India, actually the fact is—as will appear later—that the total number of subnationalities is very much less than the total number of the existent Parts 'A,' 'B' and 'C' States that compose the Indian Union. Finan-

complications should, therefore, tend to be not
r but less, if subnational 'States' are formed.
'hat would be the criterion of a sub-nationality ?
ould be so clear as to admit of no controversy.
is principle, race cannot be a criterion of sub-
ality, for in India, where men have immigrated
outside from the beginning of history, races are
ermixed that it is not possible now to determine
ely who belongs to which stock. For similar
s, religion or sect cannot determine sub-
ality. People professing different creeds—Hindu-
lone contains scores of sects and creeds—live
ingled with one another so that to attempt to
nine subnationality on the basis of religion or
would lead to absurd results. Myriads of sub-
alities would then be found inhabiting the same
y.

hen there are the criteria of language and
phical configuration.

anguage is the main proof as well as the main
ier of culture. In these days of spread of educa-
t is the symbol of civilisation. People must
ge ideas by understanding one another's
ge, in order to know one another and be able
e and work in co-operation. Hence language is
ain determinant of subnationality. There are
languages current in India but the chief ones
e easily marked out. They are noted in the
tution of India and enlisted in its eighth
le. They are as follows: Bengali, Marathi,
Hindi (Eastern and Western), Assamese, Pun-
Urdu, Kashmiri, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada
Malayalam.

gain indeed, geography cannot be omitted from
s concerning nationality. People speaking the
language can be given the status of a sub-
ality if they satisfy the test of common resi-
if they form a compact geographical entity,
furcated by any area inhabited by people speak-
separate tongue. Nobody can seriously insist that
island of a particular linguistic group is dis-
d among people speaking another language, that
tic group must be given the dignified appellation
ibnationality. It is on this ground that the Urdu-
rs cannot be recognized as a subnationality. The
ty among them are so scattered in small groups
erent places all over India—in some of the big
like Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta, Hyderabad
ecunderabad that it is impossible to recognise
as a distinct compact national body in any sense.
onsiderations of a like nature prevent small
of scattered and isolated humanity being given
ition as a subnationality. Some 'Adibasi'
uled tribes) and other tribes living in widely
ed areas—for example, in South India—cannot
distinct subnationalities by themselves. They are
nall to be viable and self-contained units.

some cases, considerations arising from historical reasons cannot altogether be disregarded. The claim of the 'Adibasis' in South Bihar and in some central regions of India to a separate province of their own to be named 'Jharkhand,' is a case in point. The phenomenal success of the 'Jharkhand party' in South Bihar in the recent elections show a genuine and steady popular yearning among these 'Adibasis' for self-expression and self-development. They are a numerous people inhabiting a large and a compact area. Now, the 'Adibasis' represent the original inhabitants of India and through entire history they have been repressed by a long series of on-coming invaders; in the result they are among the most backward communities in the country. Wherefore, if today memories of the 'raw deal' handed out to them throughout the past, together with the fact of geographical contiguity in their case create in their people in the 'Jharkhand' region, mutual sympathies demanding embodiment in one compact province there is nothing extraordinary about it.

Similar memories of historical association entitle the people of Rajputana to have a separate province to themselves. They may not have a recognised and well-developed language, solely their own but in their case also history, rather than linguistic considerations, should be the main factor in framing a province.

Except in the two cases mentioned above, community of language is one of the essential determinants of subnationality in India.

Applying the abovementioned tests, the subnationalities in India can be recognized as follows: Bengali, Maharastrian, Oriya, Hindusthani, Assamese, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Gujarati, Tamilian, Telugu, Kannadiga, Malayalee, Adibasi (of Jharkhand) and Rajput. Consequently, the following should be the Provinces or 'States,' as units composing our federation,—West Bengal, Maharashtra, Orissa, Central Hindusthan (or Madhya Pradesh or Madhya Bharat or whatever may be the suitable name that can be thought of), Assam, East Punjab, Kashmir, Gujarat (or Sourashtra), Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak, Kerala, Jharkhand and Rajasthan. The 'States' should be treated as the contracting parties to the Federation (or Union) of India with an equal status and while the Lower House of the Central Legislature (House of the People in the Parliament) should contain representatives on a population basis, the Upper House (Council of States) should contain an equal number of representatives from each of the 'States' as in the Congress Senate in the United States of America.

Thus re-adjusted, a 'State' or Province in India will contain a homogeneous population facilitating efficient and progressive administration. People will then be familiar with the ways and inclinations of one another and this will make for real self-government. The spread of primary education will be facilitated by the fact of people speaking the same language in a Province. It is desirable that a child should have

his primary education in his mother-tongue and if one and the same mother-tongue is spoken in a Province, the task of the Provincial Government whose function it would be to organize the system of primary education at the base, would be rendered so much easier. Mahatma Gandhi was for this reason a great advocate of reconstitution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

This is not a policy of cleavage, it is not formed on Provincial animosities or on parochial spite. This is simply marshalling the people of this country on scientific principles, in different linguistic categories. West Bengal is today wanting regions like Manbhum and Dhalbhum back from Bihar. Some political leaders in that Province characterize this as narrow provincialism. This is not so. This is simply an aspiration to unite all Bengalis living in contiguous areas in a single Province. If those leaders can prove the existence of Hindi-speaking regions on the borderlands of West Bengal, by all means let them take those regions back to a Hindi-speaking Province. Bengalis will not object. Whether any existing province will lose or gain in territories by the policy of redistribution of Provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis is not so important as the fact that by this policy the Indian Federation will be constructed in a logical and orderly manner, a rational principle will enter into the composition of its component parts.

Whatever an existing province loses or gains in area, obviously no territory is going out of India! Therefore, why should any patriot worry? We do not support "Provincial Imperialism." True, in diplomacy one nation tries to double-cross another. But diplomacy as such has no place in this problem of ours and if in altering Provincial boundaries on linguistic principles a particular region is to be separated from a Province, still that region will continue to form part of Indian Union, it will not be lost to India. Yet some people in the Province of Bihar and judging from appearances some of the men at the helm of the Central Government have become so nervous and angry at the suggestion of separating the Bengali areas like Manbhum from Bihar and joining them to West Bengal, that they could not have been more upset if some malignant agents have footed a conspiracy to transfer those areas to some foreign power! We admit, it goes without saying, that the paramount necessity now is to consolidate the Indian Nation. But we affirm with no apology for the seeming paradox, that this will be readily achieved by the recognition of the rights of subnationalities in India. Denial of their claim will create a maladjustment, a seething discontent, perhaps even an uproar. The disintegration of the entire country will not come out of the recognition of the principle of linguistic provinces. To repeat, the Indian Nation is not so brittle as that. Defeatism or unreasonable prejudice is what is troubling Sri Nehru and men of his way of thinking who pretend that allegiance to one's subnationality is subversive or that it competes with or in any manner undermines allegiance to the greater concept of the Indian Nation.

We must not be understood to be making a fetish of the provincial language. Let every Province be compulsorily bilingual, in the sense that let it allow the federal language to enjoy at least as much importance within the provincial limits as its own mother-tongue. Conceivably, stringent constitutional safeguards to cope with discrimination in a Province against people coming from other Provinces must be made. When once the subnationalities have decided to combine in the Indian Federation as contracting parties to the Constitution, they must part with power gracefully and without stint. But in the first place, it is necessary that at least their status as parties building up United India be given tangible recognition by incorporating each of them into a Province.

Again, many Congress leaders insist that while the principle of linguistic redistribution of Provinces may be sound, this is not the time to create a controversy over this issue. When the country will settle down to normal times after ten years or so, then only can one attend to this question. If this problem is tackled now, it will stir up mutual antipathies among peoples of different provinces and the making of the Indian Nation will be retarded.

This doctrine of masterly inactivity is really that of irresponsible escapism. These leaders would defeat their own purpose by postponing the solution of this urgent problem. The martyrdom of deathless patriots like Sri Ramalu of Andhra is a pointer. Controversies are not any longer to be created over the problem of redistribution of Provincial boundaries; they are ready made. The whole thing has already taken such an ugly turn that with a policy of drift, people's temper will not calm down; on the other hand, by this policy, it will become more prejudiced against and suspicious towards the 'rival' groups. It is like sitting on a delayed action explosive. Any cause of this type of inter-provincial conflict should never be kept alive. If quarrels and bickerings over this question and the resulting uncertainty are to continue for ten years more, the accumulated ill-feeling between provinces and provinces—among subnationalities thwarted in their aspirations—will be the peril of India. If Provincial boundaries have to be readjusted, now is the time. The whole world is in a state of flux today and people's minds are accustomed to—nay, eager for change. People will put up with much now, possible disagreements in these stormy days are all ephemeral—people will forget them all. But ten years later, when one can expect some amount of stability in the general political atmosphere, if the causes of dissension persist, Indian nationalism may be damaged beyond repair. If the determination of this controversy is postponed, people's minds will be agitated by a sense of frustration of a rightful demand and this is not congenial to national life. As discontent and quarrels

increase, the idea of complete separation will spring up among the disappointed subnationalities. Those who refuse to attend to this problem among provinces now, those who would vacillate before the growing inter-provincial bitterness, instead of adopting a firm policy and getting it over soon—consciously or unconsciously they are compromising India's future.

If India is successfully organised on the basis of federation of her various subnationalities, mankind will see a new way of hope. Europe has failed in comparable circumstances, so have the Americas. We shall see then the preliminaries of world-federation in India. The distinct entity of each of her subnationalities is thus the glory of India. It avoids dull uniformity and makes her a world in herself. By adopting a well-known adage, we expect India to save herself by her exertions and the world by her example.

Opponents of linguistic redistribution of Provinces merely retard this destiny of India.

———:O:———

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE COLD WAR

By KARL LOEWY

The prospect of the Middle East to become the scene of an intensified Cold War would add no comfort for the countries concerned and would mean no news. It has borne the fate of world-wide political fights between great powers since olden times, when men first began to act in history in this part of the Mediterranean. Some time elapsed after World War II before the fronts were clearly divided and before the lines were deployed. Even if not every detail is fixed already, the tendency to get ready and the will to arrive at decisions has become most apparent since the change of government in the U.S.

In the wake of the lightning tour of Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, to Europe an inspection of the Middle East area may be expected. This task will apparently be allotted not to a member of the Eisenhower-team—a move typical for the future course of the American foreign policy—but to the beaten rival of the General, democratic Adlai Stevenson. His special assignment will be to probe the terrain and find out the chances for political conversations between the President, Mr. Ben Gurion, Premier of Israel and General Naguib, some time during next summer.

It may sound strange but it belongs to the fundamental elements in the Middle East policy, that a pact for the defense of this area will remain incomplete without a Jewish-Arab peace treaty. Strategically, the integration of Israelis as well as of Arabs into the system is of secondary practical importance. Under present conditions the armies of the Arab states and of Israel would have no more chance of a successful resistance against the military machine of the Soviet Union, and in this respect they are of no less value than the armies of Holland and Belgium against the aggression of Hitler's war-machine. The valuation in numbers may be estimated from a discussion of a military treaty between Syria, Iraq and Jordan, which has probably already been held even only for the sake of their part in such a pact. Their combined manpower is 18 brigades with 55.000 men. As for the active number of the Israel defense army no details are available, it depends on the requirements of the day since the Israel army is organized on a basis similar to that of Switzerland and may draw any able man or woman at any emergency. The Egyptian Army is a machine in the stage of erection. It may be presumed that years will pass before it can be used with a chance of success.

The state of the military apparatus in this part of the world is one of the reasons of American policy to appease political opponents of the Middle East. They still grope the problem without deciding the final direction and this may be explained partly by the unholy tradition of the British politicians here to keep continually moving those offering favours to their overlords. The question, what advantages may be extracted out of moving the British bases of the zone, has already entered into lively competition between Israelis and Arabs. The consideration of this point, though an interesting and even important nuance of the political game, will never become a decisive factor.

In order to arrive at the final clearing of the Middle East situation the Western democratics will see themselves before other and greater tasks. The point is to create the conditions which would lead the Middle East from a narrow particularism, dominating any of its political and economic acts, back to a way of thinking as created by destiny for its great periods: to be a living part of an overnational community.

The actions of American policy since World War II are no efforts to get influence in the Middle East but rather the putting forward of feelers in the direction of a correct aim and with, unfortunately, very insufficient means. The first practical step, Point 4 Aid of President Truman, started off with many hopeful beginnings, could not arrive at any great results since it lacked the idea out of which it could grow from a bureaucratic machine into the great tool for an aimed policy. Practical results will only be achieved by co-ordinating the political problems of the Middle East with the philanthropic purposes of raising the social standard of living of the under-developed peoples. For this the natural sources of the Middle East

are not sufficient and they have to be developped to their full display with the simultaneous effect of a preventive against World War III: The rise of the Mediterranean countries being possible only by a systematic "Importation" of men, able to give and get the blessing of a raised standard in their enriched new homeland—and to protect it.

At two diametrically opposed cases it may be demonstrated that problems of population policy are beginning to replace other questions of the Middle East. Without solving the problem of the Palestinian refugees it will be impossible to clear the Middle East problem in general; also the continuation of the Israel colonisation will have to be replaced by new methods based on experience made until today. Too long these have been considered as local or community matters of certain groups only, while actually they consist as parts of the international refugee problem, on the sensible settlement of which the wellbeing of all humanity depends. The fate of men who don't know today where to put their head will not only decide on the future of war or peace, but also of human civilisation: To Be Or Not To Be.

Even if the wishes of Jews and Arabs seem to be contrarily opposed, both nourish the same sources out of the same necessities. From the course of the matters of those banished from Palestine as of those who remained it may be seen that life's necessities are stronger than political principles. The Syrian dictator Shishakly has learned the wisdom of his Israeli opponents that *space* without *people* is of little avail for the wellbeing of the nation—just as people without space. Thus, the thought has ripened that means have to be tried for achieving the settlement and stationariness of a part of the Palestine refugees in Northern Syria with the help of soil cultivation under irrigation; and from the same thought stems the call of Mr. Ben Gurion for letting go 2½ million Russian Jews for settlement in Israel.

The same system of "filling up" wants the southernmost and the weakest point of the anti-Russian front: Iraq. Without men all its resources of oil and its favourable position would be useless. On 143,520 square miles live only 3½ millions who would not even be able to resist aggression by their neighbouring mountain-peoples at the northern frontier if they were assisted by Moscow.

For the protection of the open flank of the Middle East there exists only one efficient medium: The application of the old experience of the "Chinese Wall," of the "Roman Lines" and of the Austrian-Hungarian military frontier, namely that human waves may only be halted by human dams, beyond which a new prosperity and a new civilisation flourish.

The next stage of the cold war in the Middle East without the last risk of an armed class will only be terminated by a policy based on men; only thus progressing atomization can be prevented, which would as a matter of course deliver the Middle East to the militarily stronger opponent.

A continued safeguarding of the Middle East will come easily to the Americans as this requires two means suited to their mentality: Educating the people of the Middle East to independent thinking within spaces beyond their own boundaries and practical completion of the psychological war by introduction of methods similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority for the economic foundation of this part of the world which has not yet found its peace since the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

Nahariya, Israel.

———:O:———

INDIA'S FUEL PROBLEM

By SUKUMAR MERH, M.Sc.,
Lecturer in Geology, University of Baroda

An early fulfilment of India's ambition to prosper and become great depends largely on an all-round development of its various manfacturing—both agricultural and mineral—industries. And the large-scale industrialisation, in turn, depends chiefly on the availability of various raw materials and cheap motive power. So far as our resources in the shape of materials or man-power are concerned, we do not lack them much. But we are severely handicapped, compared with some other nations, so far as the resources for the generation of cheap motive power, *i.e.*, fuels like coal and petroleum are concerned. India is poorly endowed in the matter of these essential mineral fuels which are, to some extent, indespensable requirements for modern mechanised industries. Some have been found to carry a wrong impression that we are in possession of enormous deposits of mineral fuels like coal and petroleum, while others have been holding an equally erroneous and pessimistic idea that our fuel resources are too scanty. It is my intention to give here in brief, a critical study of the possibilities of India's fuel resources.

It should be mentioned, at the very outset, that the use of forests as a source of fuels has been totally ruled out. The wood in any form should definitely be not used as a source of power supply. The use of India's vast forest resources as fuels is not only criminally wasteful but also disastrous. Forests should exclusively be reserved for more profitable purposes to furnish various raw materials to a number of new industries.

We are Wasting Our Precious Coal

Very often we hear much about the richness of our coal resources. No doubt, Nature has bestowed on our country one of the most precious commodities and that too, in fairly a good amount. But then, we must also know where we stand as compared to the other countries' coal resources, and our needs. On a broad basis, the total coal production of the world approximates nearly 1.5 billion tons annually and India contributes nearly 30 to 35 million tons, which comes to about 2 per cent of the total production. Thus, we see our production in that way is quite insignificant.

The chief uses to which the coal is put in our country are for producing electrical energy, for generating steam power for running locomotives, ships and various factories and workshops. It is also used in metallurgical industries for smelting various ores. A small percentage is used for generating coal gas. Unlike some foreign countries, it finds little use in the manufacture of chemicals, dyestuffs and synthetic petrol. The present yield of coal, no doubt, is quite sufficient to meet our present industrial and domestic requirements. But then, we have to look to the future also. If we aim at large-scale mechanisation of Indian life, industrial as well as agricultural, proper attention must be paid to the various problems connected with our coal resources.

The total Indian coal reserves of different varieties have been estimated to be nearly 60,000 million tons. The workable coal is estimated to be only 20,000 million tons. Of these, the reserves of good quality coal are restricted to only 5000 million tons—out of which nearly 1500 million tons are coking coals and the rest are non-coking. At present most of the coal extracted is of good quality and with this present rate of consumption, the reserves of good quality coal are likely to be exhausted in about a hundred years' time. The coking coal which ought to be exclusively reserved for metallurgical purposes, is at present mostly used for other purposes and only 20 per cent of the yield of metallurgical coal has found proper use for smelting purposes. India has in its possession world's best iron ore deposits, and at the present rate of the consumption and wastage of metallurgical coking coal, iron smelting industry of India would come to a standstill after a hundred years or so. Evidently there is an imperative need of conserving the coking coal reserves and using them exclusively for smelting various ores.

In Indian coal mines, the coal during its extraction is handled carelessly and wastefully, and is mostly consumed in a raw state with little or no processing. Our mining methods also need a lot of improvements. At present, underground workings of coal mines are not properly and systematically planned and they are responsible for much damage to the mines. Of late, something is being done by the Government in this direction and considerable attention is being paid to see that wasteful mining methods are no more employed. Still much more remains to be done, and we can save this precious and non-replenishable asset for our better use in future, only if coal-miners, governments and public in general co-operate with one another. The good quality coking coal should exclusively be reserved for metallurgical uses only and its use in other spheres of industry should be drastically cut down if not totally stopped. The non-coking coal of good variety has been found quite suitable for manufacture of synthetic petrol. Some of our inferior grade coals with high ash content which have been found unsuitable for ordinary steam-raising purposes, can become quite good for this purpose when used in pulverised form or as screened small coal. By resorting to such practices and others, we can save much of our high grade coal.

Our coal resources need a planned management and mining, proper utilization and conservation of superior quality, and if these conditions are forthcoming, India will solve her fuel problem to a considerable extent and avoid the impending crisis, for coming several hundred years or more.

Petroleum and its Substitutes

The oil position of India is bad. There have been no big deposits of petroleum in this sub-continent and before partition, the total output of petroleum from the oilfields of Assam and the Punjab, was hardly sufficient to meet a fraction of our needs. The average annual production was nearly 100 million gallons, which is very insignificant as compared to the world production, being only about 0.2 per cent of the total world output. The partition has deprived us of our good oilfields of the Punjab and we have lost about 40 per cent of our oil. Strenuous search is being made in Assam for more oil, and one cannot, at this stage, say definitely what the result of this search will be. The whole of the Himalayan Terai is there still to be explored. Who knows someday we may hear of big reserves of this precious fuel, being found in an unknown place in those tracts. But there are chances to the contrary also.

Without petrol, a country is apt to be placed in a difficult condition. This liquid fuel holds a key position for defence, transport and industries. With the industrialization and improvement of transport and communication facilities, the consumption of petrol will go up five or six times its present figure. Unless we produce more oil or manufacture substitute fuels and resort to other sources of power generation, our country's wealth worth millions of rupees will go out for securing imported oil. It is of strategic importance also to be self-sufficient in some form of liquid fuel and in case of a future world war, the possibility of which can not be totally ruled out, India deficient in this respect would hardly survive.

The question of manufacturing the two substitutes for petroleum, *viz.*, the synthetic petrol and power alcohol, should be taken up in right earnest by governments and industrialists both. Different manfacturing processes have been successfully tried in Europe in which the coal is processed to liquid fuel. The processes involve either hydrogenation of coal-tar, or carbonisation of coal or the

synthesis from gases evolved during the gasification of coal. During the last war, Germany produced huge quantity of synthetic petrol out of inferior quality coal. It has been found that roughly five tons of inferior quality coal yield about one ton of petrol. According to Dr. V. S. Dubey, the petrol thus obtained in India will be cheaper than imported oil. We have got superior quality coal, amounting to about 3500 million tons, quite suitable for manufacturing petrol. Low grade coal reserves are still in greater amount. It is quite essential that a few centres of synthetic petrol manufacture be established in the neighbourhood of coalfields of Bihar, Rewa and Hyderabad, etc. Besides its national and strategic importance, it is quite an economic proposition to manufacture synthetic petrol in India.

In addition, it is also desirable that the soft-coke industry be so reorganised as to make it obligatory to redistil the crude coal tar. This process yields, as bye-product, a few pounds of benzol per ton of coal. As a side industry, it can contribute its small but important share of liquid fuel to the country.

Another substitute for petrol is power alcohol, the manufacture of which involves the utilization of agricultural products for conversion of their starch of sugar content to alcohol. It is the most suitable substitute liquid fuel that can be produced to an almost unlimited extent in an agricultural country like India. It has been found to be the best alternative fuel for internal combustion engines. India affords vast possibilities for the establishment of power alcohol industry. With the existing output of surplus molasses which is a bye-product in sugar industry and has no market, India can manufacture about 15 million gallons or more of power alcohol. There are every chance of the development of sugar industry in near future and more and more molasses will be available to be converted to alcohol.

Another important source of alcohol is 'Mahua' flower. Its trees are quite common, numerous and found in almost all parts of India. Even the existing trees of Mahua supply enough flowers so as to give us about 3.5 million gallons of alcohol annually. Mahua trees can be grown in almost all parts of India and their plantation on a large scale is quite easy, and once if it is done on a planned and extensive scale, within a few years' time, a large fraction of our fuel needs shall be satisfied from this source only.

The third and most important source of alcohol are starchy materials like wheat, rice, potatoes, etc. Resources of India in respect of these materials are quite vast and a very huge production of power alcohol can be made from rice, wheat, potatoes and other starchy agricultural products. If in coming few years, as our irrigation facilities improve and large areas of barren land come under cultivation, and we resort to large-scale agricultural enterprizes yielding huge surpluses of various foodgrains and cereals, it would be advisable to reserve a certain percentage for the distilleries. Thus we shall be able to produce nearly or even more than hundred million gallons of alcohol per year.

These liquid fuels—petroleum and its substitutes—are of national and strategic importance and a well-planned uniform countrywide policy in regard to their production and consumption is needed.

Hydro-Electricity to Save Our Fuels

To us, coal and petroleum have been the two chief and important sources of cheap power. But as we have seen, we are not in a happy state of affairs in respect of these resources. If, therefore, we desire to speed up the industrialization of India, we must find, in addition to what have been suggested above, an adequate substitute as a source of motive power. And luckily, Nature has provided us with a better and cheaper substitute, *viz.*, the water power. The vast network of rivers spread throughout the length and breadth of this big country furnishes us with a perennial source of power in the form of hydro-electricity. The water power, transmitted to long distances as electrical energy, offers good possibilities both as regards the quantity available and the cheapness at which the power can be supplied. This electrical energy can be utilized to a large extent in place of coal, petrol and other fuels, thus saving them for restricted and specialised purposes where they are indespensable. Apart from this benefit of the conservation of fuels, the hydro-electric schemes also help to solve various other problems of national importance like flood-control, irrigation, afforestation, navigation and soil conservation, etc.

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that the Government of India, realising the seriousness of the fuel situation and for avoiding the impending crisis, has given priority to various schemes for producing cheap hydro-electric power in almost all parts of India. It is expected that in about ten to fifteen years' time, many of these schemes will start functioning.

Our Government also aims at formulating a National Fuel Policy for the whole of India and various steps have also been taken in this direction. A Fuel Research Laboratory has also been established at Dhanbad in Bihar. It is not necessary here to give a long list of suggestions in that respect. But before I close, I would like to assert and emphasise that the guiding principle in laying down a National Fuel Policy should be the interest of the nation as a whole, which should be supreme and should not be weighed down by the consideration of huge profits of a few big commercial interests.

CATTLE WEALTH IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

II

Want of Proper Care of Cattle

Another important cause for the deterioration of Indian cattle is the want of proper care on the part of the Indian cultivator. He does not take as good care of his cattle as his Western confere does. This is because of their poor quality, and the deterioration in quality is due, *inter alia*, to lack of adequate care. But the cultivator feeds his bullocks better than his cows because it pays him. He feeds his bullocks better during the busy season when they work than during the slack season when they remain idle; further, he feeds his more valuable bullocks better than those less valuable but he neglects the Indian cow. The general neglect of the cow and her female calf, both of whom are so to speak, starved from birth to death, has a very deleterious effect on the breed of the cattle. Although the draught animals and buffaloes are properly fed, the cow gets next to nothing of stall feeding. She is expected to pick up her living on the bare fields after harvest and on the village waste lands, which hardly exist in a number of villages, and even where they do, they produce little useful herbages.

Type of cattle feed	*Total production in British India per year* Million tons	*Annual Requirements* Million tons
Roughages, *viz.*, fodder crops, straws of cultivated crops and grasses	165	270
Concentrates, *viz.*, oilcakes, cotton, seed, gram, cereal husks and bran	3.7	19

This continuous under-feeding naturally affects the breed. Though a cow of better quality is better looked after than ordinary breeds, a larger proportion of Indian cows are more mismanaged, as they are of ordinary breed and yield about only a seer of milk per day for about seven months in a year. It is for this reason that he neglects his cow. "Broadly, it would be true to say that if there is any fodder available after the draught cattle are fed she gets it, or share it with young stock; for the rest she is left to find food where she can. Where the cow provides some milk for the household, as well as for her calf, cultivators try to spare her two or three pounds of a mixture of cotton seed and bran or cilcakes or pulse, but, when her milk fails, the ration is withdrawn and she is turned adrift to find a living for herself on grazing."[19] This neglect reduces milk yields of the cow and the quality of breed.

In most Provinces it is the useless and uneconomical stock which forms a large and increasing proportion of the animal population and this has complicated the problem and increased the difficulties of the stockowners. The number of cattle is too large. In the words of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, "In whatever respect Indian cattle may be lacking, they do not lack in number."[20]

But the fact is that the productive value of the cattle is not commensurate with their number. In fact, the large number of diminutive cattle are a serious drain on the country's fodder supply and eat into the profits from agriculture.[21] Weight for weight, a small animal consumes a much larger quantity of food than a bigger animal. Thus an animal weighing 500 lbs. is estimated to consume not half but about two-thirds of what an animal weighing 1,000 lbs. would consume.

Their poor quality, as they are undersized and weak, compels the farmers in India to keep a large number of cattle to do a given amount of work, and this creates a vicious circle. The increase in the number of cattle makes impossible their proper feeding and this leads to a further deterioration in quality. As the Royal Commission has summed it up so well, "The worse the conditions for rearing efficient cattle are the greater the numbers kept tend to be. Cows become less fertile and their calves become undersized and do not satisfy the cultivator, who, in attempt to secure useful bullocks, breed more and more cattle. As numbers increase the pressure on available supply of food leads to still further poverty in the cow. As cattle grow smaller in size and greater in number the rate at which conditions become worse for breeding good livestock is accelerated. As cattle become smaller the amount of food needed in pro-

19. The pre-war average daily yield of milk of one-third of our cows was less than 1 lb., of another 58 per cent between 1 lb. and 2 lbs. and of the rest less than 4 lbs. In the case of she-buffaloes 53 per cent yield less than 21 lbs. About 29 per cent between 2 and 5 lbs. and the rest less than 7 lbs.

20. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 188.

21. The Expert Cattle Committee (Bombay 1940) wrote: "The cattle of the province are, on the whole, not an economic proposition as over 80 per cent can only be regarded as a drain on the country." Similarly the Board of Economic Enquiry (in 1929) remarked that about 70 per cent of the cows, in the Rohtak District of East Punjab, do not pay for their upkeep.

portion to their size increases." But the religious susceptibilities lie in the way of slaughtering decrepit and useless cattle and hence the cattle, however, weak and poor, are allowed to live. The number of cattle have become so large and their efficiency has fallen so low in India as results of the process having advanced so far that the task of reducing the number of useless animals and of reversing the process of deterioration is now extremely difficult. In several ways religious and social sentiments have aggravated the difficulty. To kill a cow or a bullock is a deadly sin in Hinduism. Hindus object to sell because sale is usually to a butcher and leads to the slaughter-house. Rather than selling the cattle to the cattle-dealer he sends them to a *gowshala* or lets them loose to die. In one case breeding can be controlled and in the other bulls wander about the fields consuming or damaging at least three times as much fodder as they need, and covering as they please. The difference is of great importance in a country where cows are of all sorts and good bulls far too few.[22] Unless the Hindu sentiment is abjured altogether the Indian cultivators cannot take a practical view of animal-keeping and will continue to preserve animals many of which are quite useless from birth to death.

Lack of Good Breeding Stock

Another important cause for the deterioration of the quality of our cattle is the lack of good breeding stock. There are villages, where no breeding bulls are to be found and the result is that frequently the cultivators have to travel about six to eight miles to take the advantage of a good stud bull or a male buffalo. The scarcity of the stud bulls and buffaloes is due to the fact that no private individual maintains stud bulls of good quality for to do so is uneconomic for him. Secondly, the methods of scientific breeding are unknown to the Indian cultivator.

Investigations clearly show that the existence of goitre, ostemalacia and other bone troubles, emaciation, birth of weak calves and pica are due to malnutrition. Animals living on imperfect diet have a greater tendency to infections of the respiratory and gastro-intestinal tract, and of stone formation in the bladder. Other types of losses, such as those resulting from irregular breeding and abortion of non-infectious origin are also due to faulty dieting deficient in calcium and vitamin. A deficient ration—vitamin A deficiency in the diet of cows is also found to produce blindness among calves. Prolonged malnutrition or famine leads to the suppression of oestrus. Thus in India in drought years village cows do not bear calves or bear them only in alternative years or even only once in three years when the body reserves for minerals and other essentials are established.

22. Darling : *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village* p. 73.

Cattle Diseases

Cattle diseases are also responsible for the decay in the quality of our cattle. In the Indian villages, cattle suffer from a numbr of contagious fatal diseases like the rinderpest, foot and mouth disease, anthran and black quarter. Animal parasites like round worms, flat worms and protozoa also cause wasting diseases. But due to lack of a sufficient number of efficient and experienced veterinary doctors, cattle diseases are not properly diagnosed and treated resulting in heavy cattle mortality. In the words of the Royal Commission, "It is indeed the fear of loss from disease that tempts many to keep a larger stock than is absolutely necessary and thus increases the difficulty of feeding cattle properly." Epidemic diseases cause tremendous damage. A large number of cattle, attacked by disease, which escaped death, find their vitality sapped and health permanently injured. This affects their milking qualities and their ability to produce healthy draught bullocks.

Inadequate as they are, the following figures of reported deaths due to contagious diseases may help to give an idea of the relative importance of various diseases :

During the period of 1933-34 to 1937-38, the average number of reported deaths was about 2¼ lakhs per year. Of these, the proportion accounted for by the various diseases were : Rinderpest 56.6 per cent; Hæmorrhagic Septicæmia 18.5 per cent; Black Quarter 5.3 per cent and others 16.1 per cent. It will be noted that rinderpest alone accounts for more than half of the total number of deaths due to contagious diseases.

The distribution of all reported deaths over the various provinces may be seen from the following figures :[23]

	Average No. of reported deaths during (1925-40) (Thousands)	Percentage to Bovine population in 1940
Madras	62	0.28
Bombay	19	0.19
Bengal	23	0.098
U. P.	38	.118
Bihar and Orissa	19	.095
C. P. and Berar	26	.19

The average mortality for these provinces works out at 17 per cent. The province which yields the heaviest rate among the above provinces is Madras. In considering the variation of mortality from year to year, the Royal Commissioon on Agriculture remarked that

> "Rinderpest is a disease which though always present in some part of the country or other, has waves of virulence from time to time which take 3 to 4 years to reach their crest."

On the other hand, mortality due to other contagious diseases remains fairly stable from year to year.

23. Vide H. K. Lall : *Trend of Cattle Population in India.*

Lines of Improvement of Indian Cattle

There are four aspects of cattle improvement, *e.g.*, (*a*) Feeding, (*b*) Breeding, (*c*) Management, and (*d*) Disease control.

Good-feeding : This will clearly show the magnitude of problem of providing enough of nutrition to our cattle. Therefore, the very first step towards the improvement will be to improve enough suitable feeds for the cattle. This can be assured through (*a*) an economical use of available supplies and (*b*) an increase in the supplies of fodder (more particularly those suitable for milk production).

The solution of the fodder problem depends on the fact that bold and honest efforts are made towards its realisation. The first step that may be taken in this direction should be to make the most efficient and economical use of the available supplies of fodder. This necessitates that indiscriminate grazing should be checked and that the agriculturists should be taught, through proper propaganda done by the various Agricultural Departments, the advantages of proper grazing. He should be induced to hay-making (according to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, "He has been a grass-cutter but never hay-maker") and proper storage of dry grass. Feeding value of the grasses depends upon cutting them at the right stage of growth which will not only improve the quality of fodder but will also materially increase the palatability of the fodder both grass and straw because grass, if cut before it becomes overripe, would be more tastful to the cattle and of greater nutritive value, but when the grass becomes "dead ripe" the quality of the straw is always inferior and will not be liked by the cattle. But the cultivator is ignorant of the right time when the grass is to be cut. It is the duty of the agricultural officers to tell the cultivator the stage at which grass may be cut to conserve the feeding value of the fodders; and that experiments should be made to secure a better and more palatable straw by earlier harvesting.

(a) *Storage of Available Fodder* : Further, the cultivator should be taught the methods of fodder storage. The preservation of the fodder for dry seasons in the form of silage is of such potential value in improving the nutrition of the cattle (particularly of growing stock and milking cows) that every effort should be done to encourage its production. The silo—whether the pit-silo, starck-silo or the tube-silo as the varieties are—preserves the fodder in a fresh and good state making it highly palatable for the animal to eat during those out of seasons of scarcity of fodder. Wherever cultivators have resorted to silage, it has proved of great value in feeding his cattle in dry season but the progress in this direction is not very encouraging.

The green fodder available during the monsoon can be conserved for periods of fodder scarcity by the method of silage. The process consists commonly in digging pits of a given size, filling them with green succulent fodders and weighing them with earth or stones. The Royal Commission on Agriculture estimated that a pit 10 ft. long, 8 ft. wide at the surface and 7 ft. wide at the bottom and 9 ft. deep would hold all the silage that a cultivator owning 3 or 4 cattle would need to bring his stock through the hot season in good condition. The Rural Co-operative Societies should undertake to conserve fodder through silage for distribution during the dry season. The Forest Department should permit such societies to remove grass from the Reserve Forests free of cost for ensiling purposes. The Agricultural Department should assist societies undertaking silage making, use of mechanical chaff-cutters as well as proper accounting of the receipt of green fodder and distribution of silage.

Supplies to deficit areas from surplus areas could be organised through a Basic Plan mutually agreed to by Provinces. Imports of cattle-feeds may also be made from abroad to relieve temporary shortages, if possible. When prices of concentrates are beyond the purchasing power of milk producers, supplies, especially to institutions like Co-operative Milk Union and dairy farms, should be organised and subsidised. The production of succulent fodders and legumes should be encouraged to the maximum possible extent by providing facilities of irrigation, seeds, manures and technical guidance to the cultivator-producer. Facilities for the procurement and distribution of green and dry fodders to areas where production is not possible, should be provided and the supplies should be subsidised wherever prices are high. An adequate and regular supply of clean and sweet water which is very necessary for the health of cattle and milk production should be provided. Wherever necessary, wells should be renovated, new wells sunk, water-raising devices provided and water-storage tanks and troughs constructed.

(b) *Extension of Grazing Lands* : To solve the problem of scarcity and shortage of fodder supply effectively, available sources of fodder supplies will have to be supplemented. This can be done by (*a*) making additions to grazing areas and (*b*) the cultivation of fodder crops. As already said above, the scarcity of common grazing lands is common in almost all villages. It is, therefore, necessary that common grazing lands should be restored to immediately. But this will not alleviate the present shortage of fodder, for the immediate tendency would be to over-graze the areas and leave them barren of herbage within a comparatively short period. But this danger of over-grazing can be checked, by reducing the number of useless and decrepit cattle. Thus addition to grazing lands, supplemented by

suitable measures, will be invaluable in securing adequate fodder supply for feeding our cattle.

(c) *Cultivation of Fodder Crops*: Besides this, the supplies of fodder can be increased by the increased cultivation of fodder crops and leguminous crops, such as berseem, and lucerne, jowar, arhar and millets and various exotic grasses, such as Napier grass, Sudan grass and Guinea grass, etc. At present the tendency is to put more of area under cash crops, which give better returns than to the fodder crops. All possible encouragement should be given to the cultivators to induce them to put more of acreage under such crops which are suitable as cattle-feeds. Crops which are more nutritious and have better yields per acre should be cultivated in order to get yields per acre from the same area. Sir Johan Russel has suggested that a number of fodder crops should be cultivated in India, as they would effect greatly in improving yields and in total output. Leguminous fodder crops in addition to increasing the quality of farmyard manure enhance the fertility of the soil on which they grow; they cannot usually be fed alone and generally are mixed with non-leguminous crops. "The feeding of these fodder crops will be marked improvement in the quality of the cattle and their milk yield. The fact that fodder crops are used as supplement to grass probably explain why some of the best developed cattle in India are produced in dry areas where the growth of grass is sparse. The cattle reared on coarse rank grass in the wetter parts of India are of poor quality and of little use either for milk or draught."[24]

(d) *Rational Grazing*: On the village pasture land rotational grazing should be compulsorily introduced everywhere. On account of over-grazing, pasture lands deteriorate and it is essential that some pause should be given to grasses for recoupment. If one-half of the pasture lands is closed for some months and the remaining half is opened for grazing, there will be more grass for the village cattle, and at the same time they can have exercise in open. At present, village pasture lands are more in the nature of exercise grounds and provide very little grass. If the policy of closure and rotational grazing is introduced, more food will be available for the cattle.

(e) *Nutritive Cattle Feed*: The diet of the Indian cattle is deficient not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Hence efforts should be made to increase the available supplies of cattle-feed rich in protein. Investigations made by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have shown a mixture of oilcakes, bran, barley and gram husk to be a good protective food.

The quantity of this diet which is suggested is 1½ seers for the first 2½ seers of milk and thereafter half a seer of mixture for every additional one and a half seers of milk. The U.P. Agricultural Department have recommended a mixture of 50% cakes, 20% bran and 30% barley and have found that three-fourths of the protective requirements can be replaced by berseem grass at the rate of five seers for every seer of mixture. The grass serves the purpose of energy giving food as well. Lastly, it is also preferable to give the cattle *lahori* salt up to one per cent of the mixture.

Protein-rich concentrates such as cotton-seed and linseed cakes are by far the most valuable sources of nutrients for milch cattle. The problem, therefore, revolves round the supply of oilcakes. It has been estimated that there are available in the country about 14½ lakh tons of oil-cakes, and about 18 lakh tons of oil-cakes may be had from 21 lakh tons of oilseed. In order to ensure greater inland supply of oilseeds for the cattle and for manuring the fields, it is necessary that the oil-crushing industry should be developed.

Cattle in the rice straw areas are smaller in size and stunted in growth, and it has been found that one of the factors responsible for this is the presence of excessive potash and its onalate salts in the rice straw which has adverse effect of general metabolism including minerals as well. It has been found out by experts working at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Garmukteshwar that the treatment with dilute solution of caustic soda increases the nutritive value as well as its palatability as by this process, potash and some of its onalate salts are washed away and fibre is made more digestible. According to Mr. C. F. Wares, the food efficiency of the stalks can be increased by 25% on treating them with alkali.

Cattle-Breeding

The value of breeding animals by scientific selections and mating has been recognised, by the farmers in almost all progressive countries. But unfortunately very little attention has been paid by the Indian peasants to the improvement of the breed and the importance of breeding. Cattle are hardly enclosed and good and healthy cattle are allowed to mix with the weak and degenerate types. This leads to a steady deterioration in quality. Professional cattle breeders existed in India for many centuries and they pursued traditional but skilful method of selecting and tending cattle, but these herdsmen practically disappeared from the country owing to the extension of irrigation and consequent lack of common grazing grounds in most provinces. Unlike in the Western countries, in India the bigger landlords have hardly attempted to raise good breeds of cattle. Attempts at improving the cattle by the selection and improvement of the best breeds have to be made in India by the

24. J. Russel: *Report on the Working of I.C.A. Research*, p. 47.

al and Provincial Departments of Agriculture. are government cattle farms in the various ices (for instance at Hosur in Madras and in Punjab) in which pedigree bulls are bred eared and these are sold out to the private s and individuals in the villages.

Breeding Policy

s the stock of milch and draught animals decreased considerably due to indiscriminate ıter, it is essential to build it up again and should now be taken that inefficient or unble breeds do not get multiplied. This is a long period problem and calls for three-fold ures. Firstly, better breeds should be popula- The cattle-shows which have been organised fferent parts of India by the All-India Cattle Society should be multiplied manifold Then are hundreds of cattle-fairs all over the country the work that is being done by the provincial at these fairs require great intensification. The education workers, the radio broadcast agencies the veterinary staff can and must co-operate in direction.

Material progress can be made by increasing the ber of good stud bulls. But at present, the ber of such stud bulls fit for breeding is very . It has been estimated that against our require- of 250 stud bulls we have only one available this purpose. According to an estimate made he Royal Commission on Agriculture, India ed about a million breeding bulls. The pre- number of over 10,000 of pedigree and approved represents only one per cent of the Indian irements. Further, the number of new bulls d each year is only slightly greater than that ed to replace existing animals on a 10 or 15 cent basis of animal wastage. Dr. Wright suggests the progress in this direction can be accelerated roviding a large number of approved bulls bred in ge condition in selected breeding tracts. "The -bred bulls of the guaranteed pedigree, though reliable, are seriously limited in number, un- ed and difficult to handle, and more costly to rear. ge-bred bulls, on the other hand, can be reared lmost negligible cost to Government. Moreover, Government purchase of village-bred bulls for ibution would give invaluable direct encourage- t to progressive breeders." The number of stud should rapidly be increased, for, at present there thousands of villages without a stud or a male alo. This acute shortage, to some extent, can be by the artificial insemination centres started er the scheme of the Indian Council of Agricul- l Research. These centres offer two advantages to public: (1) Approved bulls of suitable breeds be available for service for the village cattle, (2) animals which ordinarily cannot be successfully impregnated due to some physiological defect can be served best if the landlords, well-to-do and service-spirited persons, institutes and cattle societies lend a helping hand.

Provision of Better Breeds

Secondly, arrangement should be made for making better breeds of bulls available for the purpose of crossing on easy terms. To meet the paucity of good breeding bulls in the country full use should be made of the existing organisations and institutions like *Gaushalas* and *Pinjarapoles*. It is estimated that there are at present about 3,000 *gaushalas* in India with a population of over six lakh heads of cattle which are being maintained at a cost of over 30 million rupees per annum. Out of the total population of about 6 lakh cattle in these institutions there are about 20 per cent (1,20,000) classified as good dairy cattle. There are other 20 per cent (1,20,000) good for breeding though not highly productive. And the remaining 60 per cent (3,60,000) are old, infirm and unfit for breeding. At a very conservative estimate it is held that when recognised on improved lines, these institutions will provide about 25,000 males fit for use as stud bulls every year for replacement in the *gaushala* and for free distribution in the neighbouring areas for the improvement of the village cattle. In addition to this, there will be about the same number of males, available for bullock work and 50,000 improved female calves every year.[25]

Castration of Inferior Males: Thirdly, along with the provision of improved stud bulls, it will be necessary to castrate all the useless and unfit males in the villages, otherwise the good results obtained by the use of improved bulls will be undone by the bad ones. Not only scrub-bulls but also uncastrated bullocks used for carts should be castrated to prevent damage to the breed. Ringing of bad cows so as to make covering impossible should also be introduced and popularised. No improvement worth the name is possible in cattle-breeding unless it is rigorously supplemented by castration of useless animals. But it is unfortunate that in view of the large number of useless and decrepit in India the progress in the castration of the inferior males is rather very slow. Whatever castrations have been done are in the Punjab, C.P., and Berar. Dr. Wright advocates "the intensification of castration measures in selected areas." He says, "A policy which includes (1) the distribution of pedigree bulls (bred in Government farms) to selected areas, (2) the registration of progeny in those areas (to build up a reservoir of approved bulls for further distribution), (3) combined with castration of all inferior male stock and (4) if possible the inoculation of all local stock against rinderpest, would represent an ideal method

25. Datar Singh: *Reorganisation of Gaushalas and Pinjrapoles in India*, pp. 9-10.

of effecting livestock improvement in India." India must adopt a definite programme of reduction of cattle numbers and of controlled breeding. With decreased but more efficient cattle, the expansion and improvement of fodder, cropping and pasturage, introduction of silos, stall feeding and controlled grazing in favour of superior stocks will be easier.

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR FUTURE BREEDING POLICY ?

Dr. Wright has made two very valuable suggestions with regard to the formulation of breeding policies in the future. In evolving improved breeds of cattle, the aim should always be to evolve a type which will meet the local requirements, *e.g.*, in the rural areas good draught breed is urgently required but in the vicinity of the town good milking breed is needed. Further, cross-breeding with sires of heavy milk-yielding European breeds is not always durable under Indian conditions because the latter have been bred to make effective use of the smallest quantity of food which may be more economical under the conditions prevailing in India. Therefore, the right policy in India will be to select the best species of the indigenous cattle and improve them. Although an attempt has been made to find specific breeds suitable for different regions such types as Sahiwal, the Hariana, the Sindhi Gir, Ongole, and the Malvi may be generally recommended. Thus inter-provincial movement of cattle is essential but they should not be allowed to carry contagious disease. Quarantine station should, therefore, be established on the important cattle routes as has been done in C.P. under the Rinderpest Act, 1939.

We may conclude this section by quoting the Royal Commission, "If the number of cattle were not exceeded, if a sufficient area of grasing land could be found to carry the existing stock easily in normal seasons, if provision were made for supplementary fodder in the year of scarcity, then it would not be a difficult task for skilled graziers to effect marked improvemtnt in the quality of the cattle."

BETTER MANAGEMENT

There are several aspects of management which improve the efficiency of milch cattle. The calving interval of village cows is 18 to 20 months and 18.03 months for the buffaloes more than half of which period is dry.[26] By skilled management it is possible to reduce the dry period by at least 3 months which will improve production by a minimum of 15 per cent. In seven important breeds the average yield during the lactation period was found to be 1.73 lbs. for cows and 3.99 lbs. for buffaloes but the experimental results show that milch cattle have tremendous potentiality and the yield can be trebled. The results of some experiments are tabulated here :

Centre of experiment	Breed of cattle	Average lactation yield under village conditions	Well-managed (in lbs.)
New Delhi	Sahiwal	1344	Over 4500
Karnal	Hariana	986	3600
Madras	Ongole	1236	Over 3000
Chharodi and Surat	Kankrej	920	Up to 2500

CONTROL OF CATTLE DISEASES

Considering the vast size of the country and the quantity of cattle veterinary aid at present available in rural areas is extremely inadequate and unsatisfactory. According to the Royal Commission, there is only one qualified veterinary surgeon to about 1.5 million cattle and whatever veterinary aid there is, is supplied by the officer employed in the districts who has little knowledge of animal husbandry. For curing the diseased cattle the number of veterinary hospitals has to be increased manifold. There should be established in each district a Central Veterinary Hospital with a number of dispensaries serving the subdivision of the district. Qualified surgeons should also be sent out for touring the districts. An adequate and efficient provision of veterinary aid will require many trained research workers and a large army of qualified surgeons. This objective can be secured with much less difficulty if the Central Government, the Local Boards, Zamindars and individual philanthropists join hands in furthering the cause. Cheap medicines should be prepared by concentrated research, and experiments on the indigenous plants and herbs should be made. Preventive treatment should also be given particular attention. Sanitation of sites, where cattle are kept, needs greater emphasis. The urine-soiled earth and litter as also the dung should be removed daily to the field or the manure pit. Adequate nutrition and good breeding should also go hand in hand.

DAIRY INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Dairy farming in India is still in its infancy. It has not yet received the attention paid to it in the Western countries like Denmark, Sweden, Norway, New Zealand, Australia and the U.S.A.

The dairy industry in modern times began in India in 1881 when cream separators were first introduced. The first large-scale dairy farm was started by the military in 1891 at Allahabad, and the development of more dairy farms led to the creation of the post of Imperial Dairy Expert in 1920. The Expert has helped to stimulate the use of modern methods of handling milk and factory methods in general dairying practice particularly in the development of butter. The pasturing and bottling of milk has also been encouraged.

The poor milking quality of the local breeds of cattle, the inadequacy of the fodder supply, the absence of non-enforcement of laws to prevent the adulteration of milk and ghee, the absence of quick and reliable methods of detecting adulteration have all prevented the development of dairy farming in India.

26. *Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Miscellaneous, No. 22 (1939).*

Difficulties of Development

Following are some of the difficulties of the dairy industry in India :

(1) The trend of the dairy industry has been based on European interests in India and on European practice and little effort was made till recently to meet the real needs of the population. But if the dairy-farming is to be successfully practised in India, it should produce things which are demanded by the large mass of Indians. The piecemeal introduction of the Western methods and the attempts to produce Western products required by the army and the Europeans have been looked upon with indifference by the predominant majority of the ryots. According to Dr. Wright, "What is needed in Indian dairying is a new outlook and a new technique; an outlook which recognises the special nature of Indian problem and a technique which is designed to solve these problems."

(2) The factory system of dairying so characteristic of Denmark and other Western countries is totally unsuited for India. The typical Indian cultivator possesses only one or two milch cattle and the tropical climate and the poor means of transport in India make it very difficult for the collection of milk from a number of farmers and the handling of milk in large quantities in a few big centres. Moreover, the milch cows are often transported to cities, milched during one lactation and then slaughtered, the result being the unnecessary loss of useful milking animals. Much needs to be done, therefore, to improve the urban supplies of milk and milk products.

With a view to develop the dairy industry Dr. Wright has suggested that attention should be concentrated on the production of indigenous milk products and not on products of the Western origin. Secondly, steps should be taken to ensure that an adequate supply of milk and milk products is available for consumption by the rural population; thirdly, any attempt to introduce improved methods should be effected by evolutionary changes of technique; fourthly, the combination of producers on a village industry basis should prove the most effective form of dairy organisation in India; and fifthly, any improvement in production should be supplemented by the provision of improved marketing facilities, and stricter control on the quality milk and milk products on the part of public health authorities is required.

Dairy Products

Estimates of milk production in India are very wide. Oliver and Vaidyanathan estimated it at 1,000 million maunds (36.7 million tons).[27] Dr. Wright considered this estimate excessive and placed the figure at 800 million maunds (29.4 million tons). Report on marketing of milk gives the estimate as 744 million maunds (27.3 million tons).

"In the value of milk production India stands next only to U.S.A. and her output is four times that of Great Britain, five times that of Denmark and six times that of Australia and seven times of New Zealand."[28] But in relation to the needs of her population, the production and consumption per head of population varies from 8 to 9 ozs. per day and are among the lowest in the world.[29] It is 56 ozs. in New Zealand; 45 ozs. in Australia; 43 ozs. in Norway; 40 ozs. in Denmark; 30 ozs. in U.K.; 35 ozs. in Canada; 33 ozs. in U.S.A.; 35 ozs. in Germany, Holland and Belgium; 30 ozs. in France; 29 ozs. in Switzerland as against only 6 ozs. in India.

In India with its tropical climate and vegetarian diet, "milk is frequently the only available source of first class protein while it has to support a considerable proportion of the mineral constituent and vitamins of the diet." Milk supplies exactly those elements which Indian dietaries lack and according to Dr. Wright, the output of milk in India will have to be doubled to provide for even the minimum requirement, *viz.*, 15 ozs. per head per day. The seriousness of the plight of growing infants in our country who have to be fed on milk becomes patent when we learn that ill-nourished women of middle classes have often not got nearly enough milk to supply the needs of the growing infant.[30] The following table gives the quantity of milk produced and consumed in different parts of India:[31]

Province	Daily production per head in ozs.	Daily consumption per head in ozs.
Assam	1.4	2.2
Bengal	3.1	1.9
Madras	3.6	1.6
Bombay	4.7	4.0
U.P.	4.7	5.0
C. P.	6.1	0.8
Bihar & Orissa	6.4	3.2
Punjab	18.3	9.9

The bulk of the milk supply of the country is produced in rural areas. It has been estimated that only 5 per cent of the milch cows and less than 6 per cent of milch buffaloes are kept in towns and cities.[32] But whole milk and ghee are in general little used in villages in the greater part of the country. Even in tracts where much larger quantities of milk are produced, 16 per cent of families do not consume any milk or milk products at all. Conditions in the other rural parts of India, where production is much less, should be still worse as regards the production and consumption of milk and milk products.[33] Only the butter-milk or Lassi which remains after the fat has been removed in the preparation of ghee is usually consumed in the villages.

27. *Assessment of the Annual Contribution of Livestock to Indian Economy* (1934).

28. Wright : *Report on the Development of Cattle and Dairy Industry in India*, p. 1.

29. *Ibid*, p. 1.

30. *Health Bulletin*, Coonor, p. 18.

31. Wright : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 155-156.

32. *Report on the Marketing of Milk in India*, p. 4.

33. *Ibid*, p. 52.

As Mr. Duckham has pointed out, "The cattle population of India is the largest, the most dense per acre of the cultivated area and per person and probably one of the least efficient in the world. In fact, the average annual milk yield per head of milk cattle amounts to only 7,005 lbs. in Australia; 5,305 lbs. in England and 3,463 lbs. in Australia; 5,305 lbs. in Germany, 7,755 in Holland, 5,386 lbs. in Scotland; 6,498 lbs in Switzerland; 3,195 lbs. in Canada; 1,216 lbs. in U.S.A.; 5,857 lbs. in Japan; 5,118 lbs. in New Zealand; 2,663 lbs. in Egypt as against only 756 lbs. in India."[34] Thus it is clear that the milk yield of cows in India is small compared to the yield of the fat glossy skinned cows in the rich pastures of Northern Europe and America.

Marketing surveys show that out of total milk output one-third is consumed as liquid milk and of the remainder 22% is turned into Khoa, Dahi, and other indigenous products and 25% into Ghee. Ghee is of special importance in the Indian dairying economy since it has good keeping qualities and can conveniently be manufactured, stored and transported under existing conditions. Since this product leaves the greater and more valuable part of milk, *viz.*, the non-fatty matter (solids) contained in the Butter Milk, for the use of the cultivator and his family and at the same time provides him with a cash sale, the producers in general turn their milk into ghee.

Ghee is generally made out of the buffalo butter which is heated for more than 8 to 10 hours so as to remove the moisture by evaporation. The ghee is under-boiled because in over-boiling it loses much of its weight. It is prepared by heating butter over a slow fire until an oil is formed that rises to the surface, while the refuse settles down.

In this method of production 10 to 15% of fat may be lost, *viz.*, retained in the Lassi used by the cultivator. The use of cream separator gives a great outturn of ghee per unit of milk but there are two difficulties. One is that the bye-product is skimmed milk which the Indian cultivator does not like to use and the other is that the ghee produced in this way is inferior in quality.

Ghee-producing areas are U.P., Rajputana, Bengal, C.P., and Northern districts of Bihar and Madras. It is interesting to note that ghee is made in areas where extensive lands are available for pasturage and in the fringes of the forest where the pressure of population is not great. The annual production of ghee in India is estimated at over 8 lakh tons valued at Rs. 77 crores. Of this quantity nearly 62% is produced in Indian Provinces and the balanue in States. Three-fifth of the ghee production is concentrated in Northern and Western India and the remaining two-fifth is scattered in the rest of the country. Taking the country as a whole, India produces 8.9 maunds of ghee per square mile, 21.4 maunds per village and 3.6 maunds for a hundred persons. Of the total ghee production 30% is retained by the producers for annual consumption and 70% is marketed. These percentages have, however, slight variations.

India imports about 66000 maunds of ghee mostly by land frontier routes from Nepal, but the trend of imports during the last few years has shown a downward tendency. India also exports some ghee mainly to Straits Settlements. Burma, Federated Malaya States and to Africa.

To enable consumers to obtain supplies of pure ghee the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection inaugurated its "Agmark Scheme" in 1937 which has progressed steadily. Some of the other main recommendations are as follows:

1. The production and consumption of ghee should be accelerated by increasing milk production and by the introduction of improved methods of milk fat extraction under village conditions.

2. The units of sale should be standardised by a rigid enforcement of Weights and Measures Act.

3. A regular system of controlling ghee markets should be introduced by the establishment of regulated markets, and cheap credit facilities should be provided to producers by organising co-operative ghee sale societies.

4. To ensure uniformity in the different provinces in the enforcement of food control, Provincial Governments should promote Central legislation for the hygienic control of food production, distribution and sale. The above recommendations, if strictly adhered to, will, we hope, produce the desired consequences. State regulation of a commodity of such high nutritive value is highly desirable from considerations of public health and hygiene and its vast trade possibilities.

Other Milk Products

About 95 million mds. of milk is utilised for manufacture of Khoa, Dahi or other indigenous milk products valued at about 80 crores of rupees. Indigenous milk products 'release more per pound of milk than milk itself', Khoa is practically evaporative milk reduced to a pasty food and is used for making certain sweetmeats. It keeps good only for three or four days but with the addition of sugar it can be kept for 3 or 4 months. Rubree is a similar milk product with a large content. Malai is another milk product and all these are popular in North India mainly.

Dahi is the foundation of India's ghee industry and it is the simplest device for preserving milk in a hot climate as sourness checks putrefactive changes. In certain districts limited quantities of separated milk are available and are used for making casein being thus lost as a source of nutriment.

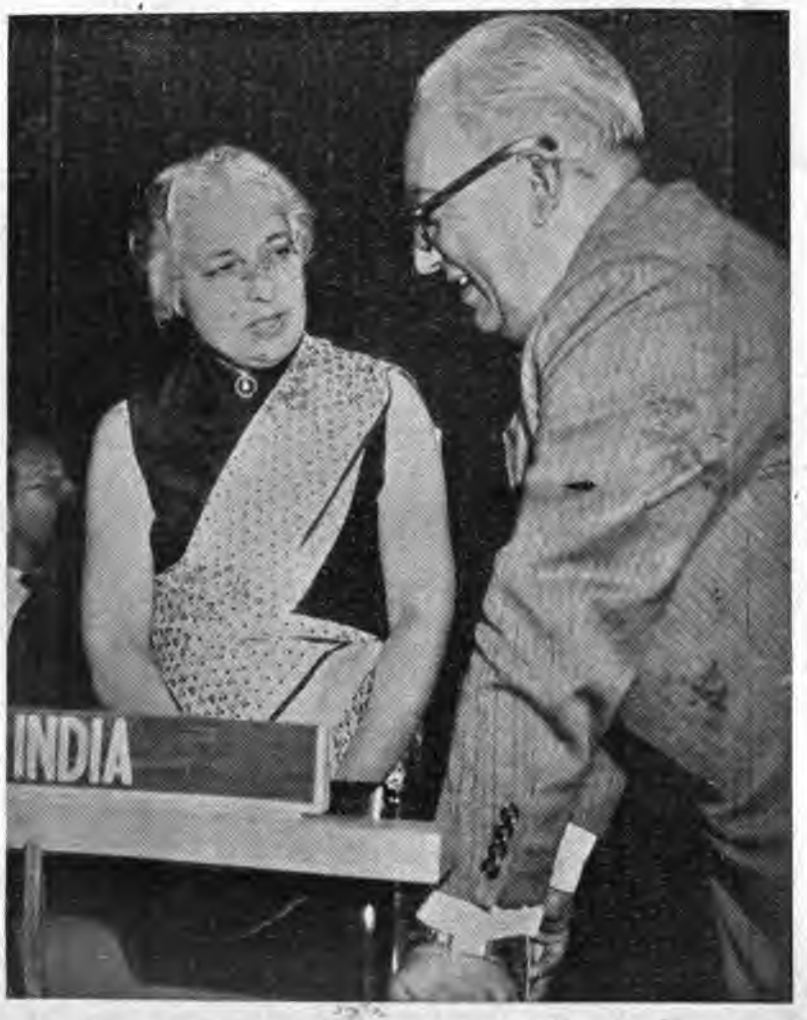
Concluded

34. Duckham: *Animal Husbandry in British Empire*, p. 200.

The Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology, Dhanbad, the Silver Jubilee celebrations of which were inaugurated on March 8 Different types of safety lamps used by the miners were on display at the school

The members of the Turkish Parliamentary Delegation arrived at the Palam Airport in Delhi on March 8

V. K. Krishna Menon (*right*), Indian delegate to the U. N. General Assembly, chats with Shamsuddin Lall, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the lobby of the U. N. headquarters in New York



Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Chairman of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, chats with Kabir Ludin of Afghanistan at the U. N. headquarters in New York City

HUMANITY ON THE MARCH

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

Mr. James Griffiths, Colonial Secretary in Mr. Attlee's Labour Cabinet (1945-50), pointed out in a party-political broadcast on 28th February, 1953 :

> "There are 1600 million people in the world whose skins are a different colour from ours. That is twice as many as the whole of the white population of the globe and all of them one after the other are demanding the right to order their lives in their own way."

This awakening of the coloured humanity is indeed the greatest challenge so far of the 20th century.

The coloured man has lost his faith in the so-called civilizing mission of the white man and is in revolt against white domination. That this revolt has followed closely in the wake of World War II is not in the least surprising. That war pricked the balloon of the white man's superiority to the non-white once for all and exposed the utter hollowness of the claim to any such superiority. A former U.S.A. Under-Secretary for State, Mr. Sumner Welles, rightly remarks :

> "The nature of the defeats suffered by the Western nations in 1942 dealt a final blow to the concept of white superiority."

Another very important factor in the awakening of the coloured peoples is psychological. History records that

> All genuine revolutions are "directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group. Even the most submissive people cannot stand, in the long run, the rule of others with whom they have no community or counsel of spirit, into whose ranks they cannot be admitted. They can be temporarily kept in check by force and diplomacy, but such a subjection can never be indefinitely maintained, even through the most ruthless forms of slavery." —(*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 74).

The post-war fermentation in the coloured colonial world is nothing but an inevitable stage in the process of historical evolution. In not a few places has the coloured man broken his fetters. Today he is taking the first lessons in his career as a free man after long years of political tutelage when he was a "hewer of wood" and "drawer of water" in the land of his birth. In not a few places again he is still in shackles. But he is no longer prepared to submit to the yoke. His white masters are determined to hold him down and he is no less determined not to be held down. That is the whole trouble. Unrest and conflict in Indo-China, in Malaya, in North Africa, in East Africa and in South Africa are all to be attributed to this determination and counter-determination. It is fashionable in some quarters to blame Soviet Russia for the world-wide unrest today. But it is only fair to remember that in the last analysis this unrest is the manifestation of the spirit of the age in which we live. Soviet Union or no Soviet Union, it would be there. It is symptomatic of a process of historical evolution which will follow its course.

Indo-China consisting of Cochin China, Annam, Cambodia, Tonking and Laos forms a part of France's empire overseas. After the collapse of France during the last war it passed, temporarily under Japanese control and by September, 1940, was virtually a Japanese colony. France collapsed under the stress of a total war. She miserably failed to defend her own frontiers against the Nazi invaders from the east and her happy hunting-ground in South-East Asia against those from the Land of the Rising Sun in the north. French imperialism failed to protect the people of Indo-China and forfeited its right—if it had any—to rule them.

Indo-China, however, was in no mood to accept a yellow master for the white. Popular resistance stiffened. The party of Viet-Minn (Independence League) was formed under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh by the amalgamation of half a dozen parties, *viz.*, the Annamite Kuomintang, the New Annam Party, the Communist Party, the Youth League, the Peasants' Association and the National Workers' Association. The party declared :

> "Against international fascism and for the liberty of all nations the Viet-Minh ranges itself on the side of the democratic forces in its struggle for survival."

The Viet-Minh went from strength to strength. The Japanese tried to crush it; but failed. Japan next sought to create a division in the ranks of the Indo-Chinese themselves by setting up the Empire of Viet-Nam. Japan declared a puppet independent State in Annam on March 11, 1945. Annam was re-named Viet-Nam on June 30. The Annamites rose in armed revolt immediately after the surrender of Japan to the United Nations in August, 1945, and declared Viet-Nam to be a republic. The 'Emperor' of Viet-Nam abdicated and went over to the republic. When British and Indian troops landed in Saigon under General Gracey on September 13, the Writ of the Republic of Viet-Nam ran over the whole area from Annam to Cochin-China. The Viet-Minh welcomed the Anglo-Indian landing. But within a little more than a week the British and the Viet-Namese troops were running at each other's throat. The French, eager to re-establish their authority over Indo-China (Viet-Nam), staged a come-back at this juncture. But a sea-change had come over Indo-China during the war. She was not prepared to submit again to foreign yoke. France was determined to re-impose her authority upon the former. A struggle was thus inevitable. The conflict which now began has been rightly described as a "war without end." The

Viet-Minh under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh is the spearhead of this anti-French and anti-imperialist struggle.

France missed the bus in South-East Asia. She had a chance—none too bright, however,—of reaching a settlement immediately after the war. The Communist element within the Viet-Minh was not then all-powerful. The Nationalist groups were ready and able to lead the country towards democratic self-government. But France suppressed them. The Nationalist elements in despair went underground or joined the ranks of the Communists. The results have been disastrous for the French. When the French-sponsored State of Viet-Nam was ushered into existence in December, 1950, with ex-Emperor Bao Dai as the head of the State, there was little talent to call on.

The war in Indo-China has been pretty expensive for France. More than 30,000 French soldiers have been killed and missing and about 60,000 wounded. Viet-Nam has suffered an additional 30,000 killed and wounded. The Viet-Minh casualties according to the French, are 220,000 killed and about 400,000 wounded. The French further claim to have captured 230,000 prisoners of war. Yet the end of the conflict seems to be as remote as ever.

More than 25 per cent of France's military budget for 1953 is ear-marked for Indo-China. About 12 divisions of French Union troops—France has another 12 divisions in Europe—and 1 aircraft-carrier —France has only 2—are tied down in Indo-China. About 16 squadrons of French aircraft—France has 45 squadrons in all—are in combat in Indo-China and on duty in North Africa. The weeping eczema in Indo-China has thus dangerously weakened France in Europe. The French are inextricably caught in Indo-China like the Americans in Korea. Half of Indo-China has already fallen to the Viet-Minh. The French still hold Hanoi, the Red River Delta, a few ports on the coast, Saigon and certain parts of Laos and Cambodia. A French army officer remarked recently :

> "Even the Thai country, one of the most loyal areas, is being overrun. *And there is little we can do about it.*"

The last sentence is a frank confession of the utter hopelessness of the French position.

If the French position in Indo-China is desperate, that of the English in Malaya is not a very hopeful one.

Romantic Malaya ! Time and again has it played a significant role on the stage of world-history. In 6,000 B.C., the ancestors of the modern Papuans and Australian aborigines went to Papua and Australia by way of Malaya. The ancestors of the modern Malayans poured into the peninsula from Yunnan in China in 2,000 B.C. They spread over Sumatra, Java and other places in Greater India later on. In historical times the Buddhist Shri Vijaya Empire maintained an outpost in northern Malaya and controlled therefrom the Straits of Malacca. The glory of Shri Vijaya was laid low by the Hindu Majapahit Empire of Java in the 14th century. Hinduism was the national religion of Malaya till the 15th century when it was supplanted by Islam, which has remained the predominant national religion till today.

Malaya's connection with her present rulers dates back to the close of the 18th century when Francis Light, an English ship captain, obtained the lease of Pennang from the Sultan of Kedah. This was but the proverbial thin end of the wedge and step by step, slowly but surely, Malaya became a British colony. At the time of the outbreak of the last war Malaya was divided into (*a*) the Straits Settlements including Singapore, Pennang, Malacca, Nanning and Province Wellesley ; (*b*) the four Federated Malaya States, *viz.*, Perak. Selangor, Negri-Sembilan and Pahang; and (*c*) the five Unfederated Malaya States, *viz.*, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Trenggannu and Perlis.

Malaya was invaded by Japan on December 8, 1941. By January 31, 1942, the British troops had retreated to Singapore, which capitulated two weeks later (February 15). Malaya passed under Japanese occupation. It was re-conquered by the Allies in 1945. England now proposed to set up a Union of Malaya which was to comprise the whole of Malaya with the exception of Singapore. All powers enjoyed by the Sultans of Perak, Selangor, Negri-Sembilan, Pahang, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan and Trenggannu and Perlis were to be abolished. There was no indication of any desire on the part of Britain to transfer power to the people.

The proposed Union was vigorously attacked in England—within Parliament and without—as well as in Malaya. An open letter published in the London *Times* under the signature of 17 high officials retired from Malaya, and an ex-Chief Justice and 4 ex-Governors of the Colony condemned the plan as "an instrument for the annexation of the Malaya States" formulated "without regard to democratic principles." In Malaya, the Malayans registered their protest against the proposed Union by wearing mourning for a week. The Malayan Nationalist Party and the organised labourers launched a vigorous campaign against it. White Hall gave way. A mixed enquiry committee composed of officials and Malayan representatives was commissioned to draft a new constitution for Malaya. The committee recommended the formation of a Federation of Malaya and the retention of Singapore as a separate administrative unit. The Federation of Malaya was inaugurated on February 1, 1948. A British High Commissioner is the chief executive of the Federation. He is aided by an Executive Council of official as well as non-official members. Singapore is outside the Federation.

The constitutional reform falls far short of Malayan national aspirations. The consequent discontent has found expression in the terrorist activities

ıe so-called Communist bandits, mostly members ıe Malayan People's Anti-Jap Army (M.P.A.J.P.) ıised during the last war. The Chinese were the objects of oppression during the Japanese occun of Malaya. In consequence they formed the of M.P.A.J.A. The majority of them were munists. The M.P.A.J.A. were liberally assisted he South-East Asia Command (S.E.A.C.) with weapons and ammunition. They fought the ıese in the hope that an Allied victory would be ved by democracy and self-government. It has unfortunately. The progressive nationalist and nunist elements therefore took up arms against Federal Government. The insurrection, which :d in June, 1948, is now more than 5 years old. activities of the insurgents are marked by ban- and acts of terrorism directed against the white ers and other supporters and collaborators of Government. They demand democracy in and ation of Malaya. The rebels, according to il estimates, do not number more than a few and. But the fact that they are holding out for than 5 years against the limitless resources of United Kingdom supplemented by those of the A. proves, if it proves anything at all, that the official figures are inaccurate or that the yan people, a considerable section of them at rate, are behind the insurgents.

tecent advices seem to indicate that the situa- in Malaya has been steadily improving. But at cost? A despatch from Singapore dated March 953, says that a total of 714 Indian inhabitants alaya and their 1038 dependants have been re- ıted to India since the declaration of the gency in July, 1948. It reports further that under gency regulations the Malayan Government had into custody 29,828 persons of all races of ı 26,618 had been released or repatriated. The number includes 24,000 Chinese, 129 Indo- ıs and 12 Ceylonese. The Federal Government alaya maintained at the time 7 detention and 3 ilitation camps at an annual cost of six million s dollars (about £780,000). We wish the despatch given an idea of the loss of life and property on sides!

ın awakened people cannot be held down st its will for all time to come. Malaya is awake. ɔower on earth can possibly stop its onward ı to the goal of freedom and democracy.

f Great Britain has her hands full in South- Asia, she has then equally so in East Africa. Mau Mau disorders in Kenya Colony have ıed alarming proportions. A state of emergency ɔeen declared in Kenya in the third week of ɔer, 1952. British troops have been rushed to e order and the Governor has been armed with ɔrdinary powers.

The Mau Mau disorder is Kenya's reply to the white master's short-sighted and stiff-necked "No, No" to all her legitimate demands. It has been described as a secret society of the Kikuyu, politically most mature and conscious of the Kenya Africans. By and large, the Mau Mau is a political movement like any in history. This, together with "some other less active secret organisations" are, according to the special correspondent of the London *Times* in Nairobi, "offshoots" of Kikuyu Central Association founded about 30 years ago "to advance political aims and to exploit of the land-hunger of the tribe." The Association was proscribed on the outbreak of the war in 1939 for its alleged "anti-British and anti-Government activities." According to the above correspondent, the Mau Mau is the secret wing of the Kenya African Union which "conducts a campaign above ground for political power and authority." The members of the Union are mainly liberal nationalists.

The Mau Mau activities are essentially the protest of the suppressed African humanity against racial and economic discrimination and "in support of equal rights for Africans." The movement is undoubtedly a violent one and has certain characteristic features "the roots of which lie deep in the culture of Africa." But it is certainly not more violent than most of the freedom movements known to history.

The Mau Mau owes its origin to causes political as well as economic. For one thing, since the Europeans began to settle in Kenya at the turn of the current century, Kenya "has experienced the worst kind of raw imperialism." For another, governmental efforts to make life more worth-living for the Africans have been "too little and too late."

Kenya's mixed population is composed of 38,000 Europeans, 123,000 Indians, 24,000 Arabs and 5,450,000 Africans. The first are economically far better off than the others. All of them are not well off, however. But the 2,000 European farmers live well and judged by African standards, even luxuriously. Most of the land in Kenya was held in common by the native tribes before the arrival of the Europeans. The protectorate of Kenya was established in 1895. All land was declared to be government-owned. Land was thus taken away from the children of the soil and they were deprived of their only means of livelihood. They got nothing in return, except for buildings and standing crops in certain cases. The European settlers possessed themselves of 16,700 square miles of the most fertile tract in Kenya. The native Africans, to whom this extensive area belongs by all accepted canons of justice, equity and morality, are not allowed to own land in it and the poorer soil left to them is wholly inadequate for their sustenance.

The Kenya African is as helpless politically as he is economically. He counts no more in the Colony's political life than in the economic. 38,000 English settlers elect 42 out of 56, *i.e.*, 75 per cent of the members of the Colony's Legislative Council. The

Africans, who constitute nearly 97 per cent of the population, have only 6, (*i.e.*, less than 11 per cent) representatives! The African has no vote. His representatives (!) are selected by the European settlers through the British Governor. Offences against whites by blacks are far more drastically dealt with than those by whites against blacks. Forced labour existed till 1946. A ten-year development plan outlined in 1946 was so halting that even the *Economist*, no friend of the colonial peoples, was constrained to remark :

> "If the plan is carried out as it stands there is little prospect for the Africans of a reasonable ration of that most essential of all commodities—hope."—*Economist*, August 24, 1946.

The colonial office inaugurated some time back a long-range scheme for improved African education with plans for three training centres for African women teachers. To be effective all such efforts should have been made 25 years ago, if not earlier.

Little wonder that the repressed and tormented humanity of Africa is trying to hit back and to hit as hard as it can. The Mau Mau disorder is but a flame of the mighty conflagration that threatens to engulf the whole of Africa—East, North and South.

The prospects are dismal and depressing in Kenya. The following eye-witness account speaks for itself :

> "A foretaste of this (British Settler) raj is the complete banning of meetings and the suppression of the vernacular press to prevent the Kenya Africans from carrying their message of non-violence to the masses. The situation in Kenya is deplorable and shocking. Violence . . . has now given rise to a situation which is so shocking that terror has been let loose on the guilty and the innocent alike."

An ordinance authorises English settlers to shoot an African at sight. According to the above eye-witness, shootings of Africans by the settlers are daily occurrences, the usual pretext being that the men shot at did not halt when asked to do so or that they were trying to run away. No magisterial or judicial trials are held against whites who shoot and kill Africans "and there are never any questions asked either." Laws are made and unmade by fiats of the Governor. The Evidence Act has been changed. A statement made by an unnamed witness is very often considered to be valid in a criminal trial.

The Mau Mau activities are the beginning of a genuine revolution in East Africa. Her Britannic Majesty's Government should bear in mind that a people, however docile and peaceful, cannot be indefinitely held down in subjection, nay, not even through the most barbarous repressive measures. They will do well to remember, and remember in their own interest, that confidence in the honesty, efficiency, fair-mindedness and strength of the rulers is the principal bulwark of any government—alien or otherwise. Consent and co-operation, not coercion, is the real basis of the State. The gods of White Hall must awake to the realities of the situation. They must reconcile themselves to a reversal of values that confronts the white man in Asia and Africa.

North Africa too is in ferment. The French Union has a rather hot time in that part of the Dark Continent. France has reacted to the rising tide of unrest there with severe repressive measures. She replied to the Casablanca riots in Morocco last year with mass-arrests, when the whole "general staff" of the 'Istiqlal' (Nationalist Front) was rounded up. But repression is no solution of popular discontent, which is only driven underground by repressive measures. The situation seems to be rapidly going out of control in Tunisia too where "everybody is a Destourian (the Nationalist Party of Tunisia) or else ready to become one." France has sought to pacify Tunisia by too little concessions and too late. Britain's experience in India should have been an eye-opener to colonial powers everywhere. It has not. Morocco resents French rule as much as the steadily increasing number of French settlers in Morocco. The following figures are revealing. Till 1939, French settlers in Morocco numbered 200,000. They were 305,000 in 1946 and more than 400,000 in 1950. The number has doubled in a decade! Does France seek to convert Morocco—and more—into a French Australia? The suspicion might not be altogether unfounded.

The down-trodden humanity black and brown—of the Union of South Africa too has turned against its white tormentors. The best—should we say the worst?—efforts of Dr. D. F. Malan's Nationalist Government have failed to crush it. The non-violent struggle of the Africans and the Indians in South Africa has forged a bond of union among the non-whites of the Union. They are united today as they have been never before. A final show-down between the rulers and the ruled is not far off.

The conflicts in Viet-Nam, Malaya, East Africa, North Africa and South Africa are not to be regarded as stray, isolated incidents. A common string runs through them all. They are important and significant episodes in the super-drama of our epoch—the struggle for human emancipation—which is steadily mounting to a climax. The sands of time are fast running out. The long-suffering millions of Asia and Africa are on the march. Frederick Lee rightly points out in *The Signs of the Times* :

> "They hardly know where they are going, but they are fully determined to be on their way in one direction or another. Their senses have made them dissatisfied with things as they are and have been."

SPAIN TODAY

By MADAN GOPAL GUPTA, M.A.,
Lecturer in Politics, Allahabad University

With 194,232 sq. miles of area and a little more than 28 millions of population, Spain occupies a considerably important position in the global strategy at the present juncture. This strategic importance of the Spanish peninsula was amply illustrated by the keen interest which Italy, Germany, France, Britain and the U.S.S.R. took in the Spanish Civil War which served as a prelude to the Second World War; and by the interest which the Western powers more particularly the United States have taken in the issue of Spain's admission into the United Nations, after 1945. The U.S. policy since that year may broadly be said to have been one of containment of Communism at home and abroad. That explains the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and the Atlantic Pact and the subsequent Nato. That also explains the keen interest which the USA has shown in all key areas. For the defence of Europe, the U.S. interest in the control of Gibraltar is understandable and the effective control of Gibraltar in the American calculations involves much more than the British base on the Rock itself. It implies, that is, that Spain, Spanish Morocco and French North Africa should be friendly. That explains the vital importance of Spain in the West European citadel.

But will Spain fit in what is glibly called the "Free World"? The problem before the American statesmanship is one of reconciliation between the United Nations obligations and the dislike of Franco dictatorship on the one side and security interests in the containment of Communism on the other. But in the attempt to reconcile them the "Free World" is thoroughly exposed. What then is "Spain today"?

Spain Today is Franco's Spain. The Spanish state was formally established by General Franco's victory on 1st April, 1939. On 31st March, 1947, General Franco announced that Spain is to become a monarchy with a regency Council and himself as the Head of the State. On July 6, 1947, this was approved by a Referendum in which out of a total of 17 million voters more than 14 millions voted for it. But this does not mean that the General is popular. In fact the important difference between Franco and Mussolini or Hitler is just this: the Duce and the Fuhrer were popular with their people. Franco is not. For instance in 1945 it was estimated by foreign diplomats that over 85% of the Spanish people were against his regime. The truth is that Franco governs by the use of political bribery, terror and the policy of thorough suppression of all opposition. The basis of his supremacy is a negative coalition of divergent elements—the Falange Party, the military, the clergy, and some landowners, and industrialists. They are bound together not because they have common interests based on a common fascist programme. They all are bound together by their common fear of popular uprising and the loss of their privileges and security. In a letter dated Jan. 19, 1950 the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson writing to Chairman Connolly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that "the internal position of the present regime in Spain is strong and enjoys the support of many, who although they might prefer another form of Government or Chief of State, fear that chaos and civil strife would follow a move to overthrow the government." Thus we may conclude that his power rests upon a coalition of the elements that comprise the 15 or 20% of the population. Let us analyse the character of the elements which form the basis of his power.

The most important is the Falange which is Spain's only legal political party and is without doubt fascist in methods and organization. It was on 19th April, 1937 that the various political groups in the Nationalist Movement were united by Franco into one single political party —the Falange. The single party is ruled by a National Council composed of 100 members, and has about 100,000 paid officials "ranging from the heads of Spain's syndicates and the Civil Governors of the provinces, to secret agents and gangs of uniformed ruffians, paid to maintain order and terrorize resistant elements of the population." This party has been called "a carbon copy of Hitler's Nazis." And what are the sources of income of this single political party?

Apart from an annual state subsidy to the tune of more than 20,000,000 dollars the party receives huge amounts from the people in the form of tributes. Every business firm, every industrial labourer and every peasant has to pay to the party funds, and people are obliged by law to work without pay for the party. This is counted as "social service." And all jobs in the State are controlled by the party with the result that worst corruption prevails with the government. Indeed according to an American commentator:

> "The country today is gripped by a parasitical bureaucracy so corrupt as to make our spoils system and local political machine appear saintly in comparison"

Further, this Falange have also organized the students in what is called the "Youth Front" and their regular seminars are held where the virtues of totalitarianism and the decadence and vices of "liberal democracy" is taught. The ranks of the Falange, then provide the most important source of strength to Franco.

The basis of state being fear, army plays a dominant role in the actual working of the Spanish state. The budget as reported in the *New York Times* dated Jan. 3, 1951, indicated that well over 50% of the total expenditures of the State annually go to defense. The Budget for 1952 provided 7,401,677,891 pesetas for the army, navy and air force *i.e.*, 32.5% of the total ordinary budget. This is in addition to standing militia (territorial army) which consumes 25% of the ordinary budget.

Thus the total expenditure on defense in Spain comes to 57% of the budget. But defense against whom? Where is the external threat? And since it does not exist, the army is used for the ruthless suppression of democratic movements within and the whole structure rests on heaps of jealousy, fear, hatred and war hysteria. The Spanish army is the largest army in Europe, outside Russia and Yugoslavia. There are 19 divisions including one armoured division and one independent cavalry division in Spain. In addition to these there are independent cavalry brigades in Morocco. This huge army, nearly double that of France and treble that of Italy, has 20,000 Generals and Officers, one for every 20 soldiers. In addition to this huge army, there is the navy of a considerable size and an independent airforce.

The rank and file of the army and navy have republican sympathies, although the elder Generals are monarchists while the younger officers are Falangists. The Generals therefore are often reported to be in conspiracy against Franco to enthrone Don Juan. Thus the Army and the Falange are jealous of each other. Realizing the Army's power and the loyalty of the Falange, Franco has used the latter as a check upon the former and has wisely maintained and strengthened the Falange. Although the Falangist militia was formally dissolved on 20th December, 1943 General Franco is constanty arming the loyal members of the Falange. But though Franco rather depends upon the Falange for his powers, and distrusts the army, and the army in its turn has contempt for the Fascist Party, yet the officers generally support Franco because he has given them a vital position in the country's economy. In the *Hispanic American Report*, Vol. III, No. 3 of March 1950, p. 4 (a monthly review published under the Direction of Ronald Hilton by Stanford University) it is pointed out that army officials now control public works, banks, entertainments and many basic occupations in Spain's economy. A second reason why the army generally supports Franco is their fear that the moment the terroristic regime of the Falange and Franco is gone, there shall be a popular up-surge which will sweep off the Franco order lock, stock and barrel.

The third basis of the power of Franco is the Church. Franco himself is a devout Catholic and most of the Spanish too belong to the same faith. The Church stands against all progressive movements and is a hot-bed of reaction and opportunism. From 1936 to 1945 the Spanish clergy was solidly behind Franco. But in 1945 they expected that the Allies having defeated the Axis Powers would crush the Fascist regime of Franco as well. So the Church now made some attempt to dissociate itself from Franco in the hope that it could escape the people's vengeance if Franco is ousted. For instance during the series of General Strikes that occurred throughout Northern Spain in the spring of 1951, priests were reported to have given open support to the strikers. The Catholic workers' weekly, *Tu*, was suspended for approving the Barcelona strike. But this should not be taken to mean any love between the Church and the people's movement. This is sheer opportunism on the part of the Church. Recently in January 1952, Franco appointed some Catholic advisers to advise him in various economic matters.

A fourth source of Franco's support comes from the landowners whose titles and privileges are fully guaranteed and whose grip on the land and on the peasant is fully secure. They support Franco probably not so much because they are Fascists as because they fear that if Franco goes, they may follow. Probably they would have supported Constitutional monarchy but they knew that such a system involving such nuisance as open elections could lead to a return of the Left to power and the consequent loss of their privileges and power. As with the landowners, so with the industrialists and commercial classes. Although they would like to reform the government, they on the whole support Franco under whom "their profits have quadrupled, while the Falange keeps the workers in his place, insures low wages, and prevents strikes and Unions." This will be clear by a brief description of the economic organization.

The economic policy centres round vertical Syndicates or Trade Unions, established under the Charter of Labour by the law of 8th August, 1939. This law substituted the local and provincial Syndicates of pre-war days. By another law of 23rd June, 1941, these Syndicates were classified in 26 branches of production, each working within its own respective economic sphere. In these branches there is no place for the individual. The individual is replaced by the producing concern as a whole, made up of the capitalists, managers, experts and the labour. The vertical syndicate is invested with authority and hierarchy and the appointments made from top to bottom. At the top stands the National Delegate of Syndicates, who is responsible for his conduct to the Minister who appoints him. Production, wages, prices, and the distribution of domestic and foreign goods are strictly controlled. No new industries can be established without the Government permission.

In this economic structure, what is the condition of the masses? Here we shall see the depth and scope of the people's movement in Spain. Fear being the basis of the state, the Spanish upper classes which constitute about 20% of the population have only dread and contempt for the masses. The average per capita income in Spain is about one rupee and annas eight per day or 120 dollars a year. A Farm worker to buy two loaves of black bread, with which he must feed a large family, will have to spend a full daily wage. The urban workers' per capita income is about one rupee ten annas but black market prices keep him in a constant state of poverty, and since the war there often has been employment only 3 or 4 days a week due to the power shortage and disruption of the economy. An average clerk used to earn about 20 dollars or 200 pesetas a month during the Second World War and there has been no improvement since then. In January 1952, a man's suits' cost was about 800 pesetas or 80 dollars, a cheap pair of shoes about 120

dollars, eggs 3 dollars a dozen. Since 1945 wages have increased (and this is according to the official figures whose veracity may be challenged) 300% while prices during the same period have gone up by 700%. In this background all schemes of social welfare do not relieve the gloom of the worker. A decree published on 28th December, 1948 extended relief as family subsidy, old age pensions and health and maternity insurances in which workers contribute 5% and employers 13%. What actually happens is that out of their meagre daily wages the workers have to place 5% at the mercy of their merciless employers and they release the amount if the workers have behaved well. Whereas during the war women and children were employed, with the end of the war, the boom collapsed and the cessation of the German purchases broke the Spanish economy. Secondly, one of the worst droughts in Spain's history has caused a severe shortage of electric power. Since 1945 it has been reduced by 40%. In 1950 Madrid's factories were reduced to a nine-hour week and hydro-electric reserves were down to less than 5% of capacity, because electricity was provided only 3 or 4 days a week and even when it was provided, it is generally cut off during certain hours to ease the load. The city of Malaga suffered from such an acute power shortage that it has been obliged to rent an Italian ship to generate electricity for the city.

Thus industries and small business which depend heavily on electric power have been hit hard. But the worker is doubly hit. He has suffered the loss of half of his income because he is paid by the day. And he suffers further, for inflation has steadily whittled away his purchasing power. From November 1, 1950 to October 31, 1951 alone prices have increased by 20.8% without any corresponding increase in the wages.

If the droughts have resulted in the fall of electricity, they have also led to the failing of crops because of lack of fertilizers. In the production of olive and potatoes there has been a fall of 75% in 1951. The production of oranges fell in 1950 by about 65% of what it was in 1949. In 1950 it was 384 metric tons while in 1949 it was 872 metric tons. Fodder became so scarce that livestock had to be slaughtered and sold for meat. The peoples' miseries became worst when in 1950 Argentina refused to continue wheat shipments under the Franco-Peron trade agreement of 1946.

As with economics, so with education. The entire education is regulated by the State. In 1951 about 40% of the people just could not read or write. Religious teaching has been brought back again to its former standing.

How have the people reacted against this cruel background? Immediately after Franco's victory in the Civil War, the Spanish people could not organize following poverty, sickness of war and disillusionment. But during World War II which the Spanish people viewed as a war of democracy against Fascism, there was an evidence of a greater democratic movement. In 1945 there emerged out two groups—the Democratic Alliance and the National Union. The first group loosely organizing the various factions of the old Popular Front has pinned its faith in the process and cult of liberal Democracy of the Western type. Its most important ingredient is the Spanish Socialist Party, which is an organization of disgruntled middle class elements and is anti-Franco. Quite an important section consists of the opportunist clergy. The programme of the Democratic Alliance includes gradual nationalization of key industries, equitable distribution of wealth, restoration of constitutional machinery, land reforms, checks upon the political power of the Church, a decrease in the size and political influence of the army, Representative Government, and its activities consist mainly of publishing anti-Franco literature. During the Second World War it vigorously supported the Allies with the pious hope that after the War they would oust Franco and instal them in power. It is strangely against the other group—the National Union.

The National Union is the Communist group of Spain. It contains 50,000 active members as against 200,000 members of the Democratic Alliance, and is much better organized than the Democratic Alliance. It maintains a printing press, distributes considerable literature secretly, maintains its tie with the Communist Party of France and through it with Russia. Its leaders are men of integrity and valour and are fine organizers. It has wide mass contact although a vast majority of the Spanish people, being wedded to Catholic faith distrust their ideology. The blunder of the Spanish National Union as of the Indian Communist Party, it may be suggested, has been their failure to explain to the people that Communism is quite compatible with local practices and religious beliefs. As it is, the people only distrust the National Union. Probably it is precisely this distrust that caused the other Popular Front parties to reject Communist overtures for collaboration and unite instead in the Democratic Alliance. But where the National Union failed, America did the job, for many Spaniards have turned in despair, from the opposition forces which they have come to associate with the United States, to the Communists. The USA, it should not be forgotten, is patronizing the Franco regime. (To this we shall shortly turn). In his letter to Chairman Connolly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, dated January 19, 1950, Dean Acheson said, "There is no sign of an alternative to the present government". The American position can best be understood by what an underground worker of the Democratic Alliance said: "For the moment our greatest enemy is Franco. . . . The allies of our enemies are our enemies too . . . . So the question we ask the Americans is this: Whom do they prefer to have on their side—Franco or the Spanish people? They cannot have both?" It can be surmised that left to themselves the Communist party will be able to capture a good many seats in the General Elections. The popular Movement in Spain has got to be slow because even though Franco is a Fascist dictator, the country is not. Franco's ascendancy is, submitted, has not trunk

the essentials of the Spanish society. There has never been in Spain what may be called a Fascist Revolution like German or the Italian revolutions. Thus the traditional class structure has been frozen. The situation is more or less like Indian where the political change has not touched the under-currents of society. It was different with China where Chiang's mismanagement, the presence of a powerful enemy, and the vastness of the land where pockets could be developed with wide and deep contacts with the people, could lead to a speedy conquest by the Communists.

It has been pointed out in the foregoing pages that the US Government is patronizing the Franco regime. Immediately after the establishment of the United Nations Organization, Spain applied for admission. On 9th February 1946, the General Assembly concluded that the Franco Government of Spain was not eligible for membership. On 12th December, 1946, the General Assembly in a resolution recommended that "If within a reasonable time, there is not established a government which derives its authority from the consent of the governed, committed to respect freedom of speech, religion and assembly, and to the prompt holding of an election in which the Spanish people free from force and intimidation and regardless of party, may express their will, the Security Council consider the adequate measures to be taken in order to remedy the situation" and that "all Members of the UN immediately recall from Madrid their Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary accredited there."

In November 1947, as a result of the US manouvres the Assembly passed another resolution expressiong confidence that the Security Council would exercise its responsibilities under the Charter as soon as required by the situation in Spain. During the first quarter of 1949 several resolutions were introduced but all of them failed for not being supported by the necessary majority of two-thirds. These proposals ranged from a proposal that UN member-states have full freedom of action as regards their diplomatic relations with Spain to a proposal that all UN members cease to export arms and ammunitions to Spain and refrain from entering into any agreements with the Franco Government.

But despite the fact that the UN Resolution of 1946 has never been modified, it has been systematically broken by member states led by USA. Thus at the present moment 8 members of the UN have Representatives of ambassadorial rank in Madrid and 22 others have Ministers. The US has also given considerable economic assistance to Franco. A series of dollar loans have been granted to Franco, by the Chase National Bank. In 1950, the US also authorized a loan of 62,500,000 dollars to be channelled through the Economic Co-operation Administration. On February 12, 1951, the US Export and Import Bank extended credits totalling dollars 12,200,000 to Spain. As usual, strings and conditions were attached to these loans—*e.g.*, the simplification of export and import controls, the abolition of restrictions limiting foreign investors to 25 per cent. participation in Spanish enterprises, and a revaluation of Spanish currency. Thus the effort of the USA has been to dishonour the UN Resolution of 1946 to establish diplomatic and economic relations with Spain, to enlist Spain in the chain of the Nato. If Spain has not been admitted in the UN, it is because of the Soviet Veto and if she is not yet included in the Nato, it is because of the pressure of world opinion. Spain occupies an important strategic position and is rich in minerals. She produces Lignite (1315671 metric tons) ; Copper Ore (252026) ; Iron Ore (3038692); Lead Ore (51,891); Managanese Ore (19038); Potash Ore (1,013,333) ; Rock Salt (308,228) ; Sulphur Ore (51,082); Tin Ore (1423); Zinc Ore (118422); Wolfram Ore (784) ; Mercury (33571). The world shall watch the struggle of the popular forces against corruption, reaction and feudalism, with keen interest.

No survey of Spain Today shall be complete without a reference to the Spanish Empire. The colonial possessions of Spain are located largely in Africa. The Spanish Morocco including Ifni territory, Spanish protectorate of the Northern and Southern zones, constitute an area of 18454 sq. miles, with 1309702 of population. In addition, there is the Spanish Sahara and Spanish Guinea with an area of 116,261 sq. miles and 210582 of population. These areas are governed directly by the Spanish Government which is politico-military in character. Morocco at the present moment is divided into 3 Zones—the French, the Spanish and the Tangier internationalized zone. Even the Tangier Zone came to be controlled and occupied by Spain on 14th June, 1940, after the fall of France. It was only in September 1945 when the Spanish Government was requested by Great Britain, the USA, the USSR and France to evacuate the territory, that on October 11, 1945, international rule was restored. Later on, March 8, 1948, Italy was re-admitted to the Control Committee.

These colonial possessions are a source of tremendous revenues to Spain. Guinea alone in 1950-51 exported to Spain 113,201 metric quintals of cocoa valued at 20 million pesetas; 63834 metric quintals of coffee valued at 31 million pesetas; 215966 metric quintals of vegetables and fruits valued at 21.8 million pesetas ; and 44,858 metric tons of wood valued at 9 million pesetas. On the whole 30 per cent of the Spanish exports of raw material come from the colonies. Among the Nations of these regions the American missions are enthusiastically at work. The Spanish treatment of the Natives consists of brutal suppression of all revolts, perpetuation of privileges and vested interests, economic and industrial strangulation with the result that it is a world of ignorance, starvation and intrigues. Surprisingly the colonies have not been placed in the category of trust territories.

What, then, are the alternatives before the progressive forces of the world ? Much attention has not been paid towards a country which is heavily armed (it has the largest army in Europe if we leave out USSR) which crushes all signs of democracy coming up and which perpetuates a regime based on mounting privileges, falling standards of living and grinding exploitation. What

is worse is the fact that it is making capital out of the East-West Cold War. The USA in its war hysteria has not only established diplomatic relations with Spain and has supported her candidature for admission to the United Nations, she has also sanctioned huge loans to Spain so that she may serve as a bulwark against Communism. In this ugly background, it is necessary to expose the real character of Franco's regime and to create world opinion so that the United Nations Resolution of 1946 may come to be honoured by member states. It is a pity that even in this case Soviet Russia should have been found on the side of the people and the oldest and richest Democracies of the World on that of the Dictator !*

REFERENCES

1. *The Spanish Government and the Axis* : Documents, U.S. Department of State Publication 2483.
2. Carlton J. M. Hayes : *The U. S. and the Spain*, New York, 1951.
3. *The Statesman and Nation*, December 2-30, 1950. B. Davidson's series of articles : "Spanish Journey."
4. *The New York Times*, April 1, 1947; Jan. 3, 1951; Feb. 7, 8, 1951; Dec. 1, 1951.
5. *Hispanic American Report*, Vol. III, No. 3, March, 1950.
6. "Manifesto to the Spanish People" (*N. Y. Times*, March 23, 1945).
7. *Harper's Magazine*, September 1951.
8. Crevea : *A History of Spain*, New York and London, 1950.
9. Gerald Brennan : *The Spanish Labyrinth*, 2nd Ed., London, 1950.
10. Coles : *Spain Everlasting*, London, 1945.
11. Ganivet : *Spain : An Interpretation*, London, 1946.
12. Hamilton : *Appeasement's Child : The Franco Regime in Spain*, New York and London, 1943.
13. Hayes : *Wartime Mission in Spain*, 1942-45, New York, 1945.
14. Madriaga : *Spain*, London, 1942.
15. Merriam : *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*. 4 Vols, New York, 1918-34.
16. Peers : *Spain in Eclipse, 1937-39*, London, 1943.
17. Templewood : *Ambassador on Special Mission*, London, 1946.

* A paper read in International Club, Politics Dept., Allahabad University.

———:O:———

THAKKAR BAPA AND HIS ACCOUNTS

BY K. S. SHRIRAM,

Working Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi

My connection with Shri A. V. Thakkar, affectionately called "Bapa," dates back to 1932 after the Epic Fast of Mahatma Gandhi over the Communal Award when the All-India Anti-Untouchability League later changed to the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh was founded, till his departure from this mortal world on the 19th January, 1951. I travelled with him all over the country over and over again and lived with him for a major part of these 19 years. Even with so many years of close contact, I do not think there is anything that I can write about Bapa which his numerous co-workers and the general public do not know. He did not keep anything secret or personal from his friends and co-workers. He gave himself up for the service of the poor and all who knew him knew his work and the life he led. He was a strict disciplinarian and very punctilious. About money matters and accounts he was extremely strict and any one who made a slip lost his sympathy for good. He would always impress upon social workers that unless one is a good accountant he cannot be a good social worker. When he was not out touring he will not go to bed before he had seen and signed the daily Cash Book for that day and written his diary. On return from tours he will go through the cash book for all those days he had not seen though it would have been checked and signed by his assistant. It was due to this strictness about money matters and accounts that there was only one case of lapse during his long stewardship of nearly twenty years of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. But that too was detected in time and the loss made good to the pie by those who were responsible for the management of the branch and the branch was reorganised. To Thakkar Bapa the person's position in social or political field or his connection with high personages was of no consequence. To him he was more than an ordinary criminal who abused the trust placed in him or mismanaged public funds placed at his disposal or let others to mismanage owing to his lack of supervision. In that particular instance he was so upset that he decided to hand over the man to the police, but Bapu who was informed of the same managed to recover the whole amount and had the branch reorganised without taking recourse to the law court.

Though he was Bapu's lieutenant he did not imbibe the art of begging. He was so shy that he seldom approached people for donation. He made an exception in the case of his President Shri G. D. Birla and J. K. Birla, with whom he maintained the most cordial relation till his last day. Whenever he realised that a genuine case needed aid he would straightway go to them and mention the amount he wanted and I do not know of an instance when they denied him his demand.

In his late seventies he used to be under physical discomfort if he had to walk a long distance owing to cataract in both eyes and other troubles. But he would

think of keeping a car. It was, I believe, modesty and not the expenses because his president to whom he had to go now and then a distance of nearly 12 miles by tonga or bus in connection with the work of the Sangh or with the programme and movements of Bapa, had many times pressed him to keep one of his cars. He would put off the offer with a smile that he did not need a car to go about. It was only during the Constituent Assembly days when he was 80 years that he was prevailed upon to accept a car which he maintained out of the allowance he received from the Constituent Assembly.

Thakkar Bapa

If he was a hard task-master with his co-workers, he was none the less with himself. Even at the age of 75 he could sit at times for six to seven hours at a stretch at his table writing, dictating and issuing instructions without once leaving his chair. Till his last day he was actively directing half a dozen different activities like the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, the Displaced Harijans Rehabilitation Board (Government), *Flood and* Famine Relief Works of the Servants of India Society, etc. Whenever he went on tour, he had at times to work for all these different institutions but he was meticulously careful in distributing his touring expenses to all these different activities in proportion to the work he was able to do for them. He maintained this principle to the last day even in dividing the postage expenses he incurred in correspondence carried on from his sick-bed in Bhavnagar. His greatest ambition was to do more and more work for the poor and suffering humanity and his difficulty was to pass a day without any work. The hardest shock to him must have been the realisation during his last illness that he could not move out any more and that he had to be in bed. But even in bed, he did not give up work, because the urge to do more work was strong and work was there in abundance. He called a band of workers from the Servants of India Society and the Bhil Seva Mandal to his bedside at Bhavnagar and gave them clear instructions to go and do Flood Relief Work in Assam in collaboration with the Government. His second work was to call two of his important workers from Ranchi in Bihar and directed them to start welfare work for the Musahrs (Harijan serfs who are sold with the land by one landlord to another) and secured the necessary funds for three years from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The third and last was to request the Harijan Sevak Sangh to start a welfare centre for Nayadis of Kerala who number only about 900 in Kerala but they are unapproachables and unseeables and he felt that some welfare work for them was essential. The first is over while the other two are going on.

Now to his own finances. In October, 1932, when Bapu asked him to take up the Harijan work, he was one of the senior members of the Servants of India Society and was getting an allowance of Rs. 80 per month with second class travelling. From the day he became the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh he took to third class travelling which he kept up for nearly 18 years touring all over the country over and over again. He did not spare the bullock cart even. He was prevailed upon to change to a higher class only during his last days owing to old age and ill health or whenever he had to travel on behalf of the Government. From the Harijan Sevak Sangh he took only his travelling expenses during his long service of nearly twenty years. Out of his meagre allowance which increased to Rs. 225 by 1951 he paid his house rent, water and conservancy and house tax to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It was under his own strict orders that the office recovered from him these dues till his last day. Out of his allowance on an average a third of it went to the poor and needy every month during all these twenty years. Occasionally when he found that one of his staff members was in financial difficulty due to sickness or some other cause, he would give him a lump sum out of his meagre allowance according to his needs. During the later part of his life, his generosity increased to such an extent that he curtailed his physical needs to save more out of his personal allowance for giving to the needy. Some of the beneficiaries were poor and widowed

of his family. When Bapa died on the 19th ry, 1951, there was a credit balance of Rs. 54-15-9 s personal account with the Harijan Sevak Sangh was paid to those ladies as part of their February, aid.

member of the Servants of India Society parts away his private property when he becomes a member ıe gets only his maintenance allowance from the r as along as he remains a member. All his earn- :ither from Government or any other source after ıg the incidental expenses connected with that work o the Society. During the tenure of Thakkar membership of the Constituent Assembly and other ittees he had a separate account opened in the name Servants of India Society and all the allowances :d were credited into that account and expenses :ted with that work only were debited to that ıt. The balance was sent to the Society every r. He did not touch a single pie out of his earn- r his personal use or even for any public cause be- according to him that was the property of the ıts of India Society. When he was ill in Bhavnagar this account was closed under his instructions and the balance was sent to the Servants of India Society, Poona.

Unlike many public workers and leaders he did not keep any private or Gupt account. He never asked any one for himself. His wants were few, he dressed simply and ate frugally. During his last days he further reduced his personal needs to the minimum to the sorrow of his friends and co-workers. Thus when he died on the 19th January, 1951 there must have been some savings out of his few months' allowance which he received direct, after meeting his food and medical expenses in Bhavnagar, but not sufficient to meet his funeral expenses.

Except for a warm shawl presented by the workers of the Kasturba Trust on his 80th birthday the wordly belongings he left behind were very few and valueless. At the most they would have fetched about Rs. 35.

In the field of Social Work he was a giant and because of his connection with the big and the rich many may still be under the impression that he must have been financially very well-off, but facts are otherwise. Could one leave a more illustrative example of one's life who was so strict about balancing the accounts of others ?

———:O:———

A PILGRIMAGE TO DARKNESS

By AJIT KUMAR DUTTA

the pages of a book in a quiet library corner to a ratively unknown spot in the wide world outside ong way off, like a voyage to a new country across charted sea. Prior to departure this was the sort ısation disturbing the mind. The destination was r-off, only about a hundred miles from the city, the f education and culture, in the dark interior of ım district. The trip was short in a sense but the ological gap was not easy to compass. The parti- idea behind was to meet some "patuas" or village painters in their natural surroundings. A long- hed dream was coming true and no doubt there was ing of thrill and adventure too in it.

few are still alive and enacting their roles in the onal style, though the society instead of opening ırt in grateful appreciation, far less honouring them, rned its back to them. They are left to cold neglect, ion and death. These "patuas" are the illustrious bearers of the folk-culture of the land.

'at" or scroll-painting, a bright shining star in the ıent of traditional art-styles of Bengal, has been a m of mass education for a very long time. Like ' "panchali" or "kathakata," all other different of popular entertainment, "pat" too has its distinc- ppeal. The religious, pseudo-religious and other r stories propagated through this medium had :ly some far-reaching effect on the mass-mind. ays are, no doubt, changing but probably the service of this medium is still essentially needed to fulfil the purpose. This poses a question for serious thinking, whether this glorious as well invaluable ingredient of our cultural pattern will have such a tragic end or this should be given a fresh lease of life.

The scroll-paintings could be seen even two decades ago, throughout the length and breadth of the country, depicting a wide variety of stories, including the "Krishnalila," "Ramlila," "Chaitanyalila," "Dasavatar" as well the achievements of "Satyapir," "Manikpir" or that of a "Ghazi." But today the sphere has been greatly narrowed. Not to speak of the ordinary ones, the "Kalighat pats"—the products of a very powerful and "modern" school of painters—could not survive the challenge of cheaper litho-prints combined with the unsympathetic attitude of the art connoisseurs of the country. But, amazingly enough, a few "patuas" and a number of wonderful "pats" are still scattered here and there. Not to speak of canalising the tendencies of these artists and serious attempt at reviving this once-great tradition, even no systematic effort has so far been made towards the collection of the works.

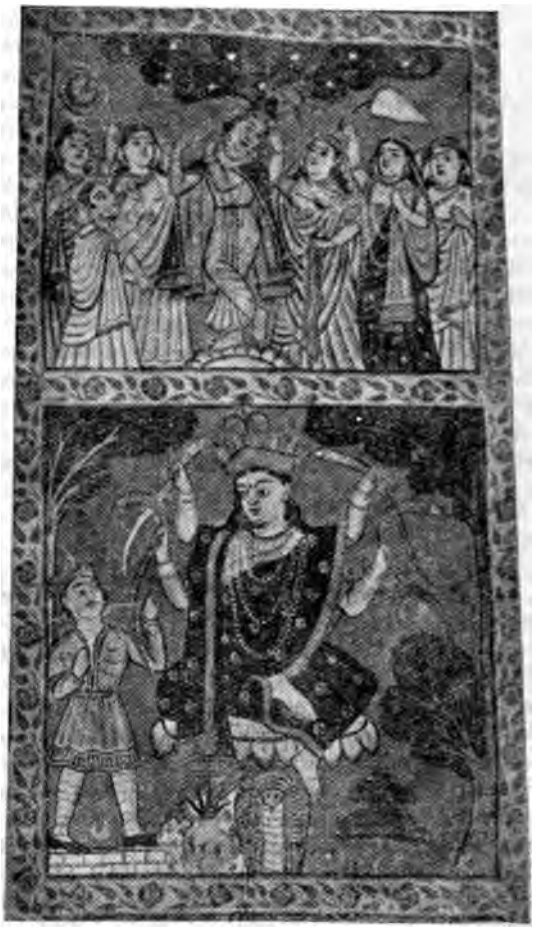
Banta, a small village in Rampurhat sub-division, is still inhabitated by a group of "patua" families. Most unfortunately, however, none of the ten heads of adults knows painting. Most of them are cultivators and at off-season go out with their family "pats" to near-by villages and even to towns, to have some extra earning. As they

unfold the scrolls and show them to the people, they either recite or narrate with accompaniment of music the respective stories. The "patua-sangits" or the accompanying verses or ballads are mostly self-composed or handed down

Sri Durga
By Rakhal Chitrakar

from generation to generation. These are invariably present with "pats" and of absorbing interest as specimans of folk-literature. On enquiry it was revealed that a large section of the public still had much love for the "pats." The "patuas" are rewarded either in cash or in kind like rice or paddy, particularly during the harvesting season. It was added that in urban areas a section of the public was interested in buying "pats." In this regard of showing some deeper interest in their affair, they had their greatest experience about two decades ago. They had at that time in their midst a guest in the person of the late Gurusaday Dutt, the then District Magistrate, who was better known as the "Guruji" of the Bratachari Movement than for his pioneering activities in the field of Bengal folk art and culture. *Anyway, since then no "outsider" had been among these "patuas" to enquire about their lot.*

It was the harvesting time. The bright morning appeared to carry the promise of a rosy future, the horizon arching to a vista of delightful adventure. An aroma pervaded the soul with a sweet sadness. In a



From a Dasavatara (Ten Incarnations) *pat*
By Banku Chitrakar

clear prospect under the sunlit pure blue of the sky, the mind was wafted over to soaring heights. But not for long. A poisonous snake was busking in the sunshine in front. Was it not doubly significant? It came as a warning to walk cautiously as well to look at things in their proper perspective.

Sraddha is an adjacent village. It can legitimately feel proud of the "patuas" living there; some are still active and pursuing their profession in face of heavy odds. Was it a Cheshire cat's grin in his face? We were not quite sure. But we were sure and still sure as it is still ringing in our ears, a deep sigh, followed by a cluster of words, "Yes, I still paint and even I am training up my son in my hereditary profession." Was it a sense of regret, shame or repentance or a feeling of pride, I could not make out what the expression conveyed. But I could feel it was cold and piercing. It came out

from the lips of Sri Banku Chitrakar, the leading living "patua" of the locality. After a brief and heavy pause, he was a bit normal. In a tone of utter disappointment, he greatly regretted that in about a couple of years' time be had the opportunity of painting only a few "pats," which were even not of a high order and to his satisfaction, simply because the people were not willing to pay higher prices! Naturally, he has to look for other openings to maintain himself and his dependants. He keeps himself engaged in painting "chalachitras" or backgrounds of the images and modelling the same. In a sense he is probably fortunate. As yet he has not turned a tiller. The demand for his "pats" mainly lies with his kinsmen, who also decide the subject to be painted. In technique and method, this artist is conventional and makes use mostly of local indigeneous colours. He was greatly moved when we left him. His only and earnest request was to see him again, if possible and that was all! He was obviously steady this time. *He knew his ordeal*—his fate of rotting in a dark corner of the country, unappreciated and unsung. He has the honesty, sincerity and integrity, much more than can be seen in a product of the modern sophisticated civilisation and that is why he is still treading over the path of his forefathers.

Another view of the same

A few more panels of the same

But why this tragedy awaits Sri Banku Chitrakar and his like? After all they possess some creative talent. They are untrained in the modern sense, but the spontaneous pourings of these half-educated or uneducated artists, are definitely a matter of pride to any sensible society. But they are dying, chiefly because the society, particularly the members of the upper strata, with all its capacity, education and sympathy, has turned its back to them. But, on all counts, this end is neither "historical" nor "natural." In many Western countries with a greater degree of change in their socio-economic structure we find their indigenous artists properly rehabilitated and encouraged to continue their profession. In Great Britain and Japan specially, such artists and artisans play an

important role in their respective country's industrial life. In the United States continuous research is being carried on to collect materials and give a new lease of life to the original Mountain and Red Indian arts and crafts. Above all, in the post-Revolutionary Russia, the internationally famous icon-makers have been successfully rehabilitated. If these be true, in case of such industrially advanced countries of the present times, why should we be failing in our duties, particularly after the achievement of our independence? It should be a particular care for one and all to see that every cultural activity in every corner of our land, not only continues unhampered but thrives and prospers, so that there may not be any divergence between profession and practice.

———:O:———

OLD MEMORIES OF BURDWAN

Talitgarh and Hamambari

By NIRMAL SINHA, M.A.

Talitgarh

The fort at Talit situated between Talit and Burdawn Railway Station and within a short distance to the west of the Grand Trunk Road, has a singular form of its own which can hardly fail to excite the wonder of sightseers. To say that it is circular in form will be an over-simplified description. Actually, on its fringes the fort has the shape of a full-blossomed lotus, defended by an earthwork rampart, with 12 mounds at regular intervals, and encircled by a moat about 25 ft. wide.

Talitgarh mound and moat

In 1910, when J. C. K. Peterson's *Burdwan* in the Bengal District Gazetteer was published, there were traces of masonry at the northern gateway, and in the citadel and some of the bastions. Now, the ruins of the gateway are the only remains of the masonry which might have once given the fort an appearance of impregnability. A broken 24-pounder cannon, half-buried in the soil, is still visible near the gateway, while others, which were perhaps once mounted on the mounds, are, I am told, kept at Burdwan by the Raj family.

It is interesting to note that the moat is connected to the Banka river on the south-east, which suggests the provision for a back-door escape for the defenders of the fort in case of an irresistible attack. The space inside the fort, approximately over half a square mile in extent, *forms the cultivated lands of the* Talitgarh village. There *are also three large and five small* tanks inside. Near the northern gateway of the fort but beyond the moat is another village called the Mahabat-garh village. It may be hazarded that this village has derived its name from Jehangir's general, Mahabat Khan, who came to Bengal in pursuit of the rebel prince Shahjehan in 1621-22 A.D. and was shortly afterwards appointed the Subahdar of Bengal. This village outside the fort is, therefore, older than the Talitgarh village, which grew up presumably with the decay of the fort and the subsequent letting out of the lands inside by the Burdwan Raj family. There are about forty Bagdi and Bauri families in these two small villages at present.

Tradition holds that the fort was built by the Burdwan Raj family to protect the 100 Siva temples at Nawabhat, constructed by Maharani Adhirani Bishnukumari Devi, wife of the late Maharajadhiraj Tilak Chand, in 1788. But on the very face of it this tradition is unacceptable, because of its known use in earlier times. The Raj family found refuge in this fort against the periodical incursions of the Bargis from 1741 to 1751 (Peterson's *Burdwan*, p. 191). To go back further it is likely that the fort played an important part when Prince Shahjehan invaded Burdwan city probably in 1622. The city was taken by the Prince who stayed there for a short time to recruit Afghan soldiers for his army (Charles Stewart's *History of Bengal*). Besides, it was perhaps in this fort at Burdwan that Prince Azim-u-Shan stayed for nearly three years from 1699 to 1701 after the slaying of the Afghan rebel, Rahim Shah, and the subsequent suppression of revolt started by Sobha Singh and Rahim Shah in 1696 (Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 216).

Thus, it is certain that the fort was built some time towards the end of the 16th century A.D. or in the beginning of the 17th century A.D., and not, as tradition holds, in the middle of the 18th century A.D. That it, like many other old forts, is a mute witness to the storms which had blown over Burdwan for centuries admits of no doubt.

Hamambari

Another historically interesting spot at Burdwan is the Hamambari or the washing house, situated on the Ahibhusan Mukherji Road near Borhat. Now a demure-

looking structure, with an ordinary frontage, but marked out by its peculiar shape, the Hamambari, strangely enough, is associated by local tradition with the name of Raja Man Singh. Although slightly reconditioned by the forbears of its present occupant, Sri Nagendra Nath Bandopadhaya, the Hamambari is a one-storied structure containing three rooms. On the roof there is a cupola, and to its left, a tomb-shaped bit of masonry. The room under the cupola is round and has a bell-shaped ceiling. The other two rooms on either side of the round room are rectangular-shaped and have an awning-like ceiling. Nagenbabu told me that there had been a covered staircase at the back of this house leading to the large bathing tank behind and that it was demolished by his great grandfather about 150 years ago.

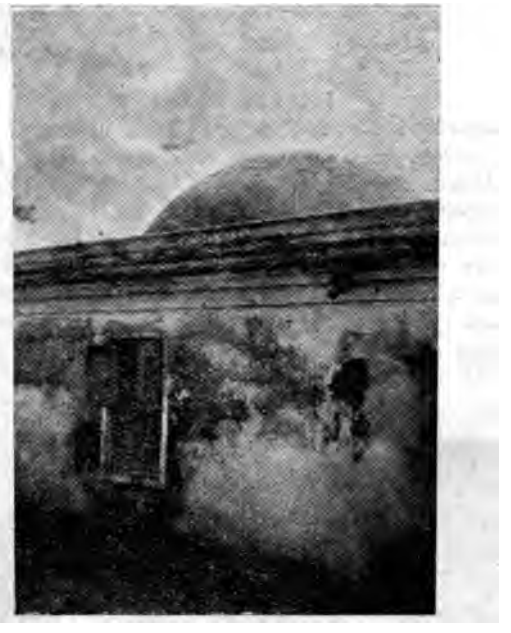
The large tank will be about 300 by 30 yards, bridged over in the middle by a path known as the Dighi-pol. Very near the Hamambari, to its south-east, is the Banka river which no doubt supplies water to the tank.

Sri Harendas Sarkar, a local medical practitioner, read a paper on the Hamambari in the Burdwan Sahitya Parishad in 1936. Relying upon the local tradition, he attributed the construction of the Hamambari and the excavation of a part of the tank (the other part, it is said, was excavated by Azim-u-Shan) to the local authorities of the pargana of Burdwan in anticipation of the probable stay of the Subahdar of Bengal and Bihar, Raja Man Singh, there who, in 1589-90, was making preparations in co-operation with his deputy, Sayid Khan, for the recovery of Orissa from the hands of the Afghan Chief Katlu Khan. But we know that Man Singh went through Burdwan to Jehanabad, on the banks of the Dalkisor river and not many miles distant from the present city of Calcutta and encamped there during the rainy season (Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 116). The above tradition is given credence to because, according to premeditated plans, the army of Sayid Khan was asked to form an alliance with Man Singh's forces at Burdwan (Stewart, p. 115).

The foregoing facts show that Man Singh's name cannot be associated with the Hamambari. In fact, many royal personages came to Burdwan since the third decade of the 16th century A.D. and their claims to being associated with the Hamambari are stronger than those of Raja Man Singh. Raja Todar Mall was at Burdwan in 1574, awaiting the instructions of the Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan for the course he should pursue against Daud Khan. Then, Subahdar Azim Khan's deputy, Fariduddin Bokhari, stayed in Burdwan in 1583-84 to deal with the Afghan rebel leader Katlu Khan (Stewart, pp. 112-113). But their claims to the Hamambari are not very strong, for Raja Todar Mall stayed in Burdwan for too short a time and Fariduddin Bokhari was too busy with the Afghan menace to think of having a Hamambari. As for Prince Shahjehan who captured Burdwan city after a short siege, probably in 1622, and recruited Afghan soldiers there for his army, the construction of the Hamambari and the excavation of the large bathing tank cannot be ascribed to him, because his short stay in Burdwan was wholly devoted to preparing for a showdown with the imperial forces under Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jung, the Subahdar of Bengal and Bihar.

Having dispensed with the claims of these important personages through the process of elimination, only Aurang-

Ruins of the Talitgirh gateway



The Hamambari

zeb's grandson, Azim-u-Shan, remains to engage our attention. Before this prince came to Burdwan at the end of 1697, Zabbardost Khan, son of the recalled Subahdar Ibrahim Khan, had cantoned there. He might have had the Hamambari erected and the tank excavated at Burdwan for the use of the new royal governor, Azim-u-Shan. Stewart in his *History of Bengal* relates that while Azim-u-Shan amused himself at Burdwan, Rahim Shah ravaged Nadia, Hooghly and then encamped within a few miles of Burdwan. The Hamambari at this time might have catered much to the pleasures of the royal Subahdar and his harem. Then, after the death of Rahim Shah and the subsequent suppression of the Afghan revolt in 1698, Azim-u-Shan might have bathed in Hamambari tank before proceeding to pay his respects to the tomb of Pir Bahram Saqqa (Stewart, p. 216). Tradition has it that Prince Azim added to the size of the tank. He could have done this, in view of the fact that he stayed in the fort at Burdwan for nearly three years till 1701 and was instrumental in building the Shahi mosque there. Incidentally, inside the Shahi mosque, which is near the Raj palace in the city, there is a detached slab of stone with inscriptions on it. The date given thereon is IIII A.H. (1699 A.D.), which confirms the fact that Azim-u-Shan had it built, as it is stated, at the express wish of his grandfather Alamgir.

Therefore, if the Hamambari was built at Burdwan for the use of any royal personage, he was Azim-u-Shan, and not Raja Man Singh or any of the others named above.

———:O:———

AROUND THE WETTEST VILLAGE IN THE WORLD

Cherrapunji

By Major S. C. DIXIT

Rainfall Record

Cherrapunji—Lat. 25 deg. 17 N, Long. 91 deg. 47 E—is a village on the southern spur of the Khasi Hills in Assam. From its height of 4,300 ft. it commands the plains of Sylhet. These Hills are divided into twenty-five petty States. The Raja is called *Siem*. Cherra means lacerated; it is a small State. Punji means a village. This village is famous for the heaviest known rainfall in the world. Scientists have a special interest in many natural features of this region. The world's highest—458 inches—average rain, falls on this

Escarpment (E. face)

pluvial spot. In 1938, 536 inches of rain was recorded by the end of August. In 1861 it had shot up to 905 inches of which 503 inches fell in June and July. A fall of 41 inches in 24 hours was recorded in 1876. This is an area of climatic accident with established recurring wet spell. It rains in torrents and the phenomenal precipitation is measured in feet rather than inches. If an inch of rain amounts to 100 tons of water on an acre of land or 2,323,000 cubic feet of water on a square mile, imagine the drenching it receives.*

If the place had been on the equator, the heavy rains may be accepted as a geographical axiom, but Cherrapunji is beyond the Tropic of Cancer. Rainfall amounting to 408 inches is known to occur at Biboundi on the equatorial Camaroon mountain slopes facing the Gulf of Guinea. Mount Waialeale in the Hawaiian Islands is said to have the average rainfall of 476 inches per year. In our own country, Mahabaleshwar (4,500 ft.) on the Western Ghats facing the Arabian Sea receives 292 inches of rain on the average. Jowai (4,561 ft.) 35 miles N.-E. of Cherra gets 237 inches of rain. Denning (in Sadiya district) an unknown spot gets about 300 inches of rain distributed evenly over ten months—leaving December-January dry.

The Land

Cherrapunji overlays a tableland about three miles long and two miles wide. On its three sides the rocky perpendicular escarpments drop sheer 4,000 ft. down almost to the sea-level in the plains. In the North, the height steadily rises up to 6,441 ft. at Shillong 33 miles away. The isolated local hillocks about Cherra are 70 to 300 ft. high with strikingly roundish knolls. It is the atmosphere which works like a potter on this land.

Why is there such a deluge of rain? The climate of Cherrapunji is determined by its location, altitude

* Monthly and annual normals of rainfall (in inches) at Cherr are: January 0.75, February 2.11, March 7.27, April 26.23, May 50.44, June 106.05, July 96.34, August 70.08, September 43.36, October 19.42, November 3.70 and December 0.49. Total 425.36.

and its 200 miles distance from the Bay of Bengal. Latitude counts very little. It is fed by the vapours in direct and deflected parcels of air rising from the Bay and the Sundarbans, the largest delta in the world. When the warm wind blows against the Hills

Post-Office-*cum*-Observatory
Photo : Maj. V. S. Mani

it is forced up. The humid air arising from the southern and western swampy plains is condensed by refrigeration. Rain falls when the air is cooled to the point when it could no more hold all the vapour it suspends. While the air rises it expands and in the process of expansion it loses its heat at the rate of 5.5 deg. F. for each 1,000 ft. of ascent. This leads to cloudiness. The loss of temperature of the warm wet air is the principal factor which precipitates the relief rainfall. The heavy rains occur on the windward side where Cherrapunji faces the Bay. The prevalent S.-W. winds from April to October bring in the largest volume of humid air from the sea-level contributing the greatest amount of periodical rain. The heavy rainfall is orographic and hit by monsoon.

The total number of rainy days in the year at Cherrapunji is one hundred and sixty. November to February is the dry spell. In the equatorial Africa say at Duala (Lat. 4 deg. N) with less than half the amount of rainfall the number of rainy days is 212 in a year. It means that the equatorial region has a longer but less intense wet period.

Cherrapunji is a meteorologist's magic place of wonder. The average velocity of wind at the height of monsoon in June-July does not exceed six miles per hour—not strong enough to keep a wind-mill working or blow away the roofs. Such light breeze condition approximates the Horse Latitude. The lowest temperature ever touched in January was 34 deg. F. Hence the village escapes snowing by 2 deg. F. One inch of rain amounts to ten inches of snow. The consequences of clouds and cold if combined would be Himalayan. The highest maximum temperature does not move over 82 deg. F. in May-June.† These Hills are in a seismal zone. In 1897, they were devastatingly shaken.

The rainfall is measured near the Post Office on an automatic rain-gauge. The Post Master attends to various atmospheric readings as an honorary meteorologist. The Post Office-*cum*-Observatory has a barometer, wet and dry thermometers and on its roof stands an anemometer. On the wall hangs a chart showing different kinds of clouds to forecast the coming of rains by its aid. Thick and dark "Cummulonimbus" clouds are a portent and Cherra has enough of them.

The Rain Gauge—the largest in the world
Photo : Maj. V. S. Mani

The heavy rainfall gives a peculiar charm and attraction to the village. There are numerous small and big waterfalls ranging from 30 ft. to 650 ft. to the east and the west of the plateau. These local falls are

† The writer is grateful to the Director, Regional Meteorological Centre, Calcutta, for climatic information.

seasonal and narrow. They fall in cascades over bluffs and boulders. Easily approachable Mawmuluh falls are pleasing, picturesque and fit for a week-end picnic. There are many streamlets, and rivulets formed when it rains. They present a dendritic pattern of drainage on the map. From the brows of the escarpments open out panoramic views of marshes, and nullahs with a net-work of streams down on the Sylhet plains. Viewed in blue haze and light the scenery is grand.

North Cherrapunji entrance

Strange as it may sound, the scarcity of water during the dry period creates a famine. Water is in short supply at a place where it rains the heaviest in the world. All the water showered on Cherrapunji immediately run off to swell the Surma and the Padma on their way to the Bay. So the cycle of evaporation is soon completed. The rapid flow-out renders the village safe from floods.

The inlier rocks of the Khasi Hills are very ancient—granites and gneisses belonging to the earliest geological period. They are older than the Himalayas before whom they stand as dwarfs. At one time these hills must have stood like islands in the midst of a vast aquatic surroundings. The Surma, the Pamda and the Brahmaputra even now mark out this area. The red sandstone found here is hard and has resisted weathering. Limestone overlaid by good coal deposits is a marked feature made prominent by white and black bands seen on cuttings. This deposition is of the Tertiary period. If lime could remain in the ground, it would make the soil alkaline but it is washed out. The coal is quarriable and cheap for want of export. In old days iron was smelted.

Grottos are formed in the lime-bearing hills. Lime drips away with water in abundance. These natural caves with their peculiar eroded stones are large and form long dark tunnels. After entering one of these caves a sense of suffocation comes on. It is dangerous to go in with a flambeau as we found to o fusion. The map-maker has alluringly marke subterranean hollows as "caves" reminding Ellora and Ajanta. We had the Survey map t us by its symbolic shorthand. The people he a tradition that one of these caves was once ir by a python.

The Plant Life

At a place like Cherrapunji one may ex dense evergreen forest of s type. But there is no f Cherra. The plateau is unc dry and covered with coar grass. The heavy inundation plants. There is no top soil tion and the lateritic land barren and dry. The open and the hills covered by sho grass almost have an ap of a large park reminis Poona in the best of season

The flora of a locality with the latitude. The temperature and the edaphic fashion its type. A particul of vegetation often occurs i continuous narrow strips east to west. In Che itself there is nothing ve

Here lies Scott

standing except its barren and open (However, the serrated slopes, its many re-e ravines and gullies are teeming with plants. M these plants are unfamiliar to a sub-tropical Here is a treasure-house for a plant hunter. I scattered the beauty and magnificence of pl unsuspected in the plains below. The flora Khasi Hills is famous for its specific nu superiority. In 1850, Dr. Hooker collected as as 2,000 flowering plants, 150 ferns, many Bry and other lower plants within the radius of te

from Cherra. The exhuberance of vegetation in these ever-damp hills owes its existence to a number of nullahs, gorges, hills and rocks. The cartographer has lumped and labelled these plants into "fairly dense mixed trees and undergrowth." The familiar pine tree of Shillong is named *Pinus Khasiana*—a pine peculiar and endemic to these hills. Podocarpus, Yew, Oak and other conifers thrive in the dry soil of this area.

Funereal stones (Menhir)

There are nearly fifteen species of bamboos and 150 kinds of other grasses. The bamboo is woven in the web of life on this land. It provides all sorts of articles for daily use. Its many and varied uses must be seen to be believed. They are used as pipes, containers, vessels, bottles, and weapons. Long shields made from bamboo strips are used for protection from rain. Dead bodies are carried accompanied by music from bamboo pipes. Young shoots are edible. Houses and huts are built out of them. Verily, bamboo is a supreme gift of nature to the primitive people. The orchids, plants with a rich, showy and frequently fragrant flowers, dominate with 250 species. They are found on rocks and trees. The terrestrial orchids are common in the wet months while the epihytes flower just after it. The ornamental, half-hardy and profusely flowering Balsams are in abundance with varieties in all spectral colours. Clumps of distinctive screw-pines or Pandanus, graceful palms (*Arenga Pinnate* : Rattan) pop up from the fissures in the rocky slopes. Wild plantains—Kairem of the Khasis—and its near relatives of the ginger family (*Scitaminaceae*) hold its own with nearly forty broad-leaved representatives. Wild plantain fruits sold at Cherra are golden in colour but insipid and full of large black seeds. Odoriferous Laurels (*Cinnamonum tamala*), Jasmines, Eribotrya—the loquat, and wild berries are common. Tamala leaves (*Tejpat*) are exported as spices. *Saxifraga ciliaris* a perennial hardy plant common in England grows here on wet banks. Special fan-palm of the Khasi Hills (*Chamoerops Khasiana*) inhabits rocky cliffs. *Cycas pectinate* looks like a palm but quite of a different class also finds a home here. A species of Lycopodium (clavatum?) grows in such profusion that it is used as wrappers for decorative purposes on festive occasions. Insectivorous utriculariaas abound in wet places. Mosses and lichens cover the trees every inch.

Nine miles north of Cherra, near the 25-milestone, there is a village named Sohrarim (5,557 ft.). It is a botanist's paradise. Rhododendrons, Magnolias, Palms, Oaks, and India Rubber trees grow born to the

Green and glamorous Shillong

soil. Further up a tiny hamlet of Mawphlang (6,138 ft.) two miles west of the road from the 14-milestone, has a fine wood providing another Elysium for a plant lover. At this true mountain height honeybees have field days all over. Lac is produced by insects on fig trees. Resin is tapped from the pines. The tribal people hold the oak and rhododendrons in reverence and are reluctant to destroy them. Like the Sikkimese the Khasis have their own names for

plants and birds. The Cherra clan of the Khasis is known as Diengdoh—a name of a tree.

To an ecologist unfamiliar with plants of the temperate region the identification of plants is tantalising. The feeling of strangeness is oppressive. He struggles to recognise a few of them. Botany in India is concentrated on the tropical plants of the plains. What is hidden behind the northern temperate hills is untouched. At these lower than true mountain heights a forest of familiar Indian trees is looked for. Surprisingly the eye meets the temperate flora of the middle latitudes having European genera. The botanical frontiers of Sikkim and far-off Malaya touch the Khasi Hills. The occurrence of European forms of plants in the Khasi Hills is not an isolated instance. Wallace was struck by this peculiarity of plant distribution on the volcanic peaks of Java very

Huts on slope

near the Equator. Darwin has explained this type of discontinuous occurrence of plants in the second chapter of the *Origin of Species*. Here are islets of temperate plants set in a green grassy belt. The trees are evergreen and their leaves have a glossy shine. The temperate forest is deciduous but this one is not. Unlike the evergreen tropical forest the trees are small; there are no huge lianas and there is no want of undergrowth. There are no buttress-roots and drip-tips, the special outfits of trees of the rain forest. The ecological demarcation of alpine vegetation above 10,000 ft. is not respected. In these Hills the alpine plants may be seen at 5,000 ft. near Lyngiong, ten miles N.-W. of Cherra. A species of Rhododendron is even bold enough to come down to 2,000 ft. level on the banks of the Bor-pani. How different from textual dogma! Lantana the alien intruder has become a successful pest and thrives in blazing glory.

At Cherra there is no cultivation—not even of rice. Little south at the foot of the hills towards Sylhet there are orchards of small, sweet-sour oranges and pineapples. Birds and animals are scarce. There are no herds of cattle—cows or buffaloes. The Khasis *like the Dyaks of* Borneo and the Malay have no taste for milk and ghee. They do not plough fields. There are snakes but they are harmless.

The People

Cherrapunji was a business centre. There is a long rope-way to carry goods to Sylhet plains for export to Calcutta but the new frontier has made the line almost idle. Every eighth day the hillmen have a market day. Here was the headquarters of the Hills up to 1864. It was then a gateway to Assam from Bengal. It is connected with Shillong by a good tar road. There stands a monument of David Scott who died in 1831 as an Agent to the Governor-General of the N.-E. Frontier of Bengal and Commissioner of Revenue of Assam. All the whiteman's virtues are enumerated on the marble tablet set in a sable stone.

There are very few villages of importance in these 6,152 square miles. In an area where the density of population is less than 35 inhabitants per square mile there is no dearth of living space. The hamlets are scattered and hidden from view by the undulations of the ground. The Khasi villages have prominent (Menhir) stone slabs vertically erected as funereal monuments. The tribe is dubbed animistic. They burn (now bury) their dead and propitiate the supernatural by sacrificing a cock. Their "animism" consists in the fear of the unseen and the supernatural spirits. Fortune-telling is done by egg-breaking; so they take omens. They worship and propitiate their ancestors.

The Khasis derive their identity from Kha-Chais presumed to have migrated somewhere from Indo-China. They have Mongoloid features but appear to be Austric-Mongolian mixture. Their skin appears to be cream-coloured at Cherra but in the bazar darker skin shades are noticed. They are short in stature, have high cheek bones, large nostrils, slightly oblique (slit) eyes, broad shoulders and muscular appearance. A fat Khasi is a rarity. They keep a tuft of hair like a broad pig-tail. They go about the hills with goat-like agility. They are outdoor open-air-loving people fond of gambling. They are fond of chewing betel-leaf with lime and raw areca-nuts. Even distance used to be measured in terms of time taken to masticate a leaf and nut. Both the sexes wear earrings. The old-style male still wears a jacket closed by loops of strings. They speak a dialect akin to Burmese Mon-Khmer of Austric origin which has common elements with the Mundas of Central India and the inhabitants of Cambodia and Annam. We fully realized this while performing pantomime in a village to get our bearings.

The Khasis have affinities with the primitive people of Malaya. They have certain customs in common. When a baby is born the placental cord is cut with a sharp strip of bamboo and preserved till the naming ceremony is over. They have neither a sickle nor a potter's wheel. The Khasis are said to have come to Assam before the Christian era. Assam

is on the threshold of South-East Asia. To understand the tribes and culture of Assam it is necessary to know the primitive culture of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. Siam, Cambodia, Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Bali were the colonies of India during the medieval period barely five hundred years ago. The universal use of rice-brew, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, banana and bamboo in this moist leech-infested land are the cultural links still existing. Cowri was their current native coin to the end of the eighteenth century.

The special tribal drink is "laopani" brewed from rice. They have no food taboo. They are expert bow-men. They had proved their toughness against the troops of the East India Company in a dispute over the building of road to Gaubati in 1827.

Their oval-roofed huts in remote locations are built on slopes protected by the hills at the back—large yellow flowers and white fruits of the gourd plant garnish them. They are constructed from local bamboos, wood and grass. The thatching of the roof comes down well over the side walls. But during the last few decades galvanised iron sheets have suppressed the light products of the land. Most of the huts are now made from iron sheets which give a rusty corrugated appearance. Even kerosene cans are beaten flat and pressed into service. These sheets absorb 66 per cent of the sun's heat, resist white ants, fire, water, and earthquakes. They have become popular as building material even beyond the Himalayas. The Khasis like the elephant and the rhino are acclimatised to live in perennial humid atmosphere. One feels living in hydrosphere during rains. Humidity prevents evaporation from plant and animal bodies. Such climate is not normal for human health. The articles of food and wear (like sugar, salt, leather, paper) deteriorate. Mists and fogs cut down visibility and interfere with transport. The climate dictates the mode of life and the people become weather-bound in their daily work. Days and weeks have to be passed in monotonous atmosphere. In this latitude 21st of December has insolation for ten hours but it extends by three hours in six months. Alas, when that happens in June clouds seal off the sun.

Among the Khasis the number of women is slightly higher than men. It is a society based on matriarchal inheritance. After marriage a son-in-law dwells in bride's house. It is the youngest daughter in a family who inherits the rank and much of the wealth of parents. Each family traces its ancestry from a female-progenitor. Women are free from the dawn of civilization in matrilineal society. The marriage ties are neither very fast nor divorce difficult. This has led to certain amount of promiscuity. The Khasi women are known for their Hollywood sexual habits. There are a few Anglo-Khasis in Assam. Venereal disease is said to be high. Their Siem is a commoner. He is elected by the adult males. This is a Cambodian tradition. He has no civil list or privy purse and toils for his daily bread like his tribe. The Khasis materially differ from the Nagas and the Bodo Races in their laws of inheritance. The Khasi clans are exogamous.

Men all. Cherrapunji

Under the Union Jack the Khasis like other hill tribes of Assam were under the special administrative protection. The Government had handed over the education of the district to the Welsh Presbyterian Mission in 1841. The missionaries found a secure base for their "preach and proselytize" operation. Proselytization through education was the policy aided and abetted by the late State. The evangelists claim to have saved all the Khasi souls. Later the Roman Catholic Mission entered to salvage the residual souls. The Khasis have lost their tribal coherence and compactness they once had. A modern Khasi is an anaemic imitation Eurasian. His dress and customs are not his own. It is amusing to see him aping the Yankee mannerisms after the last war. Instead of merging the Khasis into the general Assamese culture the evangelists have put them further apart by introducing the Roman Script. The great weakness of the western intruders is to create cleavages in a solid social group. They have not shown synthetic perception in India. If there is a feeling of separate political identity amongst the tribes of Assam it is of the mysterious spiritual blowing. The grafting of alien culture has divided a house against itself.

Shillong

The road leading to Shillong is awe-inspiring. Its many twists and turns and hair-pin bends above a thousand feet deep gorges keep passengers in dramatic suspense. There is a one-way traffic regulated by proper timing at the gates. The road risks are driven home by a skull and bones painted on notice-boards. The surprise is that very few accidents occur in spite of ramshackle passenger-*cum*-goods transport speeding over the road. The Khasis are good drivers and have mechanical aptitudes.

Shillong has the distinction of being the only town in the midst of 1,839 villages in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Its old name Yeddo was scraped as it is also a Jap place name. Shillong is the name of a peak and a part of Mylliem State. This capital of Assam is without history and any geographical importance. It had the climatic comfort and home effects for the British rulers. Shillong is a middling town in the rain shadow of the Cherra Hills. The rainfall is 82 inches. Full of coniferous and other trees it appears green and glamorous. The hills neither produce food nor consumer's goods for the town. Its life line extends to far-off Calcutta. These few square miles of upstart political settlement in no way reflects Assam or pulsates with its blood. It has scenic charms. The Khasis believe that a spirit resides in the Shillong peak as in many other hills around them.

Every eighth day the hill-folks have a market day at Shillong. On this day the bazar embodies the microcosm of the hills. The women are traders and shop-keepers. From early morning hillmen stream in with huge conical baskets carried on their backs and supported by a band on forehead. This is a common way of carrying load all over the northern hills. Potatoes first introduced in 1830 are now leading the market produce. Pineapples, peas, papayas, pumpkins, oranges, tejpat, betel-leaves, chillies, cabbages, and radishes are heaped in open stalls. Pigs are a part of the show. The women wrap themselves in a piece of cloth like a shawl thrown over other garments, walk without foot-wear and carry about children on their backs with a stooping posture. The Khasis relish "Sophlang"-tubers produced by a leguminous plant *Rhynccosia vestita*. It is reputed to stimulate the digestive system. The octave bazar is the right place for an introduction to these simple, cheerful inhabitants and their manners. They are at peace with the world and themselves. The Khasi Hills are remarkably free from violent crimes—a tribute to their character. Here is Utopia where the people do not pay house-tax or land revenue and laugh with you.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooks, C. E. P.: *Climate in Everyday Life* (1950), Ch. X, pp. 201-209.
Gait, (Sir) Edward : *History of Assam* (1926).
Gordon, (Major) P. R. T.: *The Khasis* (1907).
Hooker, (Sir) J. D.: *Himalayan Journals* (1905), pp. 484-501.
Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV (1908).
Nath, R. M. : *The Background of Assam Culture* (1948).
Wadia, D. N. : *Geology of India* (1949), p. 249.
Wallace, Alfred Russel : *The Malay Archipelago* (1898), pp. 91-92.

———:O:———

JOHN DEWEY—FAMOUS AMERICAN EDUCATOR AND PHILOSOPHER

The death of John Dewey on June 1, 1952, ends the career of one of the foremost educators and philosophers of all time.

Called "America's most characteristic intellectual expression," John Dewey influenced educational practices in the United States and many other countries for more than two generations. He also achieved world-wide fame for his influence on contemporary thought and as a champion of progressive causes.

After the death of William James, Dewey was regarded in the United States as the leader of the pragmatic movement in philosophy. Often referred to as the philosopher of the plain man, it was said of him :

> "There is hardly a phase of American thought to which he has not made some contribution, hardly an aspect of American life which he has left uninterpreted. His influence has extended to the schools, the courts, the laboratories, the labour movement and the politics of the nation."

Dewey's philosophy was based on experience (instead of tradition or dogma) as the ultimate authority in knowledge and conduct. He had complete faith in the scientific method of inquiry and the power of human intelligence to create a better society.

Dewey was frequently referred to as the foremost educational philosopher in America. His writings include many books on education, which have been translated into several languages. He was widely known outside the United States, and was invited to Mexico, China, Japan, Russia, Turkey and South Africa to aid in educational programmes.

Accordng to Max Eastman, noted author, "John Dewey....is the man who saved our children from dying of boredom as we almost did in school." It was largely due to his teaching, said the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that

> "The centre of gravity shifted from the subject-matter of instruction to the child to be taught. As a consequence, the school began to change from a place where children prepare for life to a place where children live."

As the father of the progressive educational movement, Dewey had a running battle with traditional educators for more than half a century. Even during the last years of his life, his theory of progressive education was challenged frequently. In replying to these challenges, Dewey cited the results of his theories :

> "Our public schools are far more democratic today than they were 50 years ago . . . Children receive more freedom in the class-room and are permitted to take a greater part in school activities than they were at the turn of the century....Basically, the gap existing between the progressive and the traditional school has narrowed considerably in recent years."

Dewey believed that the main problems confronting ıtion revolved around the lack of inspired teachers he need to induce capable students to enter the ing profession, plus the need for increasing both the ge and the monetary rewards of teaching.

ohn Dewey was born on October 20, 1859, in ıgton, Vermont, where his father kept a general

He finished high school and entered the University rmont at 15. He graduated at 19 with the highest on record in philosophy.

or a while he was a school-teacher, but after his first was published by the *Journal of Speculative Philo-*, he decided to be a philosopher. So he borrowed from an aunt and entered the graduate school of Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. The ear he won a scholarship and also got a job teaching istory of philosophy to the undergraduates. Later, t a job as instructor of philosophy at the University chigan, where he fell in love with Alice Chipman, one pupils, whom he married in 1886. Except for one at the University of Minesota, Dewey spent 10 years e University of Michigan, becoming head of the tment of philosophy in 1888.

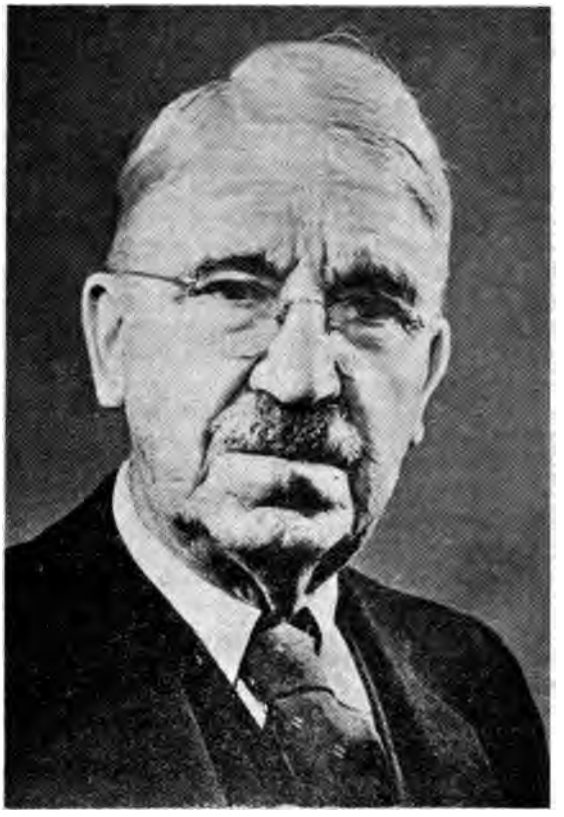
n 1894, he was invited to head the combined depart- of philosophy, psychology and education of Chicago rsity. There he founded the famous Dewey Labora- chool, where he put into practice his theory of "learn- y doing."

n 1904, he became professor of philosophy at New Columbia University. Following his retirement e early 1930's, Dewey continued to receive his salary as professor emeritus in residence until In 1932 he was appointed honorary president of George School of Social Science in New York.

Dewey also was for some time president of the can Psychological Association and the American iation of University Professors as well as honorary lent of the American Philosophical Association, the ıal Education Association and the Progressive ıtion Association.

n June, 1948, Dewey was awarded one of the ıonorary degrees conferred by the New School for Research in New York—Doctor of Human Letters. nferring the degree, the school described him as the est of living American philosophers." Dewey has been similarly honoured by several other institutions both in America and abroad.

He was the typical professor in that he was absent-minded and careless about his appearance. He never bothered much about exercise for he thought brain work was just as good, if there was enough of it.



John Dewey

The Deweys had six children and one of his biographers has said it was the children, clambering over him while he worked "who kept the problems of philosophy thoroughly mixed up in his mind with the problems of education."—*USIS*.

which aims at specialisation and intensification almost from the very beginning. The inclusion of modern subjects like Mathematics, History, Geography and Civics as well as of modern literature in the old-type curriculum will make it rather too difficult. It is feared this will detract rather than attract students.

In fact, the current system of general education even with its modern methods has not succeeded in securing students for Sanskrit in an appreciable number. The standard of examination is generally not high. The minimum requirement is such that students may pass in Sanskrit in the B. A. standard with little knowledge of the language and its grammar. I have known Bengali students graduating with Sanskrit as a subject who are hardly conversant with the Devanagari Script.

In these circumstances it may appear to be surprising that the number of students taking Sanskrit is fast decreasing from year to year. It is gathered that in the seventies of the last century "Sanskrit was taken up as the second language by more than half the candidates (at the Entrance and F.A. examinations) and if the lower provinces of Bengal simply be considered the proportion rises to three-fourths of the candidates†" in spite of the fact the subject was considered to be difficult at the time. The deterioration in the present state of things, sad and disappointing no doubt, is the introduction of modern subjects of definitely superior market value.

But this is no consolation. We cannot remain satisfied with the conditions as they are. We must devise ways and means as to how Sanskrit may be made interesting and attractive to students as well as the people at large. We have to improve the mode of teaching to make it impressive. As matters stand at present students are scared away by the intricacies of grammar on which undue emphasis is laid both in the class-room and the examinations. It is true students manage somehow to get through the examinations in spite of their negligence and ignorance of the rules of grammar. But they imbibe little regard for the subject. The selected texts are not the less responsible for this state of things. Grown-up students who have developed some amount of literary sense begin Sanskrit with beast fables of the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesa* and proceed by stages to the *Raghuvamsa, Kumarasambhava, Bhattikavya, Kiratarjuniya* and *Sisupala-badha*. There is much in these works which has no appeal for present-day students.

Modern taste and utility needs be taken into consideration in selecting texts for students. And there is no dearth of materials in the extensive field of Sanskrit literature to suit the taste and requirements of the present age. Specially prepared selections from well-known works including those mentioned above may be useful in this connection. Only change of books or parts of them from year to year will not serve any purpose. A little co-ordination between different universities may be of help in this matter. Some attention should be given to things of current use, *e.g.*, Vedic *mantras*, hymns, sections of epics and Puranas regularly used in Hindu homes but of which our young folk learn nothing in their schools and colleges. It is rather curious that the old and almost forgotten sacrificial application of Vedic *mantras* has to be learnt with great assiduity without having any idea of their present use in different popular rites. Many *mantras* used in these rites are not even prescribed to be read.

Whatever be the texts some interest may still be created by drawing attention to the value and importance of the works in the history of literature, by appealing to the literary sense of the students with reference to portions of marked poetic excellence and particularly by pointing out the bearing of the works on the life and culture of the present-day. Special stress requires to be given on the close relation between Sanskrit and the modern languages of the country which are connected with one another through the bond of Sanskrit which has given them a large percentage of their words, some used in their original sense and form while others in a modified way.

There is just a possibility of attracting students to the rules of Sanskrit grammar in so far as they are required for the correct appreciation of the sense of words and expressions of modern Indian languages and for the formation of new words often necessary for expressing new ideas. A text-book of grammar with special emphasis on this topic will also be welcome to the large number of litterateurs of the country who are eager to learn Sanskrit out of sheer necessity, if for nothing else, and are dissuaded for want of suitable books on grammar which is supposed to be the stumbling block to the study of Sanskrit.

Making Sanskrit a compulsory subject in the curriculum of studies will be of little avail if at the same time it cannot be made more attractive and its value and utility strongly impressed on the people at large through the publication of popular works dealing with different aspects of the language and the rich literature enshrined in it. The encouragement of intensive study in the traditional form also depends in a large measure on the public interest that can be evoked and resulting patronage that can be secured in this respect.

† *General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for* 1871-72, p. 10.

THE DAWN SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA (1902-1907)

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Foundation of the Dawn Society

One of the greatest achievements of Satis Mukherjee's life (1865-1948) was the foundation and organisation of the Dawn Society. In the evolution of Mukherjee's creative life the Dawn Society (1902-07) represented the third great landmark, the first two being the foundation of the *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* (1895) and the establishment of the journal, *The Dawn* (1897). The Society was founded in July 1902, the same year which witnessed the passing away of Swami Vivekananda, the "patriot-saint" of modern India. The Society derived its name from the title of the magazine, the *Dawn*. It is a mistake to think that the *Dawn* at once became the mouthpiece of the Dawn Society (July 1902). Even after the establishment of the Dawn Society, the magazine both formally and materially continued to function as the organ of the old *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* in whose name the journal was printed and published. This process continued down to July 1904. During this period (July, 1902—July, 1904) the office of the Dawn magazine was situated at 79, Puddopukur Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, while the office of the Society was located at 22, Sankar Ghose's Lane in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution, now the Vidyasagar College.

Mr. Amit Sen's statement, *viz.*, "In 1903 was founded the Dawn Society with its organ in the *Dawn*" (*Notes on Bengal Renaissance*, Bombay, 1946, p. 51) is an inaccurate information. It is inaccurate on double grounds: first, the Dawn Society was founded not in 1903 but in July 1902 and secondly, the Society at that time had no special organ of its own. The Society found its organ only since September, 1904 when the journal was renamed as *The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*. This name the journal retained even after the dissolution of the Dawn Society (1907) down to November 1913. Be it noted that the activities of the Dawn Society were reported in the Society's Calendar during July, 1902—July, 1904—and not in the *Dawn* magazine.

The Dawn Society had its Permanent President in Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, F.R.S.L., Principal, The Metropolitan Institution, Editor, the *Indian Nation* while its General Secretary in Satis Chandra Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Editor, the *Dawn*.[1] Ideologically, its programme was much larger than that of the older institution, *Bhagavat Chatuspathi*, and it aimed at a comprehensive training of the students,— literary, religious and vocational. The defects of the system of University Education were sought to be removed by this institution.

Aims and Objects of the Society

In the first place, the Dawn Society sought to impart religious and moral instruction to the college students. This kind of instruction was not given in any college under the University. The sponsors of the Society consequently thought it desirable to undertake this responsibility upon their shoulders. Character-building thus became a most important item in the ideological complex of the Dawn Society.

Secondly, the Society sought to supplement even the ordinary academic education imparted in the various colleges. Nagendra Nath Ghose observes that "the literary education which is given in our colleges is imparted in a way which is not always desirable; at any rate, it is received by the students in a way which is not always desirable, and that we may describe as entire passivity on the part of the student"[2]. It was, therefore, intended by the organisers of the Dawn Society that under it the students should be trained in a manner so as to enable them to function as self-conscious agents in the classes. The students were to be trained "in the methods of assimilating knowledge, of digesting knowledge, of writing out the substance of what they hear, and of discussing the subjects on which they have heard lectures." Such a method was hardly pursued in literary education in any college of the time, whether private or Government.

With these objects as stated above the Dawn Society was originally founded. But after a short time when the Society was progressing, the scope of its activities was widened in the direction of the Industries. Vocational training since then became an integral part of the Society's ideology.

Activities of the Society: General as well as Moral and Religious

From the very inception of the Dawn Society (July 1902), it began to hold its two Weekly Classes. Two days in the week were permanently fixed respectively for the General Training Class and the Moral and Religious Training Class. In the latter class Pandit Nilkantha Goswami regularly delivered lectures in Bengali on the Gita. His expositions were so sweet and lucid as to make a deep appeal to the hearts of the students.

In the General Training Class Satis Mukherjee was the chief worker. Lectures were delivered in English and on a variety of topics such as economic, historical and philosophical. Whatever might be the topic of discussion, he always laid in course of his lectures a permanent stress on moral and spiritual values as central to good creative life. He was an inspired talker, full of sparkling ideas and imagination. With him 'patriotism,' 'self-sacrifice' and 'duty' were some of the constant watchwords, and the pupils of the Society often unconsciously imbibed that spirit from their great teacher whose idealism was infectious as it were.

---

1. "System of Work and Training under the Dawn Society" by N. N. Ghose and S. C. Mukherjee (*The Dawn*, December, 1902).

2. Mr. N. N. Ghose's speech on the occasion of the Dawn Society's annual prize distribution meeting, held on 24th July, 1904. (*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, September 1904, Part IV, pp. 1-5).

Both in the Moral and Religious Section and the General Section, proper steps were taken to encourage the students to assimilate the ideas disseminated in the classes. They were required regularly to write out the substance of what they had heard and to discuss what they had already been taught. They were provided with certain Exercise Books immediately after lectures to write down the substance of them in those Books which were called "Record-Books." Extracts from those Books were also published in 1903 in the *Dawn Society's Calendar for* 1902. Since September, 1904 the Society found its organ in the old *Dawn* Magazine whose one section (Part III) was regularly devoted from that time onwards to the publication of extracts from the "Record-Books."

INDUSTRIAL SECTION OF THE SOCIETY

Next, we may turn to the Industrial Section of the Dawn Society. To promote a genuine interest in the students in the native industries of India, a Swadeshi Stores was opened under the auspices of the Society. This Industrial Section was organised by Mr. K. B. Sen, a well-known cloth-merchant of Barabazar at that time and by Mr. J. Chaudhury, the Managing Director of the *Indian Stores*. The members of the Dawn Society were taught to study the market-rate, rise and fall of prices and other economic facts about daily Indian life. A fairly large museum was maintained by the Dawn Society where various kinds of Indian home-products were kept. The students were taught business in the way of buying and selling. They had to sell the home-products, previously placed at the disposal of the Industrial Section, at particular hours from 4 to 7 P.M. They had also "to keep regular accounts of their income and expenditure and afterwards to explain accounts to members of the Business Section of the Society." Thus an attempt was made to generate in the students a personal interest in the native industries of India. Besides, the students were provided with facilities to become business-experts under such practical discipline of buying and selling home-made commodities.

Nagendra Nath Ghose informs us that in connection with the Swadeshi Stores of the Dawn Society lecturers were also occasionally organised and exhibitions were held. In 1903 one Industrial Exhibition was held at the Calcutta University Institute and another at the Metropolitan Institution. The Swadeshi Stores, Industrial Lectures and Industrial Exhibitions—these three together effectively served to popularise Indian home-manufactures among the classes and the masses. In course of the year 1903 alone, about Rs. 10,000|- (Ten-thousand) worth of home-made goods were sold by the Industrial Section of the Dawn Society. Sreejut Haran Chandra Chakladar, the seniormost student of the Dawn Society and an active worker in its Industrial Section, informs the present writer that "one-anna profit per rupee" was the ideal and practice of the Society to cover the expenses. The students were not, however, permitted, as Nagen Ghose tells us, to make any personal profits out of the sales they made. Whatever profits there would have remained after meeting the primary expenses of the Industrial Section in connection with Exhibitions, printing hand-bills, circulating notices etc., were distributed in prizes (in articles) to the best and most regular student-customers of indigenous goods. But no member was allowed to take a single pie for his labour, as clearly stressed by Nagen Ghose, the Permanent President of the Dawn Society, in his public lecture on 24th July, 1904.

GRATUITIOUS SERVICES OF THE SOCIETY

Another most characteristic feature of the Dawn Society requires to be carefully noted. The Society led by Satis Mukherjee did not charge "a single pice as a fee payable from any single member." The services rendered to the students were wholly free and voluntary. There was no admission fee nor there was any subscription to pay. Whatever money was required for the maintenance of the Society, for scholarships and prizes to the most meritorious students, was all obtained through the generous gifts of some of the public-spirited citizens of Calcutta.

All these features taken together were responsible for the unique role the Dawn Society played in Calcutta at the beginning of the present century. If by education we mean the fullest development of the latent powers of the individual, then it was best served under the Dawn Society. Here the moral, intellectual and practical sides of man's nature were cultivated and trained simultaneously and with equal emphasis. Here the boys were required in everything "to be their own servants, their own treasurers, their own clerks."

The Dawn Society began its work only since July 1902, but in less than two years it had been able to impress public imagination of the country. By 1903-04 the Society was recognised as one of the best cultural institutions of Bengal, enjoying the confidence and support of men like Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandramadhab Ghose, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mukherjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sister Nivedita, Dr. J. C. Bose and Dr. P. C. Roy[3]. The splendid record of work done by the Dawn Society was admired in noblest language by Sir Gooroodas in course of his Presidential Address at the Society's Annual Prize, Medal and Certificate Distribution Meeting, held at the Calcutta University Institute on July 24, 1904. His speech was published in the *Bengalee*, edited by Surendra Nath Banerjea, on August 11, 1904 and extracted in the September, 1904 issue of the *Dawn*. In that speech Gooroodas feelingly observed :

> "If help is deserved by any public institution in Calcutta, it is emphatically done so by a public institution like this, which is worked solely on a philanthropic basis, whose active workers all work for love."

He also specially congratulated the Dawn Society upon its having for its Secretary, "a gentleman of deep and varied culture, of uncommon aptitude for teaching and of earnest devotion to duty," like Sreejut Satish

3. Prefatory : (*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, September 1904).

Chandra Mukherjee as well as upon its having for its President "a scholar of rare ability and attainments and a man of high character" like Mr. N. N. Ghose. No aspect of the Society's work drew more reverential tribute from Sir Gooroodas than "the impersonal agency of the non-remunerated, non-remuneration-seeking labour" of its active workers.

> "This," observed he, "has a value of its own, a moral value far above the best-skilled labour that you can enlist in your service, if that labour is to be hired only for money and not for love."

Almost a similar reverential tribute was paid to the Dawn Society's work by Dr. Rashbehari Ghose as early as July, 1903 when the Society had just completed one year of its career. In course of his Presidential Speech at the Annual Prize-Distribution Meeting of the Dawn Society (held on 19th July, 1903), Dr. Ghose felt no hesitation in characterising the Society as "unique in its character" and observed :

> "It is impossible not to wish success to a society whose object is to supply the deficiencies in the education of our young men."

Students of the Dawn Society

The Dawn Society except in these annual prize-giving meetings before the public carried on its normal work in a quiet, silent, private and unostentatious manner. Its constructive work was so brilliant and effective as to draw steadily to itself an increasing number of college-students who represented diverse districts of the then undivided Bengal. Haran Chandra Chakladar (Historian and Anthropologist) was the earliest and the seniormost pupil of the Dawn Society. When the Industrial Section was organised, he was placed in charge of that Section by Satis Mukherjee. Next to him in age were Radhakumud Mukherjee (Historian), Rabindra Narayan Ghose (Historian and Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta), Benoy Kumar Sarkar (Historian, Sociologist, Economist and Philosopher)—all of whom constituted the inner circle of Satis Chandra Mukherjee. With these boys except Mr. Haran Chandra Chakladar Mukherjee lived in a house situated at 38|2, Shib Narayan Das Lane, Calcutta. They were some of his most gifted, most beloved pupils.

Besides this inner circle, there was a large number of Recognised and Ordinary Members on the basis of their regularity of attendance and the amount of work done in the Society. Among such members the more important figures were Kishori Mohan Gupta (Principal, Daulatpur College and Kaviraj), Prafulla Kumar Sarkar (founder-editor, Ananda Bazar Patrika and social philosopher), Rajendra Prasad (Political leader and the first President of Free Indian Republic), Sourindra Narayan Dutt (Attorney, High Court, Calcutta), Girija Prasanna Sanyal (Advocate, High Court, Calcutta), Upendra Nath Ghoshal (Historian) and Sobhamaya Dutt (Government Pleader, Noakhali, East Pakistan). The number of the irregular members or pupils of the Society was also considerable. The late Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerjee (Educationist and Political Worker), although not a Recognised Member of the Dawn Society, was very closely associated with it while he was a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta.

> "I," writes Banerjee in his autobiography, *At the Cross Roads* (Calcutta), "was not of the *inner circle* but I attended many of the special lectures arranged for the benefit of the advanced scholars and learners by the Dawn Society and Sreejut Satis Mukherjee presided over one of the meetings of our Graduates' Union when I was reading a paper and admired it with the constructive comment that I must concentrate my yearning to serve India in *one* objective and then only I would achieve something tangible."

His acquaintance with revered Satis Mukherjee was considered by him as "the most precious result" of his literary venture as a student.

Dawn Society as a Harbinger of the Swadeshi Movement

In a similar manner Satis Mukherjee furnished vital urges of noble life and action to numerous other college-pupils of Calcutta and outside. The alpha and omega of Mukherjee's creative idealism was the remaking of individuals through education. Himself a life-long bachelor and a self-denying soul, he sought to infuse that spiritual quality of his character into the hearts of those who rallied round him. Under him the Dawn Society became an organisation for the cultivation of patriotic and Swadeshi spirit. By promoting the sale of indigenous goods, by popularising the home-made products in a variety of ways,—Lectures and Exhibitions,—by publishing notes and news on native Industries of India, and, above all, by training up a band of active workers aflame with Sawdeshi spirit, Mukherjee served as a harbinger of the Boycott and Swadeshi Movement of 1905. The Swadeshi Movement declared itself not earlier than August 7, 1905, but the forces in favour of the Swadeshi Industries had been set in motion by Mukherjee through the Dawn Society about two years ago (1903-1905). Mukherjee's pioneering work in the Swadeshi Movement has hardly received as yet proper recognition from historians and researchers on modern Bengali history. But from all accounts of the Swadeshi period the unmistakable fact that engages attention is that Satish Mukherjee was a central figure in the hectic days of the Bengali Revolution of 1905. Few of our national leaders could foresee and embody the creative ideologies of the Revolution of 1905 as fully and effectively as the silent, self-sacrificing Satis Mukherjee who was an "inspired fanatic" of Vivekananda brand. The National Council of Education (March 11, 1906) had long ago been fore-shadowed in the Dawn Society (July 1902) whose economic and patriotic activities during 1903-05 served as a prelude, a pre-vision to the Boycott and Swadeshi Movement (August 7, 1905). His trained pupils of the Dawn Society became active protagonists and workers in the Swadeshi cause as soon as the Bengali Revolution formally began.

Dawn Society In Contemporary Views

The role of the Dawn Society (1902-07) in the educational progress and cultural transformation of the

Bengali race forms a chapter by itself in the wider history of the nation. During 1902-07 it functioned as a most powerful formative force in the world of Bengali aspirations and creativities. Its history is so organically linked up with the Bengali Revolution of 1905 in all its phases, —economic, political and educational—that the genesis and the ideological complex of that epoch-making Revolution can hardly be understood without grasping the ideas and activities of the Dawn Society. The Society was most active and perhaps at the height of its influence and reputation during 1905-06. In an editorial article on the Dawn Society as published on August 6, 1905, Narendra Nath Sen, the Editor of the *Indian Mirror* observed :

> "The Dawn Society of Calcutta is a unique institution in this country, for an all-round training of our young men outside the school and the college. Babu Satis Chandra Mukherjee is the life and soul of this Society, and not only the students, but the entire educated community of Bengal, will remain deeply grateful to him for his silent, unostentatious and noble work."

In early July 1905 the Dawn Society organised an impressive Exhibition of knitting hand-machines and hand-looms in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution. From editorial reports as published in the *Bengalee* (edited by Surendra Nath Banerjea) and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (edited by Motilal Ghose) on July 17, 1905, we come to learn that the Exhibition was attended by over 3000 persons among whom were noticed Principal E. B. Havell, Mr. Narendra Nath Sen, Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Bose, Sister Nivedita, Dr. Prankrishna Acharya and others. "From 2-30 P.M. to 5-30 P.M. the work went on magnificently. But the time for the closing of the Exhibition being fixed at 6 P.M. and there being no additional men to relieve the workers in charge of the machines, many were not shown the demonstrations. We would request the Dawn Society to hold another exhibition of this nature which should not be limited to one day, but should extend to at least three days"[4]. From these accounts it is clearly suggested that the Industrial Exhibitions of the Dawn Society were a tremendous success and drew the admiring attention of thousands of men. Other performances such as athletic performances (under the leadership of Satis Chandra Basu of the Bharat Anushilan Samiti) and performances on the Gramophone marked the function and amused the public. Mr. E. B. Havell, the distinguished art-critic and art-historian, who was present at the Exhibition, delivered a short speech in which he spoke in high terms the practical work the Dawn Society was doing. By 1904-05 the Society had come to be known all over the country as a unique type of cultural organisation, an object of deepest pride and highest admiration. This is sufficiently borne out by the comments and reflections of the leading contemporaries of the country such as Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Hirendranath Datta, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose, Krishna Kumar Mitra and others.

Towards the end of July 1905, Dr. J. C. Bose expressed deepest satisfaction at the remarkable work of the Dawn Society in a letter (30th July) written to Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the Secretary of that Society. As a historical document about the work of the Dawn Society, this letter is of great importance and hence is quoted below :

> "Dear Satis Babu.
>
> I always regret that owing to pressure of work I am not able to come to your meeting and see your Dawn students, but I read your magazine and I am keenly interested in your work. I am proud of your boys and the results they produce. As a small expression of my deep regard, I shall send you twenty-five rupees to be used in prizes or in any other way you like, if you will send a peon to take the contribution on Monday evening.
>
> Yours very faithfully,
> J. C. Bose."

In connection with the third annual Prize-Distribution Ceremony of the Dawn Society held at the University Institute Hall (30th July, 1905, Sunday), the distinguished men who had graced the occasion with their presence all reiterated their greatest regard for the Dawn Society.

The number of prize-winners in the General Section of the Society was nine and in the Magazine Section, ten. The winners in the former Section were all from among the local workers and Recognised Members of the Society, while those in the latter Section belonged to different regions of India, *viz.*, Pabna, Tamluk, Calcutta (Bengal), Bhavanagar (Gujarat), Chingleput (Madras Presidency), Bombay and other places. The principal prize-donors on that occasion were Gooroodas Banerjee, Rashbehari Ghosh, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Hirendranath Datta and Jagadish Chandra Bose all of whom cherished for the Dawn Society a genuine love and regard. Sir Gooroodas Banerjee in course of his Presidential Speech on that occasion (July 30, 1905) brought into bold relief the real significance and value of the work done by the Society.

> "The capital of the Dawn Society, from the ordinary point of view," remarked Gooroodas, "is not collected, as in other societies from subscriptions from members. Self-help, though not declared, is the silent motto of the society. The capital of the Dawn Society is not a sordid pecuniary capital, but a capital of intellect, massive intellect, well-directed and well-balanced, like the intellect of the learned gentleman on my right (Mr. N. N. Ghose, Permanent President) and the learned gentleman on my left (Babu Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Secretary)"[5].

In conclusion, it need be added that Satis Mukherjee arranged for the boys of the Dawn Society frequent general lectures delivered by persons like Rabindranath Tagore, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, Sister Nivedita and others. Many speeches of Rabindra-

4. The Dawn Society's Exhibition (*The Dawn*, New Series, Vol. II, 1905-6 Part IV; pp. 5-6).

5. Dawn Society Prize-distribution Ceremony (*The Bengalee*, August 1, 1905. Reprinted also in the *Dawn*, New Series, Vol. II, 1905-6, Part IV, pp. 1-5).

nath and Dinesh Sen such as delivered before the Society have been permanently recorded in the pages of the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* (New Series : Vols. I-II. 1904-1906). In his speech before the students of the Dawn Society (February 25, 1906), Rabindranath expressed his unhesitating moral support to an institution like this which was wedded to constructive ideology and work from the very beginning of its life-history. He made a powerful plea for constructive work, which even though unostentatious and modest at the beginning, was of far greater consequence than a big enterprise undertaken at the gush of momentary excitement. He painfully recorded how much he had expected from the Swadeshi Movement (working since August 7, 1905) and how much he had been shocked at the huge wastage of national energy in the excesses of anti-British excitement. Real and solid constructive work, emphasised he, could only be accomplished through silent, patient and sustained toil and sacrifice. The Dawn Society as led by Satis Mukherjee was declared by Tagore on that occasion to be an ideal institution well calculated to train up young men. A few lines from his original Bengali speech are reproduced below in order to drive home to the readers the high esteem in which Rabindranath held the Dawn Society :

"आमि आपनादेर मध्ये उपस्थित हइयाछि सत्य किन्तु आपनादिगके विशेषभावे कि बलिबार आछे ताहा भावि नाइ। आपनारा जभावे दीक्षित एवं अभ्यस्त हइयाछेन ताहाते बाहिरेर कोन उत्तेजनार प्रयोजनओ आपनादेर नाइ। सतीशबाबु जे समय इन् सोसाइटी स्थापन करियाछिलेन तखन स्वदेशी आन्दोलन छिल ना, शिक्षा-सम्पर्कीय एइ National Movement-एरओ सूत्रपात हय नाइ। एमन दिने सतीशबाबु दूरेर प्रति लक्ष्य राखिया बाहिरेर उत्साह उत्तेजनार अपेक्षाय ना थाकिया महत् लक्ष्यमात्र सम्बल करिया एइ सभा स्थापन करियाछिलेन। जे सभा सामयिक कोन बृहत् उत्तेजना उद्दीपनार मुखे तेयार हय नाइ, आपनारा सेइ सभार आकर्षणे एखाने मिलियाछेन।..बीज जेमन गोपने धीरे धीरे माटी हइते जीवनीशक्ति संग्रह करे, आपनाराओ भितर हइते तेमनि जीवनीशक्ति संग्रह करिया चलियाछेन।" (See p. 64)

These lines from Rabindranath breathe the spirit in which the leading contemporaries of Bengal of the early twentieth century viewed the work of the Dawn Society as led and inspired by Satis Chandra Mukherjee (1865-1948).

——:O:——

A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

III

In 1941 was started a Miscellany, with topics on Art predominating, under the title *Art and Culture*, edited by Dilip Kumar Das Gupta and printed at the British India Press, Bombay. The role and policy of this journal, a Quarterly issue, was suggested rather than stated in an inspiring editorial from which we quote some passages to indicate the editorial aims :

> "The world is passing through tremendous changes; our civilization and governments are being changed overnight . . . A new social order, a different economic system and political regime may take the place of old ones; the outward structure of the present civilisation may go, and even human instincts may change for the better or worse, but *Art will outlive everything and so will the cultural heritage of mankind.* Art and culture have no geographical or national barrier. Pure art is a thing of beauty; it has a universal appeal, be it a Negro song, an Italian sculpture, or a Chinese painting. The same holds good for culture, which is so very essential for the understanding of one nation by another. It is the lack of culture which was at the root of the religious wars in Europe, the Crusades in the Middle East, or the present misunderstanding between Hindus and Muslims in India. . . Sometimes civilization is confused with culture and therefore it is necessary to distinguish between them. Civilization means a developed or advanced state of human society. Culture is just the intellectual side of civilisation; it represents humanity's effort to improve itself in the sphere of intellectual achievement. Culture demands perfection and an endless pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. . . . The present war has placed social life in a state of chaos. But in spite of the precarious conditions under which we are living today there are still artists who are optimistic enough to forge ahead for the progress of art and culture. Culture through art is the finest achievement of man and it bears a truly religious significance, for, *the appreciation of art is a spiritual discipline for all of us.* 'Art is a central necessity in life, an immovable substantive and it should occupy a position of at least equal importance with science because of its service in both the expression and the control of the most dynamic force in human nature, the force of feeling.' . . . We are today (1941) fighting for our political freedom mainly for this cultural emancipation, for it is culture which India values more than anything else, since the days of Buddha and it is through culture that India will again send her message throughout the world. Engravings and frescoes in Ajanta and Ellora brought to life by Uday Shankar through his dances and by Nanda Lal Bose through his paintings in Santiniketan show the immortal character of Art. India is proud of having such masterpieces of the ancient days, revived by our modern artists. And India will once more send her message to the world in the different aspects of Art, be it through the literature of Tagore, the philosophy of Radhakrishnan, the religious teachings of Vivekananda or the cult of non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi. Art and Culture as twin sisters, fighting for the same cause, will thus reach the common goal for human emancipation; and India in the very near future will have to play a [illegible]

part in this achievement and for the establishment of a new order for the entire world."

We have made rather lengthy quotations from the editorial of the first number of this journal as it contains some profound and valuable observations on the functions and uses of Art, which could not have reached many people, and which will bear repetition today, as Art continues to be treated as a forbidden fruit in our colleges and universities, and there is very little active interest in and patronage of art amongst the so-called cultured section of our people. Though not exclusively devoted to the visual arts, the journal included in its first number a variety of cultural topics, publishing at least four important articles on the Fine Arts, (1) "Manifesto for a People's Theatre" by Bharati Sarabhai, (2) "The Yoga of Art" by Dr. G. S. Arundale, (3) "An Analysis of Kathakali Dance" by Padmanabhan Thampy, illustrated with five photographs demonstrating the *abhinaya* poses of Gopinath and his troupe, (4) "Contemporary Indian Art Examined," a trenchant criticism by an Englishman, Leyden, of the Tagore school of painting, from which we extract a typical passage :

> "Abanindranath's art is conditioned by his romantic nostalgia for the lost paradise of eastern poetic tradition from the great Indian epics to the Arabian Nights. His paintings are dreams in which figures emerge from the haze of his wash backgrounds to convey moods, sentiments, or passions. Their associations are literary, their appearance unreal. His figures are evolved from the symbolical anatomy of religious imagery. His followers develop and refine the formal and decorative aspect of his compositions. Chughtai, Roy Choudhury and Ukil were absorbed by the rhythmical possibilities of line" (so were the whole body of Chinese and Japanese painting). "They are often side-tracked into the merely ornamental, and come dangerously near to illustrators like Aubrey Beardsley and Dulac. Much of their work has the sentimental melody of a *Lied* and not the beat and depth of a real poem."

We are not aware if an Asiatic critic was ever permitted to sermonize and comment on any phases of European art, ancient or modern; I can recall an only exception in the case of a monograph on Botticelli by a Japanese critic. But our editors have fallen into the pernicious habit of inviting European criticisms of Indian contemporary art. Most expressions of art are spiritual manifestations and religious expressions and it is not possible for any foreigner, however eminent (Havell not excepted), to live under the skin of an Indian artist with his spiritual likes and dislikes, his prejudices and idiosyncrasies, which latter even offer a strong and vital inspiration to his art-expression. It was not possible for Leyden to measure the place and status of *Krishna-lila* themes in the art complex of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore, just as it is not possible even for Indian Christians to plumb the *motifs* of European painting in such themes as the *Crucifixion or the Mater Dolorosa.* Contemporary foreign criticism of modern Indian painting has not only confused the mind of Indians and prevented them from arriving at a just estimate of the productions of their fellow Indians, but has also embarrassed the producers and creators of art. Art can only thrive and prosper by negotiating with and reacting to the criticisms of members of the same society, living the same manner of life, in identical psychosocial atmosphere. There was a time, when Indian nationals having lost their own national and spiritual consciousness were unable to appraise the quality and character of Indian art, and sought help in the words of Havell, Margaret Nobel, or James H. Cousins, but today we have plenty of qualified Indian critics, competent to appraise and evaluate the productions of our own artists, and we should refuse to be guided and patronized by foreign critics. Like criminals in Sessions Courts, we are prepared to be judged and condemned by our own fellowmen. And one should like to make an appeal to our learned editors to commission Indian critics to praise or blame their own fellow-artists. Unless there is a direct relationship built up between the Indian artists and his Indian public, the pulse of art will not beat with a healthy rhythm.

Art and Culture bravely pursued its useful career with more emphasis on general culture than on art, for several years (1941-45), publishing many interesting articles on various phases of culture, not specialising in any phase of visual art and never reproducing any *masterpiece* of Indian art. This will be evident if we refer to some of the leading articles that figured in its successive numbers. "Man *versus* Machine" by Saroj Kumar Das; "Art without Representation" by Bireswar Sen ; "What was Known about India in Mediaeval Europe" by Sheikh Rassol; "South Indian Dance" by Haren Ghose; "What Freedom Means to Me" by M. D. Japeth; "The Chau Dance of Seraikella" by Haren Ghose (illustrated); "A Moghul Version of a Vedic Motif" by O. C. Gangoly with a very interesting illustration from a Moghul miniature from the India Office collection; "Mahatma" by Humayun Kabir; "Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity" by Saroj Kumar Das; "Earth Hunger" by Girija Shankar; "Aesthetics" by M. S. Randhwa; "Hindu Elements in a Musalman Mosque," a remarkable article by S. Bose, illustrated with a series of excellent drawings from the carvings of the Kutub Mosque at Delhi, a remarkable article which should be reprinted.

Without serving in any adequate measure the cause of art, in a short career of only five years, the Quarterly abruptly came to an end in 1945, when the editor, abandoning his journal, joined a dance troupe as an *impresario*, demonstrating that his faith in pictorial art and in other major phases of culture was very weak and shaky, collapsing with the first assurance of a chance of a lucrative employment. This tragic end is very typical of the fate of most art-journals in India, as we will find in the course of our reviews of many more ventures.

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ENGAL NAWABS: *Translated by Jadunath , from three Persian MSS. Asiatic Society, ta. 1952. Pp. iv + 156.*

he Asiatic Society of Bengal is to be congra- l on having started its memorial series on the tenary of its founder Sir William Jones, with this e. It is indispensable to every student of the y of Bengal and Bihar under the Nawab Viceroys 18th century, and the solid historical truth here ed by the contemporaries of Alivardi and id-Daulah will correct many of the legends so to our novel readers and authors of so-called ical dramas in Bengali. The three most valuable n accounts of the successors of Murshid Quli I, (*i.e.*, from 1727 to the battle of Plassey) are presented for the first time, all from manuscripts, having been printed or translated before; indeed of these three has been used by any writer on l history. One of these, the eulogy on Rustam (the son-in-law of Nawab Shuja Khan) has been ered by Sir Jadunath Sarkar; it is unique. The two biographers of Alivardi and Siraj, namely, ullah and Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, were not s of Alivardi or Siraj and wrote from hearsay; one of them, namely, Ghulam Husain, was the r of Siraj and hostile to the house of Alivardi at Nawab's breaking off a match between his r and the historian's. The works of these two authorities are already available in English, at no writer can henceforth plead his inability to *all* the contemporary Indian sources on the later bs, as an excuse for the defects in his own osition.

he volume unfolds the character of Alivardi in lness as a veteran general and shrewd statesman, ll as a tender-hearted grandfather and father. The ly of his last years, when he was worn out by his ess toil to keep the Maratha raiders out of Ben- d Bihar and death played havoc right and left in mily,—is fully unfolded in the narrative of Yusuf he son of this Nawab's constant companion. We here quote one other tragic incident:

When after the murder of Siraj, "his body was l on an elephant and paraded through the town urshidabad with ignominy, and the elephant d at the house of his mother, she rushed out with feet and head and flung herself at the feet of the , but the servants of Khadim Husain Khan ly turned her back. . . .When Siraj's body was st thrown into the market square and nobody d to wash and bury it, Mirza Zain-ul-abidin wal . . . braving the risk of death sentence, bathed it, enclosed it in a coffin, and buried it by the side of Alivardi's tomb." (p. 78).

Mir Jafar, as readers of Macaulay's essay on Clive know, used to be called Clive's jackass. The taunt was earlier, as Karam Ali shows (p. 78): "After the distribution of the treasures of Siraj, Mir Jafar and Miran divided between themselves the wives and concubines of the dead Nawab. Although both father and son, under the stimulation of brute passion, asked for the hand of the honoured wife of Siraj-ud-Daula (Lutf-un-nisa), she declined and sent this reply: 'Having ridden an elephant before, I cannot now agree to ride on an ass'!"

N. B. R.

THE GOSPEL OF NARADA: *By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). The World Gospel Series, Vol. 7. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1951. Pp. clxxx + 204. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This valuable monograph follows the lines of its companion volume in the above series entitled *The Gospel of the Granth Sahib* by the same author, which was noticed by us in the preceding number (April 1953) of *The Modern Review*. The work consists firstly of a long Introduction of over 150 pages containing an excellent exposition of the fundamental doctrines of Vaishnavism under the heads "God," "Creation," "Man," "The Path of Devotion," "Full Surrender" and the "Final Goal" as well as the significance of the "Divine Name" and "The Divine Play" (*Lila*) in the scriptures. This is followed by a neat summary of the doctrines in the form of a brief Vaishnava Catechism. The text consists of translations of two well-known Vaishnava texts, namely, the *Narada Pancharatra* and the *Narada Bhakti Sutras* accompanied with the author's illuminating comments and explanatory notes. To the above the author adds in the form of an Appendix extracts from the letters of a modern Vaishnava saint Thakore Haranath (died 1927), about whom, however, we have no other information. Like its companion volume on the *Granth Sahib* the work concludes with a good index and a valuable bibliography.

While we have nothing but praise for the excellent fashion in which the author has handled his subject, we find it difficult to follow him in some of his statements in the Introduction relating to the historical development of Vaishnavism. He regards (p. xviii) as "a strange and baseless assumption" the view that the Vedas are older than the Puranas and the Agamas. In favour of the historicity of Krishna he mentions (p. xx) *inter alia* the discovery of "many 5th century images including one of Radhakrishna" in the archaeological excavations at Paharpur in "the Rajshahi district of Bengal." Now apart from the fact that

Paharpur lies in the Dinajpur district of East Pakistan, the author's description is slightly inaccurate. For the Paharpur sculptures representing various incidents from the life of Krishna cannot be older than the date of the monument which has been ascribed to the time of King Dharmapala in the latter part of the 8th century A.D. Again, the lady figured along with Krishna in one of these sculptures may as well be identified with either Rukmini or Satyabhama, the wives of Krishna. Few Indologists will agree with the author's view that the latest redaction of the Mahabharata "can hardly be later than 250 B.C." (p. xx) or that "the cult of Krishna was well developed in the South by about 210 A.D." (p. xxiv) or that "the Ajivikas were really Bhagavatas or Vaishnavas" (p. xxv).

U. N. GHOSHAL

DASA POI (The Ten Idylls) : *A lyrical poem in ten chapters by Damodar Bhanja, the young royal poet of Orissa (1761-1796 A.D.). Text accompanied with an English translation by O. C. Gangoly. With an Introduction by Lt.-Col. Chintamoni Acharyya, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack. Illustrated with a series of six drawings, one photogravure frontispiece and five original photographs reproducing thirty-six leaves of an illustrated manuscript of the text. Calcutta (Miss S. Bose, M.A., 34/1 Pratapaditya Road, 26), 1952. ins. 8½ × 10 ins. Edition limited to one hundred copies only. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 50.*

Professor O. C. Gangoly's edition and translation of an illustrated manuscript of this popular old Oriya poem is a work of love.

Damodar Bhanja had been Raja of Bamanghati in the second half of the 18th century. Condemned to a passive role between his Maratha overlords and the British at Midnapore, he devoted his leisure to poetry, and has left us this delightful story of the loves of Radha and Krishna which, though less famous than the works of Upendra Bhanja, can well vie with Jayadeva's glorious *Gitagovinda*. However, it reveals sufficient originality of its own, being indebted, if at all, rather to the latter's *Piyusha-Lahari*. Like in most poems of the 18th century, the mystic subject is rather a pretext for a delicate and colourful description of erotic sentiments in their interplay with the beauties of nature, which has not lost anything of its freshness despite the old tradition on which it is based.

For his edition of the text Professor Gangoly has consulted Pandit Yameswara Sarma of Puri; his translation is a pleasure to read, and Lt.-Colonel Chintamoni Acharyya, the Vice-Chancellor of Cuttack University, has contributed a valuable introduction on the literary background of Orissa. As so far only selections from Oriya poetry, and especially from Upendra Bhanja, have been made accessible, this first complete translation of a—rather short—Oriya work represents a landmark. For though Orissa has played a remarkable role in Indian cultural development, very little is known even to the interested outsider.

This is the case also with Oriya art, of which—if we leave aside the temples of Bhubaneswar, Konarka and Puri—likewise only few examples have been published in R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa, The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, and some little accessible pamphlets and catalogues. The palmleaf manuscript on which this edition is based, had once been one of the treasures of the well-known B. N. Treasurywalla Collection in Bombay which now has found its way into the National Museum at Delhi.

Its illustrations engraved with a steel stylus are "Primitives," in the good as well as bad sense of the word, naive, mannered, often grotesque and yet of an intensive vitality and expressiveness and perfect decorative balance. There are indications (especially the central lampstands) that they were inspired by stage performances, but their style represents a locally evolved variety of the old Vijayanagar tradition, in its turn connected with the pictorial art of ancient Bengal and Orissa, and in marked contrast to Mughal and Rajput art, though it shares some of the "primitive" characteristics of that latter.

To our age which has left naturalism to the camera, and in art seeks intensity of expression and decorative perfection, the art of the old Oriya manuscripts again has become a valuable inspiration. It is but a pity that these illustrations could not be executed on a somewhat larger scale.

However, printing, plates and exterior make-up of the book are excellent and highly to the credit of Miss S. Bose, a pupil of Professor O. C. Gangoly. Unfortunately the book is rather expensive, as it could be brought out only in a hundred copies. We hope even these few may sell so well that a second edition may make this fine little book available to a wider public.

H. GOETZ

THE TWO WORLDS : *By Shriman Narayan Agarwal. Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book gives us the tour-impressions of Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Principal of the Sakseria Commerce College of Wardha. He along with his wife, a daughter of the late Jamnalal Bajaj, started on their tour on April 17, 1949 and returned to India after about five months. During these months they crammed impressions—the writer did, which have found expression very often in unbalanced language. He appears to be suffering from a prejudice against the "American Way," the height of which is reached in page 19 where he says: "In the name of 'democracy,' the Americans are trying to uproot the indigenous culture and religion of Japan." And what follows requires positive proofs to believe. "The MacArthur regime has prepared detailed plans to convert the Japanese masses to Christianity within the next two or three decades." Again in p. 23, "Before the war, the Japanese young men and women hated the English language; now they are 'crazy' about it." About the Italians he says, "The Italian people are bad businessmen into the bargain" (p. 137). "The Italians are incapable of putting their shoulders to the wheel."

These indictments of whole peoples are, we are afraid, the surest ways of creating "two worlds" instead of the "one" which seers, sages and saints have been preaching. We are sorry that a follower of Gandhiji should have yielded so easily to his prejudice against modern civilization and certain of its marks and notes. He should at least observe restraint in talking of other peoples.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

MYSTICS AND MYSTICISM : *By Sri P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. Published by Sri Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras 4. Pp. 451. Price Rs. 8.*

The author is an emeritus professor of philosophy and former Principal of Pachaiappa's College, Madras. He has to his credit one dozen learned volumes on Hindu philosophy and religion. Some of his books have already run into the second edition and received careful attention of serious readers. The books bear distinct

stamp of his life-long study and mature thinking. In 1895, he came in contact with Santananda Saraswati and later on with Swami Ramakrishnananda, a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and lastly with Mm. Kapisthalam Desikacharya. He conducted his Vedantic studies over half a century under the guidance of these three erudite teachers of which the last one instructed him to publish in English in the light of European philosophy and popularise the essentials of Visisthadvaita Darsan. The worthy disciple undertook the heavy task entrusted to him by his preceptor and sketched an elaborate scheme of ten books of which the one under review completes the list. Prof. Srinivasachari is now one of the greatest living authorities on Visisthadvaita and his works on this school of Vedanta are extraordinarily profound and original. His noble purpose in writing these books is to "serve the cause of inter-religious and inter-Vedantic understanding," as well as "to restore the balance in Indian philosophy which is now overweighed on the side of Advaita." He, therefore, interprets mysticism from the standpoint of Visisthadvaita.

The present book is divided into six chapters besides an introduction, a bibliography and an index. In the first chapter current misconceptions about mysticism are clarified. In the second chapter mysticism is defined from a broad viewpoint. In the author's opinion mysticism is both an attempt and an attainment and the Vedantic term 'Brahmanubhava' is more adequate than the term 'intuition' to express the meaning of mysticism. In the exalted state the mystic is deified, Brahmanised or oned with the chosen Deity. In the third and fourth chapters a historical and comparative study of mysticism is made from Christian, Islamic, Buddhist and Hindu views. Therein it is pointed out that Sufism has been greatly influenced by Vedanta. In this connection short accounts of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurovindo Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi and other modern mystics are added. The fifth chapter on Bridal mysticism is immensely interesting and instructive. The last chapter deals with mysticism as the only true philosophy of religion. The author concludes that in the mystic union the self is deified but not destroyed and that mystic union mediates between theistic externality and monistic identity. This clearly shows that he leans more on Visisthadvaita than on Advaita and badly feels the overweight of Advaita in modern Indian philosophy. Advaita perhaps fulfils the philosophic need of the age we live in. But the direct experience of Sri Ramakrishna, Meister Eckhart, Mansur and other mystics tells clearly of final identity. The Katha Upanishad describes the mystic union as pure water is mixed with pure water inseparably. Whatever the conclusion may be, this book is a veritable encyclopedia of mysticism. It is a very informative and instructive, dependable and comprehensive guide on the subject.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DIRECTORY OF WELFARE AGENCIES IN GREATER CALCUTTA AND SRINIKETAN : *Published by Indian Conference of Social Work, West Bengal Branch, 25 Lake Temple Road, Calcutta 29. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a Directory of social service organisations divided into eight main groups, viz., Community Organisation, Economic Welfare, Education, Handicapped, Health, Housing, Social Reform and Youth Welfare. Social workers will find it a useful reference book for their work. Social service has been given priority in our National Planning and as such its organisational aspect requires more co-ordination among workers in the different fields. This handy volume, in spite of its imperfections as a pioneer publication, will be a helpful guide.

LAND, LANDLORD AND LEGISLATION : *By Nasir Ahmed Khan. Published by the Universal Publishers Ltd., Lucknow. Pp. 106. Price Rs. 3-12.*

A book of thirteen chapters dealing with Zemindari system, Co-operation, Agriculture and Planning with special reference to Uttar Pradesh. As the subjects were discussed in the light of pre-independence conditions, the force of the author's arguments is mostly lost in the new set-up.

TOWARDS GREATER INDIA : *By Capt. M. R. Gupta. Published by Maman Chand Hukum Chand, Rohtak. Pp. 137. Price Rs. 2.*

Here is a book containing eighteen talks given by an ex-military officer to young men and students on subjects like Discipline, Self-respect, Fearlessness, Obedience, Good manners, Loyalty, etc. The virtues required from our youth after the attainment of Freedom have been presented in such a homely manner that they will be effective on the minds of young readers for whom the book is meant.

A. B. DUTTA

WHAT SHALL WE DO? : *By "An Obscure Hindu." Thompson and Co., Ltd., Printers and Publishers, 33, Broadway, Madras. Pp. vi + 212 + viii. Price Rs. 4.*

The author of this book has studied the various problems of present-day India for a number of years from the Hindu point of view. He published a book called *Grave Danger to the Hindus* in 1940. In the work under review he has gone the whole length of the political, social, provincial, linguistic, cultural and religious aspects of post-partition India. He has exposed with facts and arguments the diplomacy of the Britishers, the mentality of the Muslims and policy of the Congress. He has shown very clearly that though the Muslims never hesitated to say that they are mentally and fundamentally different from the Hindus and other Indian nationals, and never desisted from acting on that principle, it was the dogged policy of placating them for more than a generation that India is experiencing one of the worst disasters in its history even after partition. The incalculable sufferings of India and the Hindus are primarily due to rank communal spirit of the Muslims, who happened to be a minority, though the biggest one, among many other groups.

So, the author puts a question—as the title of his book—which is being asked by thousands of Indians and Hindus. Will partition and secularization solve all the problems which have been raked up? Those leaders of the Hindus who are out to improve the condition of India as a country and disregard the claims of the Hindus as a community should do well to study the basic problem for their own re-education. The author deserves praise and his book commendation for focussing the attention of all concerned.

R. BASU

BENGALI

THERIGATHA : *By Bhikshu Shilabhadra. Mahabodhi Society, 4-A, Bankim Chatterji St., Calcutta 12.*

The rich literary heritage we have in the old languages of our land, *e.g.*, Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, is mostly inaccessible to the general reader as very few of them have been translated into modern

Indian languages. This is especially the case with Buddhist texts. It is therefore gratifying to note that commendable attempts are of late being made by individual scholars as well as by institutions like the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta and the Buddhist Mission of Rangoon to remove this anomaly to some extent through translations of well-known Buddhist works in Bengali. One of the latest fruits of these attempts is the volume under review. It contains a free translation of the *Therigatha* accompanied by detailed accounts of the Theris (nuns). It is encouraging that the book is passing through a second edition. It may be mentioned here in passing that the work was translated for the first time into a modern language by the eminent Bengali scholar, Bijaychandra Majumdar who rendered it into Bengali verse about fifty years back and published a volume containing the text, translation and annotations. The absence of any reference to this pioneer and scholarly work in the present volume is a matter of regret.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

AGAMI (Part I)—*Majhi* (the Boatman) : *By Dipendranath Bandyopadhyay. Bengal Publishers, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12. Price Re. 1-4.*

A short novel, depicting life in an East Bengal village before and during the hectic days of the notorious Hindu-Muslim riots. If it is the work of a boy in his teens, as has been mentioned in the publisher's Introduction, it undoubtedly promises a bright future for the author. He commands a simple racy style, suitable for a narrative. In his attitude towards life and his portrayal of characters, he has shown commendable catholicity of mind.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MARATHI

MI DARUDIA KASA JHALON ? : *By S. D. Karandikar, 211 Charni Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 186 Price Rs. 3.*

"How I became a drunkard and how I gave up drink"—such is the theme of this moving autobiography of an addict. It is excellent pro-prohibition propaganda, for it can considerably strengthen those, who are addicted to the ruinous social vice, in question, in their resolve to be free from the throttling thraldom of the bottle.

G. M.

HINDI

AHUTI : *By Lalchand Bismal. Prithvi Theatres, Bombay 4. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 4-8.*

A three-act play, written with deep feeling and stage-worthy in every sense. The theme is the partition of India with its concomitant, at once trying and tragic, that the millions were compelled to leave their ancestral homes and hearths and migrate to regions, for a long time unknown and unsympathetic. The play opens on a pre-partition scene of prosperity in the Punjab, moves into the tearful surroundings of a relief camp and closes on a Refugee camp, where the erstwhile prosperous family round which the story moves with the tampo of tension, struggles to rehabilitate itself in order once more to enter the stream of life. *Ahuti* is a moving drama, depicting the suffering and self-immolation of the people of a province as a price of the country's freedom.

G. M.

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

A choice collection from the eight volumes of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA which gives us a glimpse into various aspects of the Swami's teachings and their strength and sublimity which have deeply influenced the minds of people all over the world. This is a companion volume to the TEACHINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA (Pages 401, Price Rs. 5) and is excellent for presentation purposes.

Pocket Size **Pages 272** **Price Rs. 3**

MY LIFE AND MISSION

By SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

It gives in the Swami's own words a vivid picture of how his great heart bled for the suffering millions of India and his plan for the uplift of his motherland to the position of her past glory

Pages 47 **Price As. 10**

RELIGION AND DHARMA

By SISTER NIVEDITA

A collection of inspiring essays of enduring value written to arouse the young men and women of India to fulfil the great mission awaiting them of building up a new India.

First Indian Ed. Pp. 152 Price : Ord. Rs. 2, Sup. Rs. 3-8

WEB OF INDIAN LIFE

By SISTER NIVEDITA

The delicate strands of the web of Indian social life and its ideals have been laid bare here with masterly dexterity and keen insight.

Pages 324 Price : Ord. Rs. 3-8 ; Sup. Rs. 5

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

GUJARATI

ANGADHARA : *By Mrs. Ratan Behen H. r. Printed at the Beghagdi Mouj Press, Bake- Lane, Bombay. 1948. Cloth cover. Illustrated (Shiva's head from which Ganges cascades). Pp. 68. Price Re. 1-8.*

1 53 short poems, Mrs. Ratanbehen expounds lements of *bhakti*, which alone can lead to ta (salvation). *Jnan* and *karma* are not looked e by her, but she gives prominence, in easy ati stanzas, to *bhakti* and *satsang*, companion- of saints. A very learned Introduction from the f Mr. Gordhandas Engineer, a noted follower of hacharya and his creed, points out the credit- portion of the poems which are all not of a m quality. The young poetess calls for ragement.

UKHNA SIDDHANTA : *By Mavji Damji Shah. d at the Kishore Printing, Bombay. 1949. Paper . Pp. 24. Price eight annas.*

he elements which lead to happiness, physical, l, economic, etc., are described here, which, in inion of the writer, are sure to attain their pur- if put into practice properly.

1) LIFE OF SHRIMAD VALLABHACHARYA- 2) BHAGAVANNI SARJAN LILA, (3) APANE N ANE HANE' SHUN : *By Mohanlal V. Gandhi, lal G. Shah, M.A., and K. K. Shastri. All three hed by the Suddhadwait-samsad, Ahmedabad. Thick card-board. Pp. 488, 282, 41. Price Rs. 5, As. 6.*

hrijut Manilal C. Parekh is known to all Guja- as a close student of Christianity, and at one it was thought that he had become a Christian e liked to be known as a Hindu Christian. But s nothing of the sort. He had dived deep into rinciples of the creed and published books on He has nullified the belief, if ever it had taken by writing a very detailed, and fair and impar- iography of that great Acharya, Vallabh, whose has taken root in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Mar- The first book is a translation of Manilal h's book, and is commendable from every point w, information, details, followers, etc. The second is written by Mr. J. G. Shah, long since known e propounder of the Vallabh creed in Gujarat, eans of books and propaganda, and this parti- work, "Beauties of God's Creation," he has based e commentary Subodhini on the Third Skandha ter) of Shrimad Bhagvat. Followers of the avite creed are bound to appreciate it and the ition thereof by means of apposite illustrations. third book by Mr. Shastri, a religious and ch student tells us, as to where we are at present what would happen to us hereafter. It is a tive work and also helpful in understanding the nt situation of our country.

1) BHAKTI POSHAN : *By Parekh G. C. Vakil. r cover. Pp. 122. Price Re. 1.*

2) SHRI HARIRAI SHIKSHAVALI, Part I : *M. V. Gandhi, B.A., LL.B., Modasa. Paper cover. 41. Price Re. 1.*

3) VATIKA VINODE : *By Narottam Moteram tri. Paper cover. Pp. 16 + 64 + 52. Price not ioned.*

(4) ANYA ASHRAYA ANE ASAMARPIT TYAG : *By Sundardas Virbhanudas of Thattitha (Sind). 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 66. Price not stated.*

All four books published by the Shuddhadwait Samsad, Ahmedabad.

This quartette of books relates in some way or other, to the texts of the Vallabhacharya creed. Dayaram, the last of the poets of old Gujarat, was a devotee of this creed and has written numerous poems thereabout. One such is *Bhakti Poshan*, and it is ably edited by Mr. Parekh with suitable commentaries. Hari Rai was one of the leading saints of this creed and he has written a book of teaching called *Shikshavali*. "Pushti Margo Nirupama" is the subject-matter of this book, and the contents are very instructive. *Vatika Vinode* consists of several plays, actually staged, bearing on the principles of the creed, while the last treatise is written by a Bhatia follower of the creed at Nagar Thattha in Sind, which sets out the fact that there is no other *Asraya* (Refuge) save that of Gopijan Vallabh, if you seek salvation, and that further you must sacrifice yourself to attain *moksha*. All four books are books presented as gifts to readers by the Samsad.

SOMNATH : *By Ratnamanirao Bhimrao, B.A. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket (depicting Somnath). Pp. 267. Price Rs. 4.*

The age-old and holy temple of Somnath, which Mahmood of Gazni destroyed and looted, is under the auspices of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, H. H. the Jam Saheb and the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, whose members proceeded to Prabhas Palan, from its session at Junagadh in January, 1949, will soon be restored to its pristine prestige and glory and a large fund is being raised for the purpose. At such a time, this book comes in handy and opportune. In ten chapters, the history of Prabhas-Somnath, and of the holy places in its neighbourhood, like Dehotsarga where Sri Krishna gave up his life due to being shot by a *shikari*, and Damodar Kund, the holy pond near and at the foot of Girnar hill, Mr. Ratnamani Rao has tried to convey the details of this fascinating subject. There are photos and appendices; texts of inscriptions and a verbal index add to the value of the book.

K. M. J.

SHAURYGATARPAN : *By Ramanlal Vasantlal, Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Seth and Co., Princess St., Keshab Bag, Bombay 2. October, 1951. Price Rs. 5.*

Shri R. V. Desai is today a leading novelist in Gujarati and this is a work of his mature age. He has read a number of *prasastis* or eulogistic verses and chronicles and also consulted the oral tradition and then proceeded to write this novel on Rana Pratap of Mewar. Of the difficulties in the way of making it a perfectly historical novel he is well-aware and he cites the case of there being no information in history about the name of Pratap's Maharani.

One of the chapters contains a powerful description of the fight between Man Sinha and Pratap, the former on elephant and Pratap on Chaitak.

The last scene describing Rana Pratap's exit from this world and its reaction on Akbar has been very ably depicted. The silent tears that welled forth from Akbar's eyes were his homage to prowess—whence the name of the novel, a name justified widely throughout the book.

P. R. SEN

Calchemtco's

NEEM TOOTH PASTE

The following letter from an American lady about the quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE is very convincing :

Seattle, Washington,
April, 13, 1958.

Gentlemen,

Enclosed please find Bank Draft for another supply of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

My dentist shakes his head and cannot understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste, when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years

Again I thank you.

Yours very truly,
Sd/- (Mrs). A. W. Hunter.

The secret of the wide popularity of NEEM TOOTH PASTE lies in the fact that it contains all the antiseptic, germicidal, astringent and deodorising properties of Neem Twigs, well-known to the Indians from ancient times. It also contains natural CHLOROPHYLL present in Neem with all its beneficial properties.

The S. F. (Calchemico's Trade name of a chemical) content of NEEM TOOTH PASTE specially prevents caries and pyorrhoea and the high grade medicinal precipitated Calcium and Magnesium Carbonate and other pure ingredients used as a base help to remove the acid-forming bacteria, which causes tooth-decay. The soap content is also minimum and is free from animal fat.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.

35, PANDITIA ROAD, CALCUTTA-29

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indians in Malaya

I. I. S. Kanwar observes in *Careers and es* :

dia's link with Malaya and other adjacent countries th-East Asia dates back over 2,000 years. The *ana*, which was written about the 1st century A.D. a reference to *Ivadvipa*, a land comprising seven ns, abounding in gold and silver. Although Hindu s did not permit emigration, Indian traders ven- cross the Bay of Bengal to ply their trade in gold, doves and camphor. Stories of Malaya's fabulous soon spread in India. Indian scholars familiar nskrit accompanied the traders to study the land its aspects. The inhabitants began to appreciate octrines so much that gradually they found them- converted to Hinduism and Buddhism.

Hindu Influence

art from the fact that Buddhism had a great e on the country, Malay's history up to the 10th is rather obscure. The establishment of Buddhism rite of the Shrivijaya Empire in the 7th century which lasted for 700 years. In the early part of h century, Malaya was invaded by Raja Rajendra om Chula-Mandala (modern Coromandel) in south Rajendra Cola, who reigned there from 1012 to .D., carried on a friendly trade with Kedah, dependency of Shrivijaya. Twenty-years later the ip fell through, and Cola led an armada across of Bengal to raid the scattered Shrivijaya ports. t only conquered Kedah, but also the rest of ya.

hough Cola himself did not remain in Malaya g, his name is revered in Malaya, for the name lan is to this day given to the Princes of Perak In 1084, a Chula document once more speaks of relations with Malaya. Trade went on for cen- nd Indian merchants went to the country in large s. In the 16th century, when the Portuguese began iblish themselves there, the Indian merchants great influence on the policy of the State of . Consequently, in 1509, when the Portuguese Sequiera came to Malacca, they advised the ns to refuse trading rights to the Portuguese. y was this advice taken, but it caused the Malaccan a (Prime Minister) to arrest the Portuguese.

ther evidence of Indian influence is the Pahang f the 17th century. He was a mixture of the n Muslim and the pre-Malaccan inhabitant. In gion, influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism, he abandoned the practice of making sacrifices to e Hindu goddess.

The Exodus and Emigration Laws

vas not until the advent of the 19th century that began to emigrate on a somewhat organised basis ts Settlements the first spot being Penang, where re employed on coconut plantations and later in apioca and sugar-cane gardens. Due to the of emigration laws emigration continued without h for a long time. However, when the Starits nts were separated from the control of the mt of India in 1867, emigration was regulated through an Emigration Act. Most of the emigrants belonged to the illiterate labour class, and as their number increased rapidly, it became necessary for the Indian Government and that of the Staits Settlements to take an interest in their welfare. Thereafter, the Indian Government sent representatives periodically to look into the conditions of Indian labourers there.

In 1922, a revised Emigration Act came into force bringing under its control emigration not only to Malaya but also to Ceylon. Further interest by the Indian Government was shown when it appointed a Standing Committee to give suggestions and advice on various aspects of emigration, especially the basis on which Indian labour was to be employed in Malaya ; and the terms on which emigration was to be permitted. As a result of its constructive work Malayan and Indian representatives were brought together in 1923, to decide on the terms on which unskilled labour was to be permitted to emigrate. The agreement reached being favourable, there was no change in emigration laws until 1938.

In 1938, certain alterations were effected in the Emigration Act to bring unassisted emigration under the control of the Indian Government, who could then stop it when expedient. The newly amended Emigration Act came into force in December, 1939. It was a good augury, as its main purpose was to protect the interests of Indians not only in Malaya but also overseas elsewhere.

Indians and Commerce

In December, 1943, Indians in Malaya totalled 750,000 whereas by 1947 for various reasons, their number had decreased to 605,000, the majority of whom worked on rubber estates and coconut plantations.

Indians are found in all walks of life ; there are lawyers, businessmen, petty traders, labourers, clerks, cattle-breeders, engineers, doctors, servicemen and policemen, to mention a few. In almost all Government department, Indians are employed in different capacities. A number of those who retired prematurely during the Japanese occupation were reinstated immediately Malaya was reoccupied by the British.

In the less important professions, there are Indian taxi-drivers, hawkers, watchmen and money-lenders. Prior to World War II, the money-lender in Malaya, though a boon to many a borrower, was an unpopular personality, as he was harsh in his terms, charging rather high rates of interest, until the Government restricted his activities.

On the mainland of the Malaya Peninsula, a fair number of Indians have interests in landed property, and in rubber and coconut plantations. Business connected with sports goods is virtually dominated by them. They are also engaged in profitable trade in cloth and piece-goods. On the whole, Indian traders are respected by businessmen of other communities.

Cosmopolitan Community

Indians in Malaya are organised in various ways, though on no definite hard and fast lines. There is an Indian Chamber of Commerce besides other organisations composed of people coming from different parts of India. Sports associations and clubs exist, some on a sect basis, while others are mixed. Prior to World War II, there was an Indian Advisory Board, a nominated body, whose responsibilities were to advise the Malayan Government on matters concerning the Indian population. Today, the

Indians are politically united under the banner of the Malayan Indian Congress, formed after the termination of the war.

Community life among Indians in Malaya is a good example to their countrymen at home. Devoid of religious fanaticism, they meet at the same table and eat the common food served. Education in Malaya being of a high order, the Indian has greatly benefited by it. About 50 per cent of the Indian population is literate. Long residence in the country has taught the Indians to be broad-minded, tolerant, open-hearted and considerate towards the religions and customs of others. The Hindustani, Punjabi and Tamil spoken by them has a sprinkling of Malay, English and even Chinese words. Many Indians speak more than three languages. Constant mixing with other races has made them thoroughly cosmopolitan and they have inter-married with the many nationalities that reside in the country. Sometimes intermarriage has occurred for two or three successive generations, as a result of which the latest product has neither much knowledge of nor the desire to return to India. In some cases, contact with relations in India has been lost. Those who are without their families in Malaya return to India every two or three years to renew their family ties. When in Malaya they send regular remittances for the upkeep of their families at home in India.

Speaking of Indians generally it can be said that they have played a great part in the economic development of the country. It is due to them that rubber production reached such high levels in post war years, while they have worked equally well on the coconut plantations.

Political Activities

Prior to World War II, political activity was taboo. Therefore, it was not until the Japanese conquered Malaya, that interest in politics was roused amongst Indians. Japanese propaganda constantly reminded Indians of their patriotic duty towards India, and though this was primarily for Japan's own benefit, there was some response, as a result of which the majority of the Indian community remained loyal to the British.

On the close of World War II, Malaya was put under a military form of government by the British and a number of Indians were prosecuted for pro-Japanese activities. The old office of the government of India's Agent which had been closed since the Japanese occupation, again started functioning in September, 1945, and in order to have closer contact with Lord Mountbatten's headquarters, the Indian Government appointed a Representative and Liaison Officer. The appointment was necessary in order to watch Indian interests in Malaya in general, and in particular of those Indians, who had been prosecuted for their connection with either the India Independence League or the I.N.A.

Apart from this, the condition of the Indian labouring class had deteriorated, mainly because many had been deported by the Japanese to work on the construction of the Burma-Thailand railway. Those who survived the ordeal were in terrible straits, especially when Japanese currency ceased to be a legal tender. In addition, there was an acute shortage of basic essentials, including cloth and medicine.

Three medical missions, two sponsored by the Indian National Congress and one by the Government of India were sent to Malaya to render medical aid. Due to the above activities and interest expressed by the Indian Government and the Indian public, the whole situation influenced the Malayan Government to revise their policy towards Indians in Malaya, whose position in August 1947, was strengthened by the appointment of Mr. John Thivy as the Indian Representative.

Evil of Dual Nationality

The vital problem facing the Indians in Malaya after India's independence has been the question as to whether they should adopt Malayan citizenship or remain with India. The crux of the question is that most of them desire the benefit of both, that is, to remain as Indian citizens, while simultaneously claiming certain rights by virtue of their residential qualifications. Dual citizenship for obvious reasons is neither desirable nor possible. Recently the Indian Prime Minister made it clear that in so far as citizenship was concerned, the Malayan Indians must decide one way or the other, and there was no middle way.

The future is partly in their own hands. Since the majority work on the rubber plantations, the present rubber slump has had adverse effect on their livelihood. Will they tide it over as they have done in Malaya's past history? Should they choose to remain in Malaya the country of their adoption, they have to be one with the Malayas for the future good of the country, in whose legislature they are already adequately represented.

It has been suggested that the Indian community may well act as a balancing force between the Malayas and the Chinese. And in order to produce a favourable reaction from the Indians, it is not in the interest of the country that the Federation should pass legislation to permit more Indians to qualify for Malayan citizenship?

Malaya has been promised self-government in the near future, and this can only be secured by bringing about harmony amongst all communities.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches: College Sq., Cal. Bankura.

Chairman: JAGANNATH KOLAY M.P.

Christians in the Naga Hills

v. B. I. Anderson, an American Baptist ıary in Kohima, Assam, writes in the *ıl Christian Council Review* :

he hills of Assam, where roads are few, and com- ons almost nil, is a group of more than 76,000 urch members, about whom very little has been the outside world. Once they were head-hunters, 'orshippers, drunkards, opium-fiends. Today this ring Christian group has reached an astonishing self-support, is providing for the evangelization of ınd is largely handling its own administrative ıll of this has come about within less than eighty

ras not until 1876 that the first missionary ven- into the Naga Hills and risked his life to make istian message known. Dr. E. W. Clark was God to lay the foundation for the work of evange- the Naga Hills. But it was a slow movement at le met with opposition from all quarters; iiefs, bloodthirsty villagers, yes, even the British took a stand against the only power that has effective in dealing with head-hunters. But the ıtinued and the present strength of Christianity aga Hills, the virile faith and devotion of the hill l continue to be a testimony to all men that the of God.

even after eighty years some of the early remain. The greatest obstacle to a united in the Naga Hills is the division caused by the ıguages. There are not less than 15 large groups ch the Scriptures and other Christian literature translated, and in addition to these there are ber of dialects and variations. The geographical is a handicap, for in some sections there are ns of communication among the hill villages. miles west of Kohima, the Mzieme and others beginning to receive the message. The same is miles in the other direction, among the Eastern . Around Mokokchung, Manipur hill tracts, Wokha and Kohima the churches are well estab- But even though strong in numbers there are occasions when the members can meet together r into a fuller fellowship as Christians.

advantage is the democratic rule which is com- the villages. This can easily be transferred into ch life, as the Baptist Mission encourages a large of self-government and in no way interferes with ramme of the local church and the administration ssociations.

success achieved in the work among the Nagas ıeen in numbers as well as in degrees of self- and self-governments. In the latest published statistics (1950) we learn that during that year than 7,843 new converts were baptized, making membership in the churches 76,222. This does not include children in Christian homes, e not yet asked for and received baptism. Mak- ugh estimate of such children as being at least of the Christian community, we may conclude Naga Baptist churches would reach the figure of 100,000 present and prospective members.

elf-support they have reached the highest of any Assam, perhaps in India. The Ao tribe alone nnual budget for their work of evangelism educa- l production of literature which mounts up to 00. Figures are not available for all the rest ribes, nor is it necessary to work out detailed

American Baptist Foreign Mission Society main- tains six stations in this section of Assam. The total annual appropriation, aside from salaries of missionaries, is Rs. 34,000 from the General Society and Rs. 6,000 from the Women's Society. Aside from the regular work of evangelism and education, one hospital and one leper colony is maintained by the Mission.

The administration of the work is now largely in the hands of the National leaders, who by means of church council meetings and annual Associational gatherings, formulate policies and carry out the necessary details of their organized work. All of these groups are also interested in evangelism among the border tribes, and the Aos particularly, have for many years supported evangelists to headhunting villages. Their visits have not only brought thrills to the men who were prepared to lay down their lives for these savages, but have also given a good harvest in souls. Among the Konyak Nagas, as well as among the Eastern Angamis and the Sangtams, two national leaders are in full control of the work and doing very well. The konyak work is a special project supported by the recently organized Council of Baptist Churches of Assam. The marvellous success in this area has brought on a wave of persecution, which the young churches have endured patiently. The number of baptisms in this frontier field was 688 last year (1950). Then there are the Changs, Kalukengyus, Yimchongre and many other tribes stretching all the way to Burma. Them also we must bring.

Methods of evangelism are varied, to suit different conditions. The touring of the missionary, climbing the mountain slopes to bring of the Word of God to the villages located on the very top of the mountains, has been the most effective method of reaching the people. In the church services, in the homes, around the evening fires, out in the open street, in fact wherever an opportunity offered itself, Christ has been proclaimed and men have heard about His blood shed for the remission of sins. The religion in all of these tribes is largely animistic and filled with fear and superstition. The old taboos, some of them most primitive, have had to yield, and social customs, built up around the religious beliefs, have also had to give way for the new light.

None of these tribes had any written language or any record of their origin and past history, so the missionaries had to reduce the dialects to print and produce books for their schools. Evangelism thus worked hand in hand with education and a Christian teacher whose love for God was genuine did not lack opportunities to bring the children to Christ.

Later as the church was able to support a regular pastor the work was organized on the basis of group evangelism, when happy converts set out to visit other

T. B. IS NOT INCURABLE

An invention by

Rajvaidya Kaviraj Pranacharya

Dr. PRABHAKAR CHATTERJEE, M.A., D.Sc.,

JAKSHMARI

A Unique medicine for stopping continuous fever, cough, haemoptysis, hoarseness of voice, night sweat, aversion to food, diarrhoea, damages in the lungs and loss of weight by destroying the T. B. germs. It is much more effective than any medicine imported from abroad. Numerous patients have had a complete recovery. Full particulars with prescription on request. 172, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12, Phone: Avenue 4059

villages and to sing and pray for their enemies. In the Sema tribe during the years between 1930-40 the additions of converts took on mass movement proportions, some years seeing more than 2,000 converts added to the churches. Paid evangelists have been used, but very sparingly, their work very often given largely to the task of organizing churches and supervising the instruction of the converts.

In recent years the Sunday Schools and the Christian Endeavour Societies have been the means of enlisting the youth in villages where the church had become established. In almost every village where there is a church, substantial and permanent houses of worship have been erected. These have always been paid for by the people themselves, some giving cash, others providing free labour.

The importance of regular Bible conferences and well attended annual meetings can never be over-emphasized. It was at such gatherings, sometimes attended by 4 to 5,000 people, that the true nature of the Christian Gospel became known and the work of the Christian church built up to its present high standard of teaching and practice. A vigorous opposition to all forms of demon-worship, polygamy, consumption of liquor and other vices, formerly so common among the Nagas, has made no small contribution to the work of evangelism, showing the true life of the churches and contributiong to the general welfare and decent behaviour of the members.

Another aspect of Christian emphasis has been that of stewardship. From the very beginning the converts were told that they were expected to contribute a tithe of their income. Whether in cash or kind this has been the goal, and every member has been urged to give liberally. This has helped to solve the problem of dealing with greedy money-lenders and unscrupulous traders. The churches built granaries as well as houses of worship. Paddy and livestock became commodities with the Christians, for feeding the poor, or selling and providing loans to those who needed this help.

The discipline within the church has always been rather strict, and thus the moral standards have been high. There are cases of defection to demon-worship ; adultery, or return of polygamists to former wives ; lack of interest or failure to live up to the Christian confession. Perhaps the gravest problem has been that of intoxicating liquor, mostly the home-brewed rice-beer, against which the churches have taken a very strong stand since the early years of Christian evangelism. But there has never been a very large number who have fallen by the wayside and returned to the old superstitions and sinful living.

The Naga youth of today is very active in Christian work. They are in the lead in the village churches, as well as in the station work. Many are also active as doctors, nurses, or midwives in both Government and Mission hospitals. Others are employed as teachers, police constables and soldiers by the Indian Government and a few have reached high ranks in these professions. Education is the goal of the many boys and girls in the schools and a few of these ambitious youngsters have even managed to get to the U.S.A. for specialized training.

God has done wonders in the Naga Hills. Let no one say that the Nagas are models of virtue and devotion, rather, many of them are very human, and not all are good members of the churches. But they are liberated by the grace of God from their former lusts and savage mode of life and are now struggling toward a better day and a more enlightened future.

The crest which adorns the literature, forms and advertisements of the Hindusthan since its inception has a story behind it. The map of India in outline serves as the background of the romantic history of India's struggle for economic freedom—and the Hindusthan can rightly claim that it has done all the pioneering works with an outlook of national service. It is Indian in ideal and outlook, Indian in capital and management—it is cent per cent Indian in everything so to speak. The crest therefore serves to throw into relief the patriotic endeavour of the great men of the time to bring economic salvation to our nationals.

The crest is the symbol of economic security, protection and peace and is significantly tied up with the life of our nationals.

HINDUSTHAN

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LTD.,

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,

4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA-13

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

uth Africa—Land of Gold and Discord

John Nevin Sayre writes in *Unity*, January-ruary, 1953 :

Discord was not lacking in South Africa before the ıg of gold and diamonds there, but the discovery ich riches has multiplied the friction and vastly licated the country's problems. Had the new wealth controlled and exploited for the improvement of ; standards, education, and the betterment of all ons of the people, it might have lessened the discord. so there could have been a spiritual perception of human justice, and a full use of love and human rstanding, South Africa might today be leading the l in the glory of a multiracial Christian society.

Today, South Africans are keenly aware of the crisis gh which their nation is going. Although they to resent outside criticism and the myth that only race can be to blame for the sorry state of race ons, they are not complacent. Indeed, fear of le that may come upon the country pervades all ıs. Most of those we interviewed declared that itions were getting worse, and some of them felt they were at a desperate stage. As one man said : are living on two volcanoes, either one of which soon explode." One was the growing tension be- ı whites and non-whites ; the other was the danger vil war between the two principal white groups.

t was surprising to find that on the psychological propaganda front the old war between the Boers and British is still going on and being fanned to fresh sity, especially by the Malan government. One l have thought that the divisions caused by that war long ago been healed by generous acts of Britain's bell-Bannerman government, the setting up of the al Union of South Africa, and the long years of e to the Union by General Jan Smuts. But this is he case. There was a section of the Boers who in hearts never accepted defeat, who regarded Smuts "Quisling," who bided their time but were busy shing Boer aspirations. It is they who have taken ead in *apartheid*, who cling to the *Afrikaans* langu- ınd who got control of the government in 1948 after r' death. This has created a split not only between h and Dutch South Africans, but inside the *Afrika-* roup itself.

Dr. Malan and the Nationalist Party propose to an *Afrikaner* country and possibly an independent separate from the British Commonwealth. They do rust the British, are hostile to the United Nations, ear the Communists whose South African Party they outlawed. They have practically annexed South Africa and seem to want still more territory. They to build up a master race and a master language, keep non-white inhabitants "in their place." They ghtening up the old controls of segregation and pro- ting new ones. They do not intend that members rk-skinned races and nations shall ever be admitted ll privileges of citizenship.

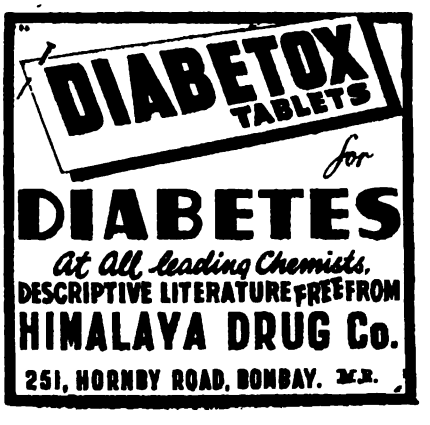
The natives are to have a homeland in separate ories, somewhat like American Indian reservations, ; they are to live under tribal discipline, which, however, is finally subject to white control. Some of them will work the farms of white South Africans. Others who labor in the mines and the big cities are to be housed in adjacent segregated "locations."

The Malan government appears quite willing to subvert the decisions of the country's judges and the South African constitution if these stand in the day. Although the present government was not voted into office by a majority of the nation's white electorate, it hopes to win a majority at the next election. The Nationalists know what they want, believe that they are religiously and patriotically right, do not care for civil liberties, and are ruling by dictatorial methods.

The United Party was the party of General Smuts. It is opposed to a number, but not all, of the above measures. About 70 per cent of its members are white *Afrikaners* (not Africans) and the rest are white South Africans largely of British extraction. It wishes to uphold the courts and constitution, and demands an immediate general election. It wants to stay within the Commonwealth. It is willing to have South Africa a bilingual country, but fears that English may be crowded out of the schools, universities, and government by the *Afrikaans* language, pushed by *Afrikaner* Nationalism.

This party opposes the abrogation of civil liberties and the withdrawal of the limited franchise rights for the "colored" people which have been in existence for a number of years in the Cape of Good Hope Colony. It fears the encroachment of Nationalist dictatorship, and in the present crisis has been building up a group known as the "Torch Commandos," headed by "Sailor" Malan, a cousin of the Prime Minister. The government charges this group with being "subversive," and there are ominous clashes between it and the police which are played up in the papers almost daily.

But the United Party would be split wide open if the issue of assimilation between races and the extension of votes to all racial groups—whether outright or by a gradual method—should be pressed upon it. Consequently, on this question it is in a weak position as compared to the Nationalists' firm policy of segregation.



Those who are familiar with race questions in the southern United States should realize that South Africa's race problem is far more acute. The estimated total population of South Africa is 12,000,000, and there are only 2,500,000 whites. Granted that the 9,500,000 non-whites are not united, that they are without arms and unorganized, and for the most part amazingly patient, the whites know what a disaster it would be if these millions were to withdraw their labor. Such a fear, played upon by frequent news stories of crimes against whites, makes the white groups jittery. It intensifies the bitterness when the whites oppose each other.

If now the white parties should fly at each other's throats in exasperation, it would be madness. But when emotions get to the boiling point, madness can happen. It hardly looks as if such an extremity will be reached. If, however, the United Party were to be victorious in the next election, it would constitute an important gain. Its belief in law and constitutional procedure would leave the way open for peaceful methods of change.

The campaign of civil disobedience, along the lines of the crusades led formerly by Mahatma Gandhi in India and South Africa, has been dramatic and thus far singularly unaccompanied by outbreaks of violence against the white regime. Upwards of 5,000 demonstrators, native Africans and resident East Indians, have violated segregation laws in a spirit of non-violence, and have suffered arrest. The campaign is led both by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. For once the non-whites have come together in strong, challenging action to show their unwillingness to accept a second-class citizenship. The movement has been a great welling up of protest, and in the main non-violent, though there have been violent outbreaks between whites and native Africans, as at Port Elizabeth in October. These exceptions do not necessarily indicate a breakdown in the non-violent campaign, for they have happened before, and are not as a rule connected with the present non-violent demonstrations. It is too early, however, for final judgments on the campaign's ultimate value. Yet when Mohandas Gandhi began in South Africa, on his campaign a third of a century ago, it looked like a forlorn hope. God has often used the weak of this world to confound the strong.

There are white minority groups and individuals who are trying to build a multi-racial society that will move in the direction of gradual extension of democracy and civil rights for all. These are the leaven. They are few, they are separated from each other by vast distances, and they contend against terrific odds. But they are valiant for truth. These groups have nurtured such persons as Alan Paton, Michael Scott, Senator E. H. Brooks, Hon. Margaret Ballinger, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, Rev. A. W. Blaxall, Rev. H. P. Junod, Rev. Ray E. Phillips, Dr. W. J. G. Mears, Dr. Ellen Hellman, Principal R. H. W. Shepherd, Dr. J. Muir Grieve, Dr. F. W. Fox, Maurice Webb, Dr. Alan Taylor, Bishop Wilfred Parker, Monilal Gandhi, and Principal Mtimkulu. There are various others scattered about the country whom it was possible to meet, and those who are not represent just a sample of nationally-known Se Africans who are conspicuous for their service t multi-racial state. There is a still wider circle wh names are written in heaven.

In the forefront of the voluntary organizations have turned the light on race relations and striven their betterment, is the South African Institute of R Relations, now in its twenty-third year. In a re statement to the government, it expressed its b position, and set a standard for future work and ho Said the Institute, the true basis for a settlement the race question is wrapped up in these principles:

1. Belief in the value of the individual human be and his right, by virtue of his being, to the ful expression and development compatible with sim rights of other individuals within the pattern of a de cratic state.

2. Belief in the values of democratic society w its accepted freedoms, rights and duties.

3. Acceptance of the brotherhood of man in Christian interpretation.

AMRUTANJAN
Estd-1893
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM!
RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825. CAL. 7

Unicef

What it Is

he United Nations International Children's Emer- Fund is part of the United Nations, created by eneral Assembly, 11 December, 1946. It was it into being to meet the emergency needs of n, particularly in the war-devastated countries, the same time, to *further child health purposes lly*. Under that double mandate, the Fund, in e years of its operation, has brought and is bring- l to millions of children and mothers in Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean area, Europe, and America. In this undertaking UNICEF has nancial support from governments and peoples hout the world.

An International Co-operative

NICEF is an international co-operative on be- f children. It receives contributions from es able to help with money, goods and ser- It then distributes that aid to countries for maternal and child welfare projects for which needed. The aid so given is on a self-help o enable the assisted countries to meet their ildren's needs, in so far as possible, using the es' own resources. Many of the countries ng the Fund's help for their children are, at ne time, making substantial contributions for rk in other countries.

is aid is given solely on the basis of need, t regard to race, creed, nationality status or l belief.

What it Does

the most part. UNICEF's help is now being the economically underdeveloped countries to hem to deal with long-standing maternal and child nd welfare problems. UNICEF, at the same time, g large numbers of children in emergency s brought about by natural catastrophes, or in instances, by political dislocations. All aid is close collaboration with other United Nations tions, notably the United Nations Department of Affairs, the Technical Assistance Administration, rld Health Organization, and the Food and ure Organization.

supplies, equipment and other forms of aid now rovided by UNICEF fall into the following main es:

istance to countries for the building and expan- their basic maternal and child welfare services. provides imported equipment and supplies for l and child health centres and rural clinics. It ns in the training of local child-care personnel iding supplies and equipment for training centers.

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE
BENOY KUMAR SARKAR
(A Study)
With Foreword by
Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.P.
ge Rs. 2/- :: Board-bound Rs. 2-8
SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE and the DAWN MAGAZINE (1897-1913)
Price As. 8
DAS GUPTA & CO.,
54/3, College Street, Calcutta

OUTSTANDING
PRODUCTS OF
HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for Men and Women. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.
OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, baggines bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, iching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injuriour, depressing or habit-forming drugs Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. NOVUM SIMPLEX. Rs. 12-8. NOVUM FORTE, Rs. 50; NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. 'Phone: 242972

Assistance in the prevention and control of communicable diseases largely affecting children, such as tuberculosis, yaws, whooping cough, diptheria and trachoma. This help is given to enable governments to initiate, and eventually carry on independently, large-scale campaigns against those common diseases which are responsible for much childhood suffering and death in the UNICEF-aided countries. UNICEF provides vaccines, drugs, insecticides and imported equipment, while at the start of a campaign, the World Health Organization provides services of international teams to train local teams. UNICEF is also extending aid to these countries so that they can develop their own production of anti-biotics, vaccines and insecticides.

Provision of milk, fish-liver oils and other protective foods to assist supplementary child-feeding programs. The programs are of two kinds: (1) Those of an emergency nature following natural disasters—floods, earthquakes, drought, and the like, and/or the dislocation brought about by war; and (2) those of a long-range character undertaken to build up the country's child-feeding services, through schools and maternal and child welfare centers. The second are characteristic of the UNICEF-assisted operations in Central America and in certain African and Asian countries, and are undertaken in co-operation with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Provision of equipment to help countries conserve and distribute their local milk supplies for the benefit of children. UNICEF provides certain imported equipment for milk drying and pasteurizing plants, bottling and other processes in the handling and distribution of local milk supplies. The governments of the assisted countries provide the rest of the equipment, the buildings, labor, etc., and undertake the distribution of the milk so processed to the neediest groups of the child population.

Provision of raw materials for children's clothing and shoes and institutional supplies and other aid. UNICEF provides the cotton, wool, and/or leather. Manufacturing costs are assumed by the governments. The finished articles are distributed free. Soap is also provided, and simple medicines for maternal and child welfare centers.

Special assistance for handicapped children. UNICEF is providing supplies and equipment for use in the care and rehabilitation of children suffering from physical or mental handicaps, in many instances as a result of war injuries; and is also helping to provide training opportunities and guidance for those responsible for their care.

How it Works

The Fund is controlled by a 26-nation Executive Board. This Board acts upon requests from government for international aid for child welfare projects. It then allocates contributions received by the Fund among those projects which it approves.

A general agreement is entered into between the Fund and the government of the receiving country, showing how the international aid is to be used. The Fund, and in turn, the government, accept responsibility on behalf of the donor countries for the proper use of all resources. All UNICEF supplies are distributed free to the recipients.

UNICEF aid, in all except emergencies, is matched in value by the government of the recipient country, or by some voluntary agency within the country.

This help often makes possible undertakings that otherwise could not be attempted; for example, with the

VALUABLE BOOKS ON IMPORTANT SUBJECTS

TECHNICAL

British Repair Manual, Cars. 1952 Ed. Contains general data, dimensions and specifications of various cars explained with illusts. Rs. 252

Molesworth's Handbook of Engineering Formulae. 34th Ed. by Albert P. Thurston. An "Engineer's Bible" giving essential aid to engineers.

Kempe's Engineer's Year Book 1952, vols. 1 & 2. Rs. 52-8 set

Standard Methods of Chemical Analysis by Scott & Ferman. 5th Edition. 2 vols. A manual of analytical methods and general reference for chemists and students. Rs. 112-8 set

REFERENCE BOOKS

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. 2 vols. Encyclopedic Ed. A complete modern reference work. Rs. 112-8 set

Hartrampf's Vocabulary Builder. The modern, simplified word selector. Rs. 10

Words: The New Dictionary. Contains new simplified definitions, maps, essential tables, etc. Rs. 10

Stevenson's Book of Quotations. Rs. 52-8

BUSINESS & ACCOUNTANCY

The Executive's Desk Book. A complete practical guide to correct usage in business, official, and social activities. Rs. 44-12

The New Secretary's Desk Book including the Winston Dictionary. Rs. 21-12

COMMERCE & TRADE

Kelly's Directory of Merchants, Manufacturers and Shippers 1952. Rs. 75

The Publishers' Trade List Annual 1952. 2 vols. Rs. 52

Encyclopedia of Advertising by Irvin Graham. A reservoir of ideas in advertising, marketing, printing, production, public relations, publicity and other allied field. Rs. 32-8

MEDICAL

Collins Family Medical Encyclopedia. A complete new and indispensable work of reference. Ed. by George Somerville. Rs. 18-12

Rose & Carless' Manual of Surgery. Vols. I-II 18th Ed. by Sir Cecil Wakeley. A Book for Students and practitioners. Rs. 47-4 set

Modern Operative Surgery Ed. by G. Grey Turner. 3rd Ed. Vol. I Rs. 37-8; Vol. II Rs. 41-4

Cunningham's Text-book of Anatomy. 9th Ed. by James Couper Brash. Rs. 67-8

SEX AND MARRIAGE

Studies in the Psychology of Sex by Havelock Ellis. 2 vols. Rs. 62-8 set

Aberrations of Sexual Life by Dr. R. V. Krafft-Ebing. Brought up-to-date by Alexander Hartwich. A Medico-legal Study for doctors and lawyers. Rs. 31-8

NEW BOOK CO., LTD., 188-190, Hornby Road, Bombay

assurance of certain food supplies from UNICEF, especially much-needed milk, school lunch programs have been initiated, and thus the neediest groups of children are reached in a practical and efficient manner. Similarly, in the maternal and child health field, with UNICEF providing medical supplies and equipment, and other United Nations agencies providing the necessary technical assistance, countries are able to undertake large-scale prevention or disease-control programs that otherwise would not be feasible.

UNICEF aid in all instance is used to fill the need in such a manner as to reach the largest possible number of children in ways that will be of lasting benefit to the whole structure of child health and welfare services within the assisted countries.

UNICEF IN INDIA

UNICEF began operations in India in 1949 with a modest Milk Distribution Scheme. Today UNICEF continues emergency feeding programmes but lays greater emphasis on helping Governments with programmes calculated to make a permanent contribution to Child Welfare. Guiding principles are that :

Aid is given without discrimination on grounds of race, creed, nationality or political belief.

UNICEF's aid must be matched by at least equal effort within the recipient country.

To assist countries in building up their basic Maternal and Child Welfare Services or to assist in the control and the prevention of communicable diseases, UNICEF aid may taken the form of Midwives Bags or equipment to manufacture Penicillin and DDT; Hospital and Laboratory equipment or Drugs and Diet Supplements for Rural Clinics, Syringes and microscopes, buses, bicycles and jeeps and such other items, which for lack of foreign exchange or other reasons, cannot be provided from a country's own resources.

$7,076.000 or Rs. 3.37 crores is the extent of the UNICEF contribution to date in support of Health and Relief programmes in India.—*Unicef Bulletin.*

China's First Five-Year Plan of Construction

"A new epoch begins for China" is the title of an editorial in the New Year issue of *People's China, a* fortnightly English language magazine, on the nation's first five-year planned economic construction beginning in 1953. Full text of the editorial follows :

1953 will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the long history of the Chinese people.

The rehabilitation of Chinese economy after decades of internal and external wars has been completed. Now, energies are being turned to the large-scale, planned economic construction which will transform China from agricultural into industrial country.

During the three years since they established their own state and the government, the liberated Chinese people have engaged in two tasks of tremendous magnitude: helping the Korean people repel American aggression which has threatened their own borders, and rebuilding political, economic and cultural life of the country.

Both tasks have been well carried out. In Korea, the aggressors have been pushed back, with vast casualties, to the 38th Parallel. At home, we have completed agrarian reform among 428 million rural people; reached, and, in certain fields, surpassed pre-war production peaks in both agriculture and industry: balanced budget, stabilised prices and built new railways, roads, factories, mines and huge water conservancy works. Wages of Chinese workers in various industries have risen between 65 and 120 per cent since 1942, and peasant incomes have improved still more. We are engaged in a great effort to end illiteracy. Education, literature and arts are flourishing.

Economic consequences of centuries of misrule, however, are not to be completely overcome in the space of three years. Industrially, China is still weak. In order to develop production further and build a still more prosperous, still stronger country, we need many new factories and mines—and we must re-equip the existing ones with the latest equipment. First of all, China must develop her heavy industry -the prerequisite to quick industrialisation.

The job ahead is, therefore, of gigantic proportions. But the Chinese people are certain that they can do it, and do it well. Their confidence rests on sure foundations -rich natural resources of their country, creative initiative of hundreds of millions of liberated men and women, superior advantages of people's democratic system, wise leadership of the Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, selfless help of the Soviet Union, and unity with the entire camp of peace and democracy.

To accomplish the work that lies before them, the Chinese people need peace throughout the world. War brings destruction. Construction requires a peaceful environment. The Chinese people love peace because their hopes for future are inextricably bound up with it. That is why the Chinese people regard it as their

Important To Advertisers.

Our

PRABASI *in Bengali,* **MODERN REVIEW** *in English and* **VISHAL BHARAT** *in Hindi—*

These three monthlies are the best mediums for the publicity campaign of the sellers.

These papers are acknowledged to be the premier journals in their classes in India. The advertiser will receive a good return for his publicity in these papers, because, apart from their wide circulation, the quality of their readers is high, that is, they circulate amongst the best buyers.

Manager,

The Modern Review Office

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA 9

duty to continue to fight for a just and reasonable settlement of the Korean question and to demand an immediate cease-fire as well as to expose efforts of all those who continue in one way or another to sabotage the Korean armistice talks and to attempt to spread war further afield.

This is also why the Chinese people take an active part in defence of peace everywhere, and why they support the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace which has just concluded in Vienna and rejoice in its great success. People of China believe that peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and economic systems is not only possible but necessary, and they are ready to trade with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Industrialisation will bring prosperity and happiness to the 475 million Chinese people—one-fourth of mankind—and is bound to contribute to the welfare of all humanity and security and stability of the whole world.—*Hsinhua News*, Jan. 2, 1953.

World Health Day

Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, in a message for the "World Health Day," celebrated by the World Health Organisation on 7 April, appealed to the employers and workers of the sixty-six Members-states of the I.L.O. to make this "holiday of health" a success.

Mr. Morse said: "This year the W.H.O. has suggested the theme, Health means Wealth. This fits in aptly with the I.L.O.'s current programme to help increase the productivity and earnings of industry and labour, especially in the less developed countries. For what can do more to reduce production and productivity than preventable sickness or avoidable accident in industry, agriculture or the home?

"The W.H.O. and I.L.O. are already working hand-in-hand through joint committees and other measures to reduce venereal disease among seafarers, to provide better first aid and medical services at sea, and to assist public health services and occupational health experts in protecting workers' health.

"The W.H.O. has likewise been most helpful in labour-management government discussions of the protection of the health of workers in places of employment at the I.L.O.'s General Conference last June. The subject will be before the 1953 conference for final action.

"In 1954 the conference will tackle ways to improve vocational rehabilitation of the disabled.

"World Health Day 1953 can do a great deal to help make these programmes for the better health of workers better understood."—*WHO News*.

Yugoslavia

George V. Allen, new American ambassador to India, believes Yugoslavia's break with the Soviets is complete and irrevocable.

In an interview with Marguerite Higgins published in Sunday's *New York Herald Tribune*, Ambassador Allen said one only has to be in Yugoslavia and live with those people to feel the intensity of their hatred against the Soviet Union and the Cominform.

The essence of the quarrel, Allen said, was the issue of Yugoslav national sovereignty. "The break came because of the efforts of the Soviet Union to dominate Yugoslavia," he said.

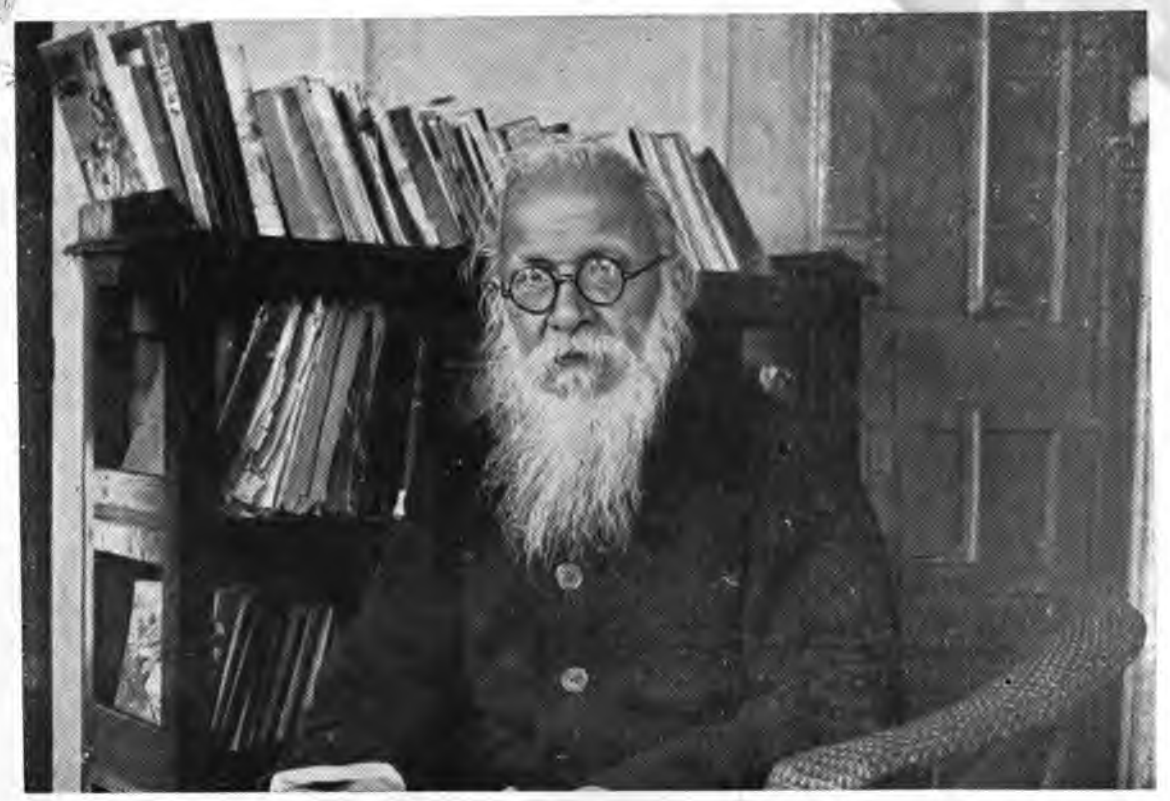
He said that there has been a marked departure within Yugoslavia from Soviet practice—especially in the field of agriculture. He commented:

"The forced collectivisation of land was discontinued about 18 months ago. It seems quite possible that the general system of collective farms in Yugoslavia will be supplanted by a co-operative farm movement along Scandinavian lines."—*USIS*.

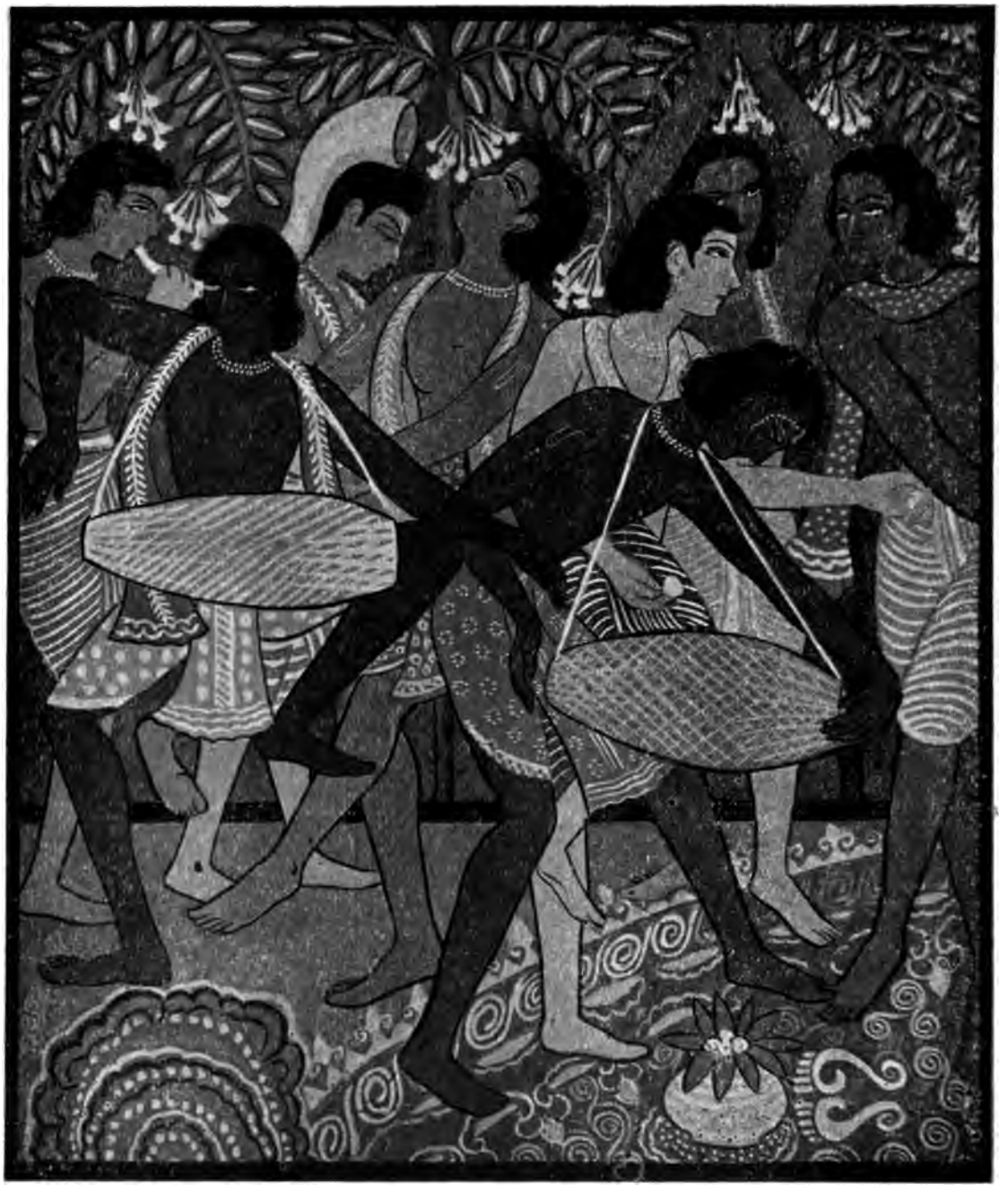
M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers
AND DIAMOND MERCHANTS

167/C 167 C 1 BOWBAZAR STREET. CALCUTTA. (AMHERST ST. & BOWBAZAR ST. JUNCN)
OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM Phone AVENUE 1761 - Gram BRILLIANTS

Printed and published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



Ramananda Chatterjee (Born : June, 1865)



THE VILLAGE SINGERS
By Satindranath Laha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

"HE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1953

LXXXXIII, No. 6 WHOLE No. 558

NOTES

oronation of the British Queen

Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II of Britain dominions will take place on June 2, as has nounced. This will be the first Coronation of ih Sovereign since the separation of India ie Imperial domains. Likewise, this will be occasion on which a British Sovereign will be ed as the "Head of the Commonwealth." Let that these two augur an era of peace and on earth. There are still Tory Die-hards eam of imperial splendour of the days gone there are many others of that ilk that do han dream. Colour-prejudice is still rampant a and mediaeval methods of colonialism are ng practised in Kenya, South Africa and, to a xtent, in Malaya. In Iran and Egypt, Britain with retribution.

us hope that the new Queen will decide or peace and justice and equality for all the of God, whatever be their colour, creed, or er namesake was a patron of pirates and rers, who brought much booty to their own t sowed the seeds of unrest, repression and that brought endless misery to untold peace- ions over a period of four centuries. Those pillage and rapine have been glorified by ed historians and by numberless authors reed was that of black untruth. In reality in that island's story, Truth has been the glory." Let us hope that a change of heart e place with the coming of a new Queen and ld will be allowed to forget.

Prime Minister has gone to attend the ion celebrations and also a conference of nwealth Ministers. At the time of going to e find a piece of news in the daily press which o *indicate that Dr. Malan of South Africa* has gone to this conference in a truculent mood. We know little about the others but are told that:

"The Commonwealth Prime Ministers face seven major political, economic and defence problems at their week's conference beginning in London on June 3, usually reliable sources said on May 21.

The conference, on the morning after Queen Elizabeth's Coronation, will open with a discussion on recent developments in Soviet policy. This will be followed by an examination of West European affairs.

Other international issues to be discussed, according to London sources, concern the Far East, South-East Asia and the Middle East.

The conference will be presided over by Sir Winston Churchill and attended by the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

The formal meetings will tackle political and economic questions but greater value is expected from the informal exchanges between individual Prime Ministers on such subjects as defence, which will not be explicitly disclosed in the official communique.

One session of the full conference will be devoted to a survey by Mr. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the progress of the Commonwealth economic plan for increasing production and expansion of world peace.

This was drafted by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Economic Conference in London last November and December. Its details are still secret."

In our little sub-continent, the peoples of India and Pakistan are more eager for the consequences of another conference about which there is much speculation:

"It has been agreed that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan will meet in London early next month, says a communique issued in New Delhi on May 23. They will have preliminary talks on Kashmir,

was ever ruled by Bihar in the past, being oblivious of the fact that the reverse was the case, and shamelessly gloated over the fact that his forefathers were employed by the Moguls and the British as faithful watch-dogs that licked the boots of the conqueror and bit the rebellious fighters for freedom in Bengal.

Brazenness seems to have been the watchword in the Bihar Assembly debates, of which we append some extracts below. Brazen mis-statement of facts, brazen utterance of half-truths and lies and over all a brazen attempt to retain ill-gotten gains.

The high-lights in the Bihar Assembly debates were as follows:

Dr. Srikrishna Sinha, Chief Minister, initiated the debate thus:

"That this House do proceed to express its views upon the reference made by the Government of India through the State Gvoernment of Bihar, on the subjoined resolution passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, namely, 'This Assembly is of opinion that in order to solve the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees from Eastern Pakistan and protection of Bengali culture and heritage, the State Government should request the Government of India to invite the President to recommend the introduction of a Bill in Parliament to (*i*) increase the area of West Bengal and, (*ii*) diminish the area of Bihar in compliance with the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution."

Then followed the moving of an amendment by Sri Laxmi Narayan Sudhangshu.

Long speeches followed, by the mover and by others, mostly confusing issues. Then followed an amendment by Sri Sris Chandra Banerjee of the Loke Sevak Ashram in Manbhum:

Sri Srish Chandra Banerji (Lok Sevak Sangh) moving his amendment recalled the statements issued by Bihar leaders in 1912 conceding that Manbhum should be returned to Bengal as it was a Bengali-speaking area.

Sri Murali Manohar Prasad (Congress) challenged Sri Banerjee's statement and Sri Banerjee showed a booklet in support of his contention. The Chair after seeing the booklet ruled that Sri Banerjee was correct.

Thus at least one fact was attested and many lies nailed.

Initiating the second day's debate on the Bengal-Bihar boundary in Bihar Assembly on May 13, Sri Srish Chandra Banerji (Lok Sevak Sangh) traced the question of language in the district of Manbhum and narrated how since the Congress came into power, they systematically tried to suppress Bengali language in Manbhum.

Sri Banerji appealed to the House to listen to his arguments dispassinoately and try to understand the situation in Manbhum. He held that he was in favour of formation of States on linguistic principles. Particularly *in the border areas, the re-demarcation of boundaries was necessary to include as far as* possible, the majority linguistic group with the State which had that particular language spoken within its territories.

Speaker Varma: "Then it amounts to Pakistan's demand of creation of States on religious grounds—Hindus will live in one State and the Muslims in the other?"

We are lost in admiration of the appositeness of Speaker Varma's simile.

On the third day the *piece de resistance* was put in press columns thus:

"May 14—This day's debate was initiated by Sri Chunka Hembrom (Jharkhand) who was in possession of the House yesterday. He said he agreed with Sri Srish Chandra Banerji's grievance, and in the same way the Hindi protagonists were systematically crushing the Santhali language in Santhal Paraganas with the active help and support of the Government. If it was true that Bengali language was being crushed in Manbhum, it was equally true that in Santhal Parganas also the same activities were being repeated with renewed vigour to suppress the Santhali language.

"He held that there was nothing in common between the scheduled tribes living in Santhal Parganas and the Bengalis in West Bengal. Therefore, he would oppose the demand of the West Bengal Legislature to annex the border areas of Bihar. But he would equally oppose that part of Sri Murali Manohar Prasad's amendment which sought to annex the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, etc., with Bihar. It would be anti-democratic to ask any State to cede certain territories for the benefit of another State, he concluded."

Sri Chunka Hembrom's *tangi* is truly double-edged!

The *finale* came with the following resolution and its amendment, together with a lot of verbal braggadacio and swashbuckling, more ludicrous than impressive.

"That having carefully considered the resolution of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, this Assembly places on record its considered view that neither on the score of rehabilitation of the refugees from Eastern Paikstan nor on that of protection of Bengalee culture and heritage, is there any case for (I) increasing the area of West Bengal and (II) diminishing the area of Bihar, and therefore this Assembly regrets its inability to agree with the resolution of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly."

Sri Murali Manohar Prasad (Congress) next moved the following amendment:

"This Assembly is further of opinion that the State Government should request the Government of India to take steps for the incorporation in Bihar of the whole of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and parts of Birbhum, Bankura, Dinajpur, Malda, Murshidabad and Midnapur on grounds of administrative convenience and linguistic affinity."

it the limit of brazen impudence and mendacity it forward in the proposal to make Calcutta a lly administered area.

·ess Defeat at Calcutta

Sudhir Chandra Roy Chowdhury, the Praja it Party candidate, who was supported by all parties, was on Monday declared elected to the Bengal Assembly from the Burtolla (Calcutta) iency, defeating his Congress rival, Mr. Nirmal a De, by 5,667 votes. The bye-election was held id y the 21th May.

·. Roy Chowdhury got 12,397 votes against 6,730 by Mr. De. The third candidate, Mr. S. C. Independent), secured only 243 votes.

ie election result is an index of the public and confidence in the present administration in Bengal. As a further pointer we append the ng news-item which appeared on the 24th May: ains between Ranaghat and Krishnagar, on the i section of the Eastern Railway, were provided med guards on Saturday as a result of the inci- n which train drivers were assaulted by members travelling public.

two instances reported on Saturday evening, were stopped by passengers, who pulled the alarm near Birnagar Station, about 55 miles from a. As a result, the trains ran behind schedule.

tta and Sao Paulo

e significance of the Calcutta defeat may be by the following piece of international news ppeared in the *Worldover Press* on April 17th:

› Paulo : Caught between low wages and constantly keting prices for necessary goods, the people of azilian city erupted into political revolt and beat ernment-backed mayoralty candidate by an over- ng vote. It was a protest against nation-wide ons which have been causing a steadily mounting ent. The announcement of a price freeze was d by further rises all along the line. As far s last Christmas, talk was universal about the s empty pockets after providing a simple Christmas

ch nuts as walnuts, filberts, etc., have been bring- ll over a dollar a pound, and raisins from Argen- rabia or California cost in some cases as much. ave run to about ten cents (U.S.) each, with up to $1.20 per pound. A sack of corn, which sold for $2.18, has gone up to $4.65. Meat, which ndant, and therefore should be reasonably priced, it of all proportion to other foods, such as codfish, ough the latter is brought all the way from . Even from the itinerant street vendors, who taxes, tripe costs around 25 cents, a rate unheard his country.

Perhaps the most outrageous anomaly is the fact that bananas, grown in Brazil and exported to Argentina, can be bought in the neighbour country for a little over nine cents a dozen, while here where they are grown they cost 30 cents. The mood of the public can be readily understood.

Land Reform in Burma

Land Reform is the Order of the Day. We have any number of schemes here in India for the abolition of Zemindaries and large holdings of land. But what is to be done after that? Our Marxian friends are content with "Expropriation," that is to say with the punishment of the children for the Marxian "sins" of their distant forefathers. The fact that innocent people who bought land out of their hard-earned savings at a very much later day would also be punished for no reason, does not count with them, so besotted are they with that foreign and non-Indian creed of *himsa*. The Government of India and the State Governments are concerned only with the fat jobs the process will provide.

We neither possess land, nor are we in any way advocates for the landed gentry. We would only like optimum production from the land thus acquired and the betterment of the agrarian population. The Burmese scheme given below seems to have some pointers in that respect:

The Burmese Minister for Land Nationalization, Thakin Tin, on May 24th, announced details of a plan to redistribute 10 million acres of rice land to peasants throughout the country. He was speaking in Mandalay at the closing session of the seventh annual conference of the Socialist-sponsored All-Burma Peasants Organization.

The plan, covering a 10-year period, would bring in a "new order for peasants," Thakin Tin told his audience. Neither the AFPFL nor the ABPO would have a hand in the work of redistribution, which would be carried out by land committees elected by the villagers themselves. A long period of preparation was inevitable, because 10,400 elections must be held in Burma proper alone for the appointment of 72,800 land committee members. Technial and administrative training for these personnel might cause further delay.

Thakin Tin said that by the end of this year it was expected to elect 300 land committees, whose members would be trained in preparation for the work of redistributing 200,000 acres. Each family would be given about 10 acres.

Five peasant families would be banked together to form mutual aid teams in order to work their holdings on a co-operative basis. Each family, however, would receive separate shares of the produce as well as cattle farming implements.

The Government hoped to have 200,000 mutual aid teams working 10 million acres by 1955.

The 10-year plan would be realized finally with the development of multipurpose co-operatives and co-ordination of agriculture with industry. Producers' co-operatives would have to be further grouped into much larger units. Thus collective farms of up to 1,000 acres are likely to appear, according to the wishes of the peasants.

India and the Soviet Bloc

Sri Gopalan, the mouthpiece of the C.P.I., went on a mission of thanksgiving and fealty to the new Muscovy. Prior to his departure he used to spout forth fire and brimstone at the name of Nehru and all that it stood for. On his return he is singing in a strange key as the following press report shows:

"Sri A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in the House of the People, who had returned recently after an eight-month tour of U.S.S.R. and China, said that there was a strong feeling in both Russia and China that if India took a firm stand, there would be no question of war and there would be peace in the world.

The people of these countries believed that the question of war or peace entirely depended upon India: If India stuck to the policy expressed by the Indian Prime Minister and others in some of their speeches, they felt, there would be no question of another war.

Both in Russia and China, the Communist leader said, there was a great respect for India and Indian culture. In many places, he found evidence of the people's interest in India. In Leningrad there was a museum called, "The Hermitage" in the Winter Palace and four big rooms of that museum were utilised for exhibiting Indian art and books on India and many epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata translated into Russian. In Tashkend museum also there was an India Hall, he added. The people of these countries felt that if India, China and Soviet Union joined together, they would be able to prevent world conflict.

There was a strong desire among the ordinary people to know and understand India better. Prime Minister Nehru was widely known both in Russia and China and all his speeches both in Parliament and outside were very thoroughly examined and scanned by the people. In Russia, Sri Gopalan said, there were some persons who knew India and her affairs better than many of the Indians. Prime Minister Nehru's tribute to Marshal Stalin in Parliament after his death, was widely publicised in Russian Press and broadcast all over the country.

In China, even ordinary people knew that Nehru was to India what Mao was to China."

Burma and Nationalist China

The following revealing comments appeared in the *Worldover Press* for April 17th:

Communist peace moves in China and Korea have brought a sense of hope and relief to most of the world, but they have caused chills of dismay to Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosa Nationalists, not to mention the China Lobby based in the United States. If a peace should be worked out in Korea, and some method of mutual toleration be arranged between the Chinese Communists and the West, it must mean political curtain for Chiang.

It is high time. Chiang has been a costly venture for American policy. Before his defeat on the mainland, he had received something like a billion and two-thirds dollars from the U.S., and while it is not widely realized, he has since then been getting more aid per capita than any other "country." Since he retreated to Formosa, he has had about $257 million in various forms of economic assistance, not counting military help, which is a secret because such outlays are not listed by separate nations. There is no reason why Chiang's people on Formosa should not be aided; but as an investment, it has been high for its demonstrable value to the West.

The devious role played by Chiang and his cohorts has never been better illustrated than by what has been happening in Burma. In 1949, when Chiang's armies were defeated on the mainland, a division of about 10,000 to 12,000 men took refuge in Burma, where they holed up and for a long time were virtually lost to the sight of the world. They were not invisible to the harried Burmese, however, who have been waging a twofold conflict against the Communists and against the Karens, the latter demanding a separate state. The Burmese government granted this Karen plea, but has been unable to agree over the exact boundaries the new state will have. All that was difficult enough, but the Chinese Nationalists within their borders brought them new trouble.

It has been a theory, and little else, among some Americans that genuine and successful guerrilla activity against the Chinese Reds might be stirred up by outside aid. The Nationalists on Formosa have been in more or less constant touch with the "lost division" inside Burma, egging it on to attacks on the Red Chinese border. A handful of American adventurers intervened, smuggling in arms and military equipment from Thailand, next door to Burma. The Thai regime, historically unfriendly to the Burmese and dominated by a none-too-trustworthy leadership, was ready to play this game. It all looked very dramatic, a sort of cloak-and-dagger onslaught against Chinese Communism.

It changed markedly, however, when the Chinese Nationalists in Burma began to drop their fight against Communists, and turned against the Burmese themselves. As so often with Chiang Kai-shek's forces, they proved to have scant loyalty to principle. They looted the countryside. They seized town after town. Finally, they engaged Burmese government forces in open fighting. When their soldiers were captured by the Burmese regulars, they were found to possess up-to-date American rifles and other war equipment. The Burmese, angered

at the conniving Americans who were responsible, did not lay blame on the U.S. government, except that they felt Washington could and should control its citizens who were doing the plotting. Washington in fact did nothing, and worse. If the sober *Washington Post* is correct, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was even in on the scheme, working through its agents in Thailand, and certainly in cahoots with Chiang.

So here we have it the U.S. backs Chiang, against the advice of informed experts on Asian problems, against most of its allies in the West, and does nothing to call off Formosa's support of the anti-Burmese Nationalists. When the Nationalists on Formosa were charged with doing damage to the Western cause, they merely used the excuse that they couldn't control the guerrillas inside Burma. If this is a fact, it speaks even worse things for Chiang. For that has been his trouble all along—his men deserted in droves to the Communists because nearly everybody was fed up with him, and the 10,000 in Burma have no real interest in him now.

Aroused to drastic action, Burma has lately broken off with the U.S. over economic aid, and won't accept any more. This is a sorry step, for the aid being given was intelligent and effective, and Burma sorely needs it. But there are some things no self-respecting people can take. Chiang refuses to call off his anti-Burma guerrillas, and so far as anyone knows, refuses to stop aiding them. Washington goes on patting Chiang on the back. No wonder the Burmese showed spunk. It may be hoped that a genuine Korean settlement, if it comes, however slowly, may re-open the whole possibility of renewed co-operation between Burma and the United States. But somewhere along the line Washington will, in the vernacular, have to get wise to itself.

Washington needs, in our opinion, all the wisdom it can get, for its dealings with the people of the East.

Estate Duty Bill

The Estate Duty Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, was presented to Parliament a few days before the close of the Budget Session. The Select Committee has recommended that the exemption limit should be Rs. 50,000 in the case of an interest in property belonging to a Hindu joint family and Rs. 75,000 in other cases. The scale of rates will be determined by a separate measure which will be introduced in Parliament before the Bill is passed into law. The Committee has proposed that agricultural properties situated in States which have not passed the requisite resolutions, should also be included in the properties passing on death for the purpose of determining the rate of duty, although no duty will be actually levied upon such agricultural lands.

The Select Committee suggests that the administration of the Act may, for the first few years, be left to the Central Board of Revenue and thereafter the question whether an Appellate tribunal should be set up may be considered. In determining questions relating to valuation, it would be open to each of the parties to nominate a valuer. In the case of a difference of opinion, the matter may be referred to a third valuer nominated by both parties by agreement, or failing such agreement, by the Central Government.

The Committee observes that property exempted from the levy of the duty will not be taken into account at all for the purposes of estate duty. The Committee proposes that properties held by the deceased as trustee should be exempted from the levy of duty. Where a trust has been declared by the deceased and he himself is the trustee, he should deliver possession and enjoyment of the trust property to the beneficiary at least five years before his death in the case of ordinary trusts and one year in the case of public charitable trusts if he desires that the trust property should not be considered his own property at the time of his death. In the case of minor, lunatic, etc., however, the assumption of possession and enjoyment of property by a legal guardian, or other persons entitled to take charge of the property is assumption of possession and enjoyment by the beneficiary.

As regards the transfer of property, the Select Committee suggests that disposition made by a deceased in favour of relatives should be treated as gift *inter vivos* (between the living) unless—

(a) the disposition was made on the part of the deceased for full consideration in money or money's worth paid to him for his own use or benefit ; or

(b) the deceased was concerned in a fiduciary capacity imposed on him otherwise than by a disposition made by him and in such a capacity only.

The Committee observes that allowances for quick succession should not be confined to lands and business only, "as this would mean that a large number of persons who owned, say, only buildings, did not obtain the benefit of this provision." The clause should therefore be amended to cover all property.

The main defect of the Bill is that it will adversely affect Dayabhaga property as compared with Mitakshara property where coparcenary system prevails. *Before the Estate Duty Act becomes effective, it is essential that the Hindu law of inheritance should be modified by bringing the Mitakshara system of succession on the same footing with that of Dayabhaga.*

The Tea Bill

In the Budget session recently concluded, Parliament passed the Tea Bill. Under this new measure the Government of India have acquired wide powers to control the tea industry. But the Minister for Commerce and Industry has made it clear that the Government have no intention to interfere with industry, provided it "paid decent wages to labour, paid taxes to Government and, in short, played a fair game within the four corners of of the law." The Commerce Minister's references to the foreign interests however will cause some surprise

inasmuch as they are in conflict with the Government's policy of giving concessions to foreigners for investment in India. During the debate on the Tea Bill the Commerce Minister stated that two factors compelled the Government to become "a conscious and deliberate partner" in this industry rather than abdicate its rights in favour of the Indian or foreign interests that are to be found in the industry. The first factor is the industry's inability to tide over the crisis after an uninterrupted period of prosperity extending to 21 years. The other is that 80 per cent of the industry is in the hands of the people "who are not sons of the soil." The curious feature, however, was that he conceded that "the elimination of the foreign element does not produce something better . . . I know, if they go away, their estates will fall into the hands of people who are less interested than they are. It will do no good to the industry, nor to labour."

The main problem facing the industry is one of finance. The Indian-owned gardens are in crisis. The reasons given for this state of affairs are that these gardens were acquired at a relatively late stage when all the better lands had been occupied by the Europeans and Indian gardens have found a lot of difficulty in obtaining finances. Since January of this year, there has been some recovery in the prices of tea. The wages reduction coupled with restricted production in 1953 and the running down of stocks in the UK are to a certain extent responsible for the improvement in the industry's position in recent months. But the stable equilibrium is yet to be reached.

India is fast losing her tea market in foreign countries because of better propaganda and better sentimental support for Ceylon tea and also for the higher prices of Indian tea. Increased offtake, domestic and foreign, is the only answer to the present crisis and to encourage larger consumption prices should reasonably come down. Despite the crisis of over-production and periodic cries that prices of tea are going down alarmingly, the prices of tea, particularly in domestic market have not come down. Unless the owners of gardens are prepared to be satisfied with a lower rate of profit, the tea industry will continue to be in the doldrums. Further, it is time to reconsider whether India should continue to be a member of the International Tea Agreement. The Agreement seems to be detrimental to the tea industry of India as there have been falling exports. It may be stated here that the Government of India have decided to reduce India's exports of tea during the year 1953-54 by nearly 15 per cent. This decision has been taken as a consequence of the fall in demand and its effect on prices. Under the International Tea Agreement, to which India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia are parties, standard export quotas for the four countries have been fixed. Although India's quota is 348.25 million lbs. a year, the actual export quotas vary from year to year, *according to* uniform percentage of the standard quota, fixed unanimously by the International Tea Committee. This percentage was 125 for 1949-50, 130 for 1950-51, 135 for 1951-52 and 1952-53. For 1953-54, India has decided to reduce it to 115 per cent in view of the fact that last year's export quota was very unrealistic. India's exports in the current year will thus come to 399.68 million lbs. as against 470.13 million fixed for 1952-53.

Railway Fuel Economy Committee Report

The Report of the Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. D. C. Driver is very illuminating. The report reveals that the consumption of coal on railways absorbs about 33 per cent of the country's total production and largely determines the conditions of production, supply and transport of coal. Total intake of coal by railways stands at about 10.5 million tons, of which 83.5 per cent is consumed by locomotives, 9.5 is used for non-loco purposes, and the remaining 7 per cent is lost in handling and pilferage. The annual expenditure on railways coal amounts to Rs. 30.5 crores, of this Rs. 16.8 crores is the cost of coal at the pithead and Rs. 13.7 crores for transport and handling charges. The break-up of Rs. 16.8 crores indicates that coal consumed by locomotives amounts to Rs. 14.0 crores, coal consumed in non-loco purposes costs Rs. 1.6 crores and Rs. 1.2 crores are losses on account of handling and pilferage.

The Committee holds the view that the coal consumption by the railways (including losses) can be reduced by about 20 per cent by adopting proper economy measures as recommended in the Report. As long-term measures towards fuel economy, the Driver Committee has recommended alternative uses of electric, diesel and gas turbine tractions. Electrification for a section of railways is recommended, as for instance, suburban services in the Howrah and Sealdah Divisions and main lines between Burdwan and Gaya, and Gaya and Moghulsarai in the Eastern Railways, between Igatpuri and Bhusaval in the Central Railways, between Quilon and Ernakulam, Madras and Trichinopoly, Madras and Bangalore and Madras and Bezwada in the Southern Railways, between Virar and Ahmedabad in the Western Railways and between Delhi and Ambala in the Northern Railways. Diesel traction is preferred on the Saurashtra section (Gondal Division) of the Western Railways.

The Driver Committee estimates that the demand for coal will gradually increase from 34 million tons to 52 million tons by 1961. It has made the suggestion that production of coal in India must be developed on a planned basis region-wise so that the ten zones into which the country has been divided for the purpose of coal supplies, attain self-sufficiency as far as practicable. Emphasis is given on the development of the outlying fields, especially in Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad State in order to supply to a considerable extent to Western and Southern India and a part of Rajasthan. Northern India and the rest of Ra

aw upon the coalfields of West Bengal and Bihar. riority should be given to the development of nite resources in South Arcot, Madras. Coal belts ıam and Orissa must be developed so that they eet the requirements of these States. Production ıh grade non-coking coals must be increased in nigunj and Karanpura coalfields in order to release coals for metallurgical purposes and maintaining to the export markets. Government collieries at ı, Deulbera and Talcher are to be developed and ·d by acquiring new areas. Government mines be opened up in Karanpura and Korba coalfields uiring new properties. The Committee urges upon vernment to expedite the development of Talcher, ·ni and Madhya Pradesh collieries.

e Committee suggests for the setting-up of a stand- ilway Power and Electrification Planning Com- consisting of representatives of the Ministry of /s, the Planning Commission and he Central Water ›wer Commission for ensuring co-ordination and ›n of railway electrification and dieselisation ı in a strict order of priority.

: *A Fair Day at Night*

ainment of self-sufficiency in foodgrains production ·n haunting the imagination of our Government for years and periodic declaration of speculation is bout the date on which India would attain such iciency. But nature invariably inervenes to thwart ainment of the goal either by flood or drought hquake and in consequence the goal of self-suffi- in foodgrains production is put off till a further The Food Minister Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is l towards decontrol as he thinks that actually ı not deficient in food production. But others in y hold the opposite view that India is a deficit in food production and as such control must e. In this country statistics are both inadequate ıccurate so each side produces figures in support case which is in conflict with that of the other. overnment's own figures do not tally and the real is shrouded in mystery. This much however is that the control of foodgrains production and dis- n in India creates artificial scarcity, and the feel- ridespread that to attain self-sufficiency control go.

nmenting on the latest estimates of production of cereals, including rice, jowar, bajra, maize and 1952-53, Mr. Kidwai is reported to have said that ı now rapidly approaching self-sufficiency, if she already done so. He proposes to bring down the rice of rice by exporting Indian rice next year. d rice only amounts to 150,000 tons and accord- he Food Minister no more is needed. The carry- alled about the same quantity. There is plenty with traders and procurement this year has been nal. It is not likely to be less than 1,500,000 tons. In Mr. Kidwai's opinion India does not require more than 800,000 tons of wheat this year, although she is importing 1,800,000 tons.

In this connection it should however be remembered that India rice imports only amounts to 2|3 per cent of its domestic production, while in 1951-52 she imported wheat to a very much larger percentage of her internal production of wheat. India's rice imports being negligible, she can now stop import of rice and to encourage further production, control should be withdrawn. Import of wheat should however be continued for some time until the food position is fully assured.

Arab Collective Security

The Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co operation signed by the states of the Arab League has acquired in recent months much importance. It may be recalled that the drafting of the Treaty was completed on April 13, 1950, and in June of that year there were five signatories. Iraq and Jordan did not sign until February, 1951 and the treaty came into force from April 1952. Kerim Tabet, formerly press counsellor to King Farouk and for some years the power behind the Egyptian throne, was largely responsible for developing the idea of this Arab Defence Pact. This was an attempt by King Farouk to prevent a developing relationship between Syria and Iraq. King Farouk did not want the Hashemite kingdom of Iraq exalted; and King Ibn Saud was afraid that a greater Iraq or Jordan might encourage the Hashemites to try to recover the Hedjaz.

The treaty provides that the signatories will endeavour to settle disputes between themselves or other powers by peaceful means. Members will however come to the aid of any signatory state or states subjected to aggression and take steps to repel the aggression. A permanent Military Commission composed of representatives of the general staffs of the armies will be formed to draft plans of joint defence. However, as it stands, the treaty is quite ineffective. It is however being regarded as the political instrument which may be used to break isolation of Arab states. The Arab pact will now be used by the Western Powers as the basis for regional defence scheme. Mr. John Foster Dulles is said to have come to the conclusion that the Middle East Planning Organisation should be set up at Cyprus in parallel with the Arab pact, in the hope that the planning centre would be used in time by the Arabs. The Arab leaders believe that in time the liaison between their defence system and that of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia might lead to actual integration. What the Allied Powers want is the facilities granted to them to use the territories of the Arab states rapidly in time of war.

The Arab world hopes that the new regime at the United States will give up President Truman's policy of giving Israel a Benjamin's portion of all its official aid to the Middle East. But all the Arab-speaking states

do not have this grievance with equal intensity—because beneath their superficial likeness they remain highly parochial in their interests. Mr. Dulles finds in the easterly oil-bearing countries greater concern with turning new wealth into national advancement and social upliftment. In Egypt there is a greater concentration on "national aspirations," which look forward to getting rid of one foreign power while seeking large sums of money as loan from another. In the states bordering Israel he was faced with the formidable problem of Arab refugees.

This flotsam of war was so long being ignored by the Western Powers. The Arab-Jewish question presents one of the worst of the world's refugee problems. Living on the dole of the United Nations there are 874,000 listless indigents, plus a further 120,000 even more listless people on the rugged hills near the Israel border. The latter have not lost their homes and therefore are not getting any dole—but they have lost all means of earning what used to be a fair livelihood. These malcontents number more than half the population of Jordan and constitute 11 per cent of Lebanon's population. The misery in the hills thus reflects the full impact of the refugee's role in Arab relations with the West. This is a very serious danger and so long as it persists there can be no hope for peace on the Arab-Israel frontier. There is therefore little hope of solvency for either Israel or Jordan and the mutual confidence required to create a Middle East defence organisation will be hard to achieve. In this background any Western aid now being given or planned will pay no dividend.

Although the UNRWA has so far settled 2,369 breadwinners (about 12,000 people), what escapes notice is the ever-increasing number of refugees at the rate of 25,000 babies a year. The Arab-Jewish problem presents great difficulty to be solved and the Middle East will hang in the air without having sided with any power bloc in the real sense.

Freer Exchange Market

Since 18th May, the foreign exchange market in several countries of Europe received some freedom towards free operations in certain respects. Authorised banks in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom are now being allowed to arbitrage freely in their respective currencies. Formerly, the exchange market in these countries had to operate with bilateral clearance. A British bank in possession of French francs could sell them in Paris for sterling but not for guilders. A Belgian bank requiring guilders had to obtain them in Amsterdam, although the cross-rates concerned were cheaper in London. The foreign exchange balance arising from this rigid bilateralism were passed on by each bank to its respective central bank. These balances were converted once a month into a truly intra-European multilateral system by the compensations of the *European Payments* Union. This multilateralism operated at the central bank level and commercial banks had no power to undertake multilateral payments.

Since 18th May, it has been made effective at commercial banking level also. This arbitrage is restricted for the present among the authorised banks. Individual traders must continue to obey the directives of exchange control in their own countries. A British trader, for example, will not be allowed to settle in French francs or sterling if he is dealing with France, and he must deliver the proceeds of any exports to France to the Exchange Control. The structure of exchange control therefore remains unchanged. The trader, however, can now enjoy the advantage of a somewhat closer range of dealing prices in European currencies and of an integrated structure of exchange rates. Under the previous bilateral system, there were considerable discrepancies in cross-rates of exchange. Now arbitrage being possible among these countries, the operations of the authorised commercial banks will correct these discrepancies—for each bank naturally seeks to buy exchange in the cheapest market.

In order to facilitate such arbitrage operations, full automatic transferability has been granted between the balances held on account of authorised banks within the circuit. This new development will not have much effect on Britain. Britain's trade was mostly done in sterling, and automatic transferability of sterling had already largely been conceded to these countries, either by prior membership of the transferable account group or by the extension to them of the very liberal administrative transferability that is enjoyed by all EPU countries. This automatic transferability has now been reciprocated and extended by all these seven countries within the group.

For the present, this arbitrage will be limited to spot transactions. No exchange parties have been changed, but a general and uniform realignment of buying and selling limits has been fixed between these countries. As far as possible these limits have been placed at ¾ per cent on either side of the parity. This is well within the limits permitted by the International Monetary Fund and approximately equal to the $2.78 to $2.82 spread in the sterling-dollar rate. Under the new system the turnover of compensations handled by the European Payments Union may show some contraction. Now with arbitrage operations between these countries, much of the clearing that was used to be done monthly through EPU will be done instead day by day and through the market. The net position of any country in EPU, however, will not be changed except to the extent that commercial banks hold larger amounts of European currencies in their working accounts.

Prices of Raw Jute

The position of raw jute prices has been steadily going down from the beginning of this yea Assam bottoms it is now fluctuating

Rs. 20 a maund. The price of hessian has now gone down below Rs. 40 for 100 yds. and for sacking below Rs. 90 for 100 bags. During the control period, the average price of Assam bottoms was Rs. 35 per maund and the market price for hessian was Rs. 55. Jute goods passed for shipment in January 1952 were 84,000 tons and for January 1953, 47,000 tons. Jute goods passed for shipment in February 1952 were 52,000 tons and for February 1953, 36,000 tons. Jute goods passed for shipment in March 1952 were 74,600 and for March 1953, 70,829 tons.

In our April issue, while commenting upon the Indo-Pak Trade Pact, we predicted that the inevitable result of the pact would be the lowering of the prices of Indian raw jute. We have to note with regret that this has come to be true. Not only the falling prices, the Pact will adversely affect India's bid to achieve self-sufficiency in raw jute production. It is a pity that the Commerce and the Industry Minister of the Government of India ignored this aspect of the problem and put forward rather vague pleas for the downward trends in raw jute prices. He says, "It is very difficult to explain the slump in this trade. There has undoubtedly been a changeover all over the world to bulk handling. Another important reason was the phenomenal price that was ruling for jute goods in 1951 which diverted the demand into substitutes besides encouraging the setting-up and expansion of jute mills in other parts of the world. This has happened in Germany and Italy. Pakistan has set up new plants, Philippines has gone in for a plant and there are also talks that plants are coming up in the Middle-East. Many of these plants concentrate on the production of sacking. It is difficult to say whether we should look to a situation when the demand for sacking would slow down or would at least remain stationary."

Pakistan has got only three working jute mills and her raw jute production remains a surplus. Offtake of Pakistani jute by continental mills was not encouraging enough and in her own predicament she sought the Indian market. While Pakistan was faced with falling jute acreage and production as well, India came out as a saviour. But India forgot that her own jute prices and jute production would steadily fall. The inevitable is happening as India allowed herself to be used as a cat's paw to pull the Pakistani jute from its crisis. This is the main reason for the falling prices of Indian jute—other factors are secondary, if not illusory. The Indian jute mills are now to a great extent dictating and consequently forcing down the raw jute prices having been assured of supply from Pakistan.

The Dulles Visit

The short visit of Mr. Dulles has caused little stir in the actual mass of politically minded people. The reason is that no motives, beyond those of an exploratory nature, were ascribed to it. Mr. Dulles himself gave away little to the press, as regards the results of his exploration. All that the reporters could get out of him, were contained in the following statements that appeared in the daily press. We give some short extracts below:

At a Press conference in New Delhi on May 22, Mr Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, expressed his conviction that India was acting according to her best judgment in promoting democracy in the world and stemming the spread of totalitarianism.

There were no two opinions on this question, he said. Differences at times existed as to whether the policies followed by India could produce the desired result, but not on the question whether India was opposed to the spread of Communism.

That the present U.S. Administration would continue to recommend India for financial assistance to supplement her own resources for the execution of the Five-Year Plan was implicit in one of his replies.

He said that the friendly relations between the two countries would result "in continuing co-operation and aid for the Five-Year Plan."

Mr. Dulles, unlike Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Nehru, doubted the efficacy of a conference of leaders of the Big Powers at the present stage. He wished to see Russia and her supporters withdraw from, what he called, wars of aggression in Korea and Indo-China. His other condition was restoration of independence to Austria.

Asked whether he could give an assurance that the U.S. Government would extend "such assistance from time to time in a manner politically acceptable, so that at no stage will the Five-Year Plan be held up for lack of funds," Mr. Dulles said: "It would not be practical for any American Government to give an assurance that at no stage would the Five-Year Plan be held up for lack of funds, and I do not think that your Government asks for or expects any such assurance.

"My conversations here with your leaders and your Planning Commission have made it clear that your nation itself expects to provide most of the funds. We at home in the United States have plenty of long-term projects for ourselves which are being held up for lack of funds. We would very much like to have a guarantee that they would not be held up for lack of funds, but we cannot get it. And when we cannot get it for ourselves, would we be in a position to give such a guarantee to any other people? We do hope that the efforts which the Indian nation itself makes and the financial position of the USA and the friendly relations between our people will result in continuing co-operation and aid for your Five-Year Plan, which, of course, I should add, involves the co-operation of our Congress which has control of the appropriation of funds."

Giving his views on Communism, Mr. Dulles said: "Democracy means rule by the people. Rule by the people can only work when the people are educated and when they exercise such self-restraint and self-control in the interests of the community as is taught by what we call

the moral law. Wherever those conditions exist, democracy works unless, it is physically crushed out by violence, such as is often used by militant Communism or militant Fascism."

A correspondent asked how it was that a great Power like the USA was "constantly haunted by the fear of Communism," while a weak country like India was not.

Mr. Dulles said that the U.S.A. was not afraid in the sense that the question seemed to suggest. "We are entirely confident of our strength and of our power. We have no doubt whatever that, if the Soviet Communist countries should start a general war, the end would be their total destruction. The thing about which we are deeply concerned is that there exist threats to peace and the possibility of war which would bring with it untold misery and destruction.

"We are concerned primarily because of three facts which I do not think can be denied. The first is that Soviet Communism is an absolute dictatorship which teaches and preaches that its goal is to spread its system throughout the entire world. Secondly, the absolute dictatorship maintains a huge military establishment, enlisting vast numbers of manpower in its armed services, far more than any other nation in the world. Thirdly, its Government is not restrained by any moral principles because they have an atheistic creed and they deny the existence of such a thing as a moral law. Wherever such a combination exists in this world we believe that it is foolish not to take precautions. But the taking of those precautions should not be identified with fear."

The Communist Party of India and its fellow-travellers tried to whip-up some anti-U.S.A. demonstrations in order to show their hold on the people. There were isolated demonstrations in some cities, including New Delhi, as the following press reports show:

A procession of several hundred persons organized by the Kanpur District Communist Party paraded the streets of Kanpur on May 20, carrying black flags and an effigy of Mr. Dulles, and raising slogans of "Dulles go back" and "Down with Dulles."

Later a public meeting passed a resolution urging the Government of India to "explain whether Mr. Dulles has been invited on behalf of the Indian Government by Mr. Nehru against the wishes of the people of India."

A public meeting organized in New Delhi on May 21, by the Dulles Boycott Committee passed a resolution urging Mr. Nehru to "make it clear to Mr. Dulles that the Indian people want an immediate end of the Korean war, for which a basis has been provided by the proposals put forward by Korean and Chinese spokesmen."

Mr. B. D. Joshi, M.L.A., of the Praja Socialist Party, presided.

In Calcutta, the effort ended in a flop, as also elsewhere. The people could not be persuaded, anyhow, that the visit was anything but an informal and friendly one.

Significance of Mr. Dulles' Tour

The *Times* commenting on Mr. John Foster Dulles' "consultation tour," including the "the first visit to the Middle East by any U. S. Secretary of State in office" noted that the 20-day tour "speeding from Egypt and Israel as far east as India and Pakistan, embracing no fewer than 12 capitals . . . will be watched with sympathy by the whole free world." The paper regretted that Mr. Dulles was arriving in Egypt after the interruption of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations on the Suez Canal zone. If Britain were to quit the zone without proper safeguards that "could undermine the foundation of any subsequent military planning on terms of realistic strategy."

The paper continued, "Mr. Dulles may hardly have time, in so brief a sojourn in Egypt to unravel this tangled knot, though he will recognise that until the canal question is settled and the hardly less vital problem of the Near East's refugees tackled and solved, his successive hosts may listen with no more than polite attention to any exposition of grand strategy or economic reconstruction.

"Turkey and Israel, on the Western fringe, and Pakistan on the Eastern, will offer effective resistance to an aggressor if given sufficient aid. But almost certainly such resistance will not be offered within the next decade by the large area between them."

In its view Mr. Dulles would only succeed in his efforts for the formation of a Middle East Defence Organisation, if he could effect a union of Western and Arab interests which was absent at present.

Naturally enough great importance was attached to his visit to New Delhi. Mr. Ned Russel wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "It is significant that the longest visit of the tour will be at New Delhi where Mr. Dulles expects to have some long and momentous talks with Premier Nehru. He will be there four days." He added, "The Dulles-Nehru talks may well influence the trend of events in South-east Asia and the Far East."

Foreign Capital in Egypt

Exploitation is the root cause of all tensions and suspicions between the West and the East.

Dr. Fouad Ibrahim writes in the *Proche-Orient*: "Egypt will take a long time to forget the results of foreign capitulations and the intervention of European finance in determining her national politics. It must not be overlooked that foreign capital holds the strings of industry and foreign competition is most evident in the agricultural field, specially with regard to cotton."

Tracing the history of the investment of foreign capital in Egypt Dr. Ibrahim writes that "The technical assistance granted by France to Mohamed Ali made the Western powers realise the imp

'rom a military as well as an economic view-

re was hardly any competition from Egyptian and foreign capital rapidly flew into the and foreign societies, backed by their own .cnts, were granted concessions to carry out vorks in the Nile Valley. To quote Dr. , "Investment of British capital figured in the nd when Khedive Abbas granted the conces- railway communications between Alexandria ro, to England. The advent of Said Pasha's ıce to the throne marked a favourable turn ıch influence. The Khedive's friendship for ɔpened the way for the renewal of the Suez enterprise, which although several times l by the Sainte Simonien Society, had been ly turned down each time by the Cairo ıent.

w, however, that the final project of its ı was agreed upon in 1854, the inflow of capital into Egypt reached its peak. The nal Company sold 207,111 shares in France ,506 shares were put aside for England, the United States and Russia. The latter abstained however, and Said Pasha profited them for himself. It was these same shares as ıthers belonging to the Khedive, which Ismail ld to England in 1875.

spendthrift nature of both Said and Ismail as to prove a primordial factor in encouragn finance. The State on one side having to to the Khedive's luxurious caprices, on the ffering from the foreign capitulations imposed vas not able to draw these expenditures out ıcome derived from taxation. The State had way out but to make a loan and as the resources of the country itself were limited, application could be made to no other but apital."

ɔnding of money and usury were prohibited m law. Egypt was deprived of Banks and stablishments. So once again an appeal had ıde to foreigners and their capital and as a gypt found herself amidst an important ɔf Banks and Credit Establishments. "The this new fruit, reaped by foreign capital, was vhen in 1898, the National Bank of Egypt ɔlished by London finance men and in 1880, t Foucier Egyptien by the Suarez Brothers.

British occupation of the country, which own justification in the slogan of having to oreigners and their property, marked the se of the history of foreign investments in Investment increased rapidly, while in 1884 ıts did not register more than 6 million a 1914 the figure recorded was 71.253 million

There was a decline in foreign investments after the declaration of the Termination of the Protectorate and the Independence of Egypt. Compared to 1917 which registered 71,253,000 pounds of foreign investment, 1937 saw only 45,183,000 pounds. With the abolition of Foreign Capitulations at Montreaux in 1937, the era of discrimination which had been all favourable to the foreigner's position to the detriment of Egyptian interests was brought to an end. The Egyptian State at last had the right to claim taxation. The law of 1947 limited the participation of foreign capital in anonymous society to 49 per cent. Other legislative measures were adopted aiming at the Egyptianization of employers, officials and labourers of the specified industries. A later legislation in February, 1952, however, marked a partial retreat in the face of strong criticism and stipulated the participation of foreign capital in anonymous societies at 51 per cent as compared to 49 per cent in 1947.

U.S.A. and Kashmir

In an editorial comment on the subject, the *Leader* of May 20 writes that the statements of Mr. Adlai Stevenson in New Delhi and Karachi were self-contradictory. In New Delhi, he had said that the American people had the warmest regards for India, whereas in Karachi he had said that he would make bold to state that the position of Pakistan on Kashmir was better understood in the United States than that of India. India would reasonably resent the statement inasmuch as that statement meant that America's sympathies were with the aggressor.

The paper comments that "It is now easy to understand why the Security Council whose attention was drawn to Pakistani aggression in Kashmir as long as January, 1948, has not yet been able to settle the Kashmir question. The United States dominates the Security Council and the United States' sympathies are with Pakistan. Because of the United States' sympathy the Security Council has not yet passed a resolution on Kashmir on the lines of the resolution it passed on Korea on June 27, 1950."

The reason for this favourable U. S. treatment of Pakistan by which she had been accorded an equal status with India on Kashmir could only be explained by the fact that the Pakistan rulers were more amenable to American wishes. Mr. Stevenson had indirectly admitted that the U.S.A. was looking for military bases in South East Asia. That proved, continues the paper that "Sheik Abdullah was right when he said that the Pakistan Government had promised the United States bases in Kashmir."

Mr. Stevenson's statement of sympathy with Pakistan was all the more reprehensible because it had been made at a time when Pandit Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali were about to have heart-

to-heart talks on Kashmir and other issues. It naturally gave weight to Communist allegations that the United States wanted to prevent India and Pakistan from coming together because she had her own axe to grind in Kashmir.

U.S. Air Bases in Pakistan

The *Leader* in its issue dated the 21st May reports the following :

"Tokyo, May 19.—In a series of secret talks between Pakistan and the U.S.A. efforts are being made to have U.S. air bases in West Pakistan and in return for this Pakistan is trying to get new arms from the U.S.A. to build up her Army into a well-drilled and efficient fighting unit, says an article published in English *Mainichi* here.

"The U.S.A. does not want to strike this deal with Pakistan at the cost of alienating India, the paper adds. During his stay in Karachi and New Delhi, Mr. Dulles will make efforts to have some sort of rapproachment between the two countries so that it may be easy for the U.S.A. to make the bargain with Pakistan."

Air bases in Pakistan would enable the U.S.A. to be within an easy air-striking distance of strategic Russian manufacturing centres and great oil fields. No other bases in the world had such strategic value. And Pakistan was quite willing to offer them to the U.S.A. provided she was supplied with new arms. A strong Pakistani Army was not undesirable to the "free world" but at the same time it could provide an offensive punch for a show-down fight with India over Kashmir. And that was the rub, because the U.S.A. could not ignore India.

Eisenhower on Foreign Aid

President Eisenhower in a message to the U. S. Congress urged for an extension of the Mutual Security Programme in 1954. The programme presented by him, included approximately $5,250 million for military weapons and direct military support to other countries and about $550 million for technical, economic and development aid. The total expenditure under the programme was about $1,800 million less than provided in the Truman administration's 1954 Budget.

Defining the policies he proposed the Congress to adopt, the President declared that the U.S.A. and her friends must be ready to build up their defences, over a prolonged period, if required; at the same time avoiding the dangers of a too rapid military build-up which might seriously dislocate the economy. The U.S.A. should undertake help to other countries with particular attention to the Far East. Lastly, since *it was "impossible to* forecast precisely the year and *moment when the point of maximum* military danger *may occur, the only prudent course* calls for a steady military build-up with our partners throughout the world, sustained and planned so as to use our joint capabilities with maximum efficiency and minimum strain."

American Criticism of Nehru

Several U. S. Congressmen criticized Mr. Nehru's statement that a solution was more likely to be found in the Communist proposal than in the latest U.N. command counter-proposals. Democratic Senator, Mike Mansfield, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that Pandit Nehru failed to understand the situation and was wrong. A Republican Senator, Everett Dirksen said that other nations should remember that the U.S.A. was carrying the lion's share of the load in blood in Korea. Those nations must accept a greater responsibility if their words were to have greater effect.

The *Leader's* special correspondent in New York wrote on May 18 that Mr. Nehru's opinion on the Communist proposals on Korea had appeared in large headlines which put him in the position of outright support for those proposals. According to that correspondent, "Hearst's journal *American* said, 'Mr. Nehru for Red plan to end Korean war.' The headline in the Scripps-Howard *World Telegram* read, 'Neutral India backs Red Truce plan against U.S.A.' The word 'neutral' was in quotes. Radio news broadcasters are saying that Mr. Nehru 'endorsed' Communist proposals."

"First reaction from certain Washington quarters," wrote the correspondent, "has been to question India's qualifications to act as neutral. . . . There are other observers who are questioning the wisdom of Mr. Nehru's observation at a moment when India has been accepted by both sides as a neutral and proposed by the U.N. side as Chairman and the real neutral among the neutrals."

But a more critical view was taken about Mr. Nehru's willingness to welcome any solution acceptable to the parties concerned, the implication of his statement being taken to mean that no matters of principle were involved and that India would not even stand by voluntary repatriation if the Communists made enough of a fuss about it.

Indo-China

The struggle in Indo-China has been shown up in quite a new light by King Novodom Sihanoug of Cambodia. The entire situation has been admirably summarized in the following letter to the *New York Times* by Sardar J. J. Singh of the India League in U.S.A. The only point we would mention in this connection is that Britain did not leave India voluntarily as is supposed in many quarters. The liquidation took place after long-drawn struggle culminaintg in the '42 disturbances during which six British divisions were

used for years to dragoon the Indians. The effort was in vain, although over 10,000 Indians were shot and atrocities of all kinds perpetrated, which resulted in the disaffection of the Indian Army. This last was the deciding factor in the decision to quit India, which act was done with the best of grace possible under the circumstances.

France is even a more obdurate colonial power, so the pressure must be even greater before she will see reason. We append the letter below:

To The Editor of the *New York Times*,

"Vietminh forces are spreading across Laos, one of the three Associated States of Indo-China, and Luang Prabang, its capital, has already been surrounded.

"In Vietnam, another one of the three Associated States of Indo-China, the see-saw war has been going on for the past six years between the Vietminh forces, under the leadership of the erstwhile Nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh, and the French-Vietnamese forces. The third State, Cambodia, has virtually served notice on the French that unless complete freedom is guaranteed to Cambodia its fall to the Communist forces is a certainty.

"King Norodom Sihanoug of Cambodia created a sensation when, in his recent press conference in New York, he bluntly stated that unless Cambodia became as free as 'India and Pakistan,' he would not be able to lead his people against Communist invaders. Notwithstanding the displeasure and threats of the French, this warning was repeated by Cambodain representatives in Paris, and now the Cambodian Cabinet has issued the following communique : 'The Khmer nation (Cambodia), provided complete independence is accorded it by its powerful friend, is ready to fight fiercely to the last extreme against the Communist invader, in perfect co-operation with France and with the assistance of the powerful allies with whom Cambodia shares the ideal of peace and liberty.

"Against all these dangerous developments in the three States of Indo-China the only steps so far taken are to send more United States arms, as recenly announced by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

"Independent Asian observers, who loathe world communism as much as any of the Western nations, are of the opinion that just giving greater economic and military aid to the French will neither solve the problem of Indo-China nor stop the Communist invaders. I know of no Asian leader who would be willing to compare the Communist march into Laos with the North Korean march into South Korea. In their eyes the struggle in Indo-China has been going on for several years and it has been a struggle to wrest freedom from French colonial rule.

"There is no gainsaying the fact that Ho Chi Minh, even though he may now be in the hands of the Communists, is still a highly respected name in all of Indo-China, and he has followers spread all over Indo-China. When I was in Indo-China last year I was told that it was a well-recognized fact that "Ho Men" were everywhere and many Vietnamese, living in territory under the French rule, were secretly contributing large amounts of money to Ho Chi Minh's funds. Recently, on his visit to Indo-China, Gen. Mark W. Clark said, 'The enemy is everywhere, coming through the walls, the ceilings and the floors.' This sort of situation cannot be combated simply by sending additional United States arms.

"Many have stated this before, and the time has come to state it again, even more forcefully : the French must make a definite declaration, just as the British did in the case of India, setting a date for Indo-China to be completely free. Only such a declaration, perhaps with the backing of the United Nations, will destroy the enemy from 'the walls, the ceilings and the floors.' There is no greater deterrent to the spread of communism in Asian countries than the spirit of nationalism and the pride of being a sovereign nation. It is this spirit of nationalism and dedication to safeguarding the sovereignity of their countries which has stopped Communist forces in their tracks in the newly freed nations like India, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia.

"The situation is deteriorating rapidly. I would urge the United States delegation at the United Nations to call for the immediate reassembling of the General Assembly for the sole purpose of discussing the Indo-China situation."

J. J. SINGH

New York, May 5, 1953.

Events in Tunisia

Tunisia is in revolt. The French imperialists have let loose an orgy of violence and fraud to maintain themselves in power and the recent municipal elections were a mere smokescreen to cover up these facts. Giving the background of the local elections in Tunisia, the *Vigil* says that the country had been under martial law for the past 15 months. The Sovereign, the Bey, was a virtual prisoner in his palace; the so-called "Baccouche Cabinet" was illegally constituted and the members of the legal Chenik Cabinet were deprived of powers or in exile. The government was in the hands of the French Resident-General who used the French army and police to enforce his order. According to the writer, "A regular campaign of extermination is being waged against the nationalist movement—the Destour Party—and against the free Trade Unions. In this task, as is now well-known, the army and the police are aided by the French terrorist organisation known as the Red Hand, which, protected by the Resident-General and his high police officers, can commit mur-

ders and attacks on life, and property with impunity. This organisation has struck over 100 times in the last few months against the Trade Union leaders, even the children and the private physician of the Bey, and many others including the legal Prime Minister, M'hamed Chenik . . . There are two permanent military tribunals functioning in Tunis: they pronounce about 20 heavy sentences each week; 13 have been condemned to death since last December. Executions and hard labour are given on the basis of summary investigations and on 'confessions' extorted by means of the most brutal and disgusting forms of physical torture, a fact admitted by the International Commission on concentration camps which visited Tunisia recently.

"Thus under these conditions any sort of election would be suspect. But the French left nothing to chance. The night before the district elections were to be held in April last, police squads scoured the districts, and arrested all local leaders 'as a temporary measure.' The next morning the authorities used the troops and the police to drive the people to the polls; the boycott was widespread however and the Bey issued a strong protest against these practices which by some miscalculation on the French part, reached the outside press. Less than 9 per cent of the electorate voted and the 'elections' proved to be a complete fiasco."

The resistance of the Tunisians to these elections, according to the writer, was not wholly due to the fact that the country was under a military dictatorship and the popular leaders were all in jail. There was an "even more important principle at stake, the very principle in fact, upon which the Franco-Tunisian negotiations broke down 17 months ago. It is the principle of co-sovereignty whereby the French are trying to force the Tunisians to accept the French colonialists in their country as partners in the country's sovereignty. Tunisians have at all times refused to admit this theory," their basic stand being that Tunisia was a sovereign State in treaty relations with France and as such no foreigner had the right to vote or stand as candidates in any Tunisian election. "Thus," says the writer, "even if internal conditions had been more favourable, the Tunisians would have opposed the elections all the same."

Labour Victory in Local Elections in U.K.

Commenting on the Labour Party's gains in the local elections in England and Wales the Conservative *Yorkshire Post* writes: "The fact must be faced that the conservatives have suffered a defeat. No good will be done by attempting to extenuate it."

The Labour *Daily Herald* described the results as a "formidable swing to Labour," and says that the "Tories should not be so surprised" because Mr. Butler's budget had paved the way for it. Housewives "were still suffering from the effects of his first budget. He deliberately pushed up food prices and bus fares. He helped to push up the rates. Memories are not so short as the Chancellor hoped. And the voters who remembered the past also looked to the future."

The Liberal *News Chronicle* pointed out that Labour could not feel it was on the right road—"for the electorate may have been voting against some grievance rather than in favour of a defined programme."

Display of Indian Art in U.S.A.

The *USIS* reports: "Nine centuries of Indian paintings, arts and crafts are now on display in a special gallery devoted exclusively to Indian art at the well-known Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City." The gallery would be open indefinitely. Most of the paintings displayed belonged to the Moghul School. There were a number of paintings belonging to the Rajput school also.

"Painted cottons, gold jewellery and a marble support inlaid with semi-precious stones from the audience hall of the Delhi palace complete the exhibit. Of special interest to Westerners is a 17th century painted cotton depicting European figures—including an equestrian statue of England's Charles I." The display also included gold anklets, necklaces and bracelets from the 17th to 19th centuries.

It is reported that the Metropolitan was participating in discussions looking toward the circulation in the United States of a major Indian art show.

In addition to the Metropolitan, several other large museums in the United States had collections of Indian art, the largest being housed in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Chicago, Kansas City and Seattle were other American cities whose museums were noted for their collections of Indian art. According to the report, "Political developments in India, as well as in other parts of Asia, have heightened an already lively interest among many Americans in the arts of these areas."

Fascism in Action on Indian Soil

Mr. Mario Rodrigues of the Goan People's Party, who had escaped from a Portuguese jail in Goa in March, gave a description of the conditions in Goan jails before a number of Bombay newsmen, reports the *Leader*. According to the paper, he said that "The Panjim 'quarter general' is a sort of Gestapo headquarters in Goa where political prisoners are first taken after arrest for interrogation. The usual practice is to keep the prisoners without food or water for days together and subject them to beating with a rubber band which does not leave any mark on the surface of the skin but results in severe muscular pain and does not allow any sleep."

He declared the Goan resistance movement was planning to go into "direct action in the near future" against the Portuguese administration in Goa.

Famine

Acute scarcity and famine conditions are prevailing in certain parts of the country. Early in May, Mr. Nehru took up a tour of the scarcity affected areas of Maharashtra. According to a *PTI* despatch, the entire area along the 145-mile route of his tour through Ahmednagar and Nasik lay barren with the soil almost reduced to dust in the absence of rain in the past two years. Everywhere people gathered to tell their distress to the Prime Minister.

In Rajasthan, according to a report published in the *Leader*, it was officially stated that 22,66,659 people were affected by scarcity in Bikaner, Jodhpur and Udaipur divisions. The Rajasthan Government had decided to provide Rs. 10 lacs for relief measures in addition to Rs. 37½ lakhs for relief and Rs. 30 lakhs for taccavi loans, provided in the current year's budget.

Mr. Motichand Khazanchi, a Congress member of the Rajasthan State Assembly, reported after a tour of several villages in Bikaner district that he found people eating bread made of barks and leaves. Many people had no purchasing power and were therefore resorting to the use of barks.

The Government had opened relief centres in the form of construction of roads, excavation of tanks and repairs and construction of wells and tanks to provide employment to the affected people.

In West Bengal too about 7 lakhs of people in the Sunderban area are affected by scarcity. This year there has been a particularly acute shortage of drinking water. The weekly *West Bengal* reports that the Government had launched upon a programme of road construction and sinking of tube-wells in the area. A lakh of rupees had already been sanctioned for test relief and a proposal for a further sum of Rs. 7½ lakhs for the purpose was under examination.

Lack of purchasing power is the main factor in all the distress in the scarcity areas. There is no attempt as yet to tackle this problem. In the matter of relief also much has been left to chance, thereby leaving loopholes for waste and theft.

Survey of Middle Class Economy

Interesting data have been revealed by an enquiry conducted among the middle class families of Madras City. According to Dr. B. Natarajan, Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras, who conducted the survey of the living conditions of middle class families, 61 per cent of the middle class families in Madras City lived beyond their means and 31 per cent saved out of their incomes.

The sample survey covered 1,336 families with a total population of 7,803, out of the 40,000 families assessed to professional tax by the Madras State Government. The families were stratified into five groups, namely, those with an income (1) between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199 per mensem, (2) between Rs. 200 and Rs. 299 p.m., (3) between Rs. 300 and Rs. 399 p.m., (4) Rs. 400 and Rs. 499 p.m., (5) between Rs. 500 and Rs. 599 p.m. and, (6) Rs. 600 and over.

The Survey revealed that while deficit budgets were found in all the strata of the middle class, the percentage of surplus budgets increased with the increase in incomes. "The average expenditure per family exceeds average income in the case of families whose incomes range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 399 per month and income exceeds expenditure slightly in the case of families enjoying a higher income. The extent of over-reaching the income is the highest in the income group between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199. Against an average income of Rs. 152-8 per month, the families in this group spend Rs. 169-3."

The Survey also revealed that the average size of the family got larger with the rise in income—4.72 in the first group rising to 8.75 in the sixth. The sex composition of the families matched each other, the average family of 5.8 persons being made up of 1.8 men, 1.8 women, 1.1 boys and 1.1 girls.

"Literacy which stands at 75 per cent for all the groups together, is relatively higher among the three higher income groups than in the lower income groups.

"Earners in all the families under survey totalled 1,976 of whom 1,848 were men and 128 women. Although the average number of earners increased from 1.1 in the first group to 27 in the sixth the percentage of earners to population does not vary widely as between the different income groups.

"The 1,336 families made a total monthly income of Rs. 3,75,581 the average working to Rs. 281. The average income of the different groups varies from Rs. 153 in the first to Rs. 793 in the sixth."

The total expenditure incurred by all the families in the sample was Rs. 386,623, an average of Rs. 289-7 per month per family. It was revealed that "Expenditure on food-grains is the largest single item in all the income groups to Rs. 298 in the sixth. The second largest item of expenditure is the miscellaneous group which includes education, recreation, domestic services, etc. It varies from Rs. 38-6 in the first group to Rs. 243-8 in the sixth."

"Expenditure on housing figures as the third largest item in the lower three groups while it is expenditure on clothing in the higher three groups. Expenditure on furniture is the lowest for all groups.

"While the average expenditure on toilet requisites varies from Rs. 3-2 in the first group, to Rs. 12-4 in the sixth group, religion and charity command only between Rs. 1-8 and Rs. 7-14."

Food and Population

M. Vasily Nemchinov writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*: "For a long time now the food problem has been attracting world-wide attention. The discussions on this subject have brought out two aspects: the inter-relation of food production and

growth of population, and over-production in some areas accompanied by acute shortage and hunger in others."

The report of the U.N.F.A.O. for 1951-52 recorded that food production in the Far East was down by 10 per cent compared with pre-war times and in the Latin American countries by about 8 per cent. Mr. Dodd, Director of the FAO ,declared: "If half the people in the overcrowded, underdeveloped areas of the world were to die today, there would still not be enough food to provide a decent diet for those that were left."

Some saw the remedy in a reduction of the population. Their suggestions ranged "from compulsory birth control down to destructive wars. That, in fact, is the solution offered by Vogt, Pendell, Pitkin and other American Neo-Malthusians."

According to the writer, "These plans are unsound in their very fundamentals" because "they are based on the erroneous theory that there is a limit to the potentialities for increasing food production." In his view, widespread hunger is not due to any immutable factors inherent in the nature of human relationships. "Food shortages in many countries," says he, "spring from defects in their social and economic systems. If the survival of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture are eliminated and if agriculture is freed from the unsupportable burden of land rent, the situation will change. Bold industrialisation of the economically backward countries coupled with employment of the achievements in agronomy, chemistry, biology and other sciences, would mean a radical change for the better in their agricultural development too."

Delimitation Commission Recommendations

The Delimitation Commission of India's proposals regarding the number of seats in the House of the People and State Assemblies on the basis of the 1951 census were published on May 18 in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, reports the *Press Trust of India*.

According to the report, "The number of elective seats in the House of the People is proposed to be raised from 495 to 500—the maximum permitted under the Constitution. Bombay is to get four more, the residuary State of Madras and the new State of Andhra together two more than the present undivided Madras, Mysore two more on the assumption that the major part of Bellary district will be transferred to Mysore when the Andhra State is formed and Travancore-Cochin and Rajasthan one more each. Punjab, Vindhya Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Ajmer will have one less each in the popular elected Chamber of Parliament.

"In the majority of cases the existing strength of the Legislative Assemblies has been maintained unaltered but the Commission has found a change necessary in a few States.

"*After the formation of* Andhra State, Madras is to have an Assembly of 245 and Andhra an Assembly of 168 members.

"Explaining the basis of the allocation, the Commission says, taking the Part 'C' States first, four of them, Tripura, Manipur, Kutch and Bilaspur, which have no Legislative Assemblies, have to be allotted the same number of seats as they have at present, namely, 2, 2, 2 and 1 respectively. Coorg also must obviously continue to have one seat as at present. On the All-India average of 7.22 lakhs per seat, the States of Vindhya Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Ajmer cannot continue to enjoy the weightage they have at present in the House of the People.

"In each of these cases, the number of representatives has been reduced by one so that these four States get 5, 3, 2 and 1 respectively, or 11 seats in all. The representation of Bhopal which has a population of 8, 36, 474 cannot very well be reduced from 2 to 1, and accordingly the present number of 2 has been retained for that State. The total number of seats allotted to the Part 'C' States thus comes to 21.

"The allocation of the remaining 479 seats among the Part 'A' and Part 'B' States has been made strictly on the basis of the latest census figures in the following manner. The total population of these States comes to 351,099,040 which, divided by 479, gives an average of 732,983 per seat. The population of each State is divided by this latter number and the nearest integral number of seats allotted to that State. Similarly, the number of seats proposed to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, if any, in each State, has been calculated strictly in accordance with the provisions of Article 330, fractions less than one-half being ignored and fractions not less than one-half being taken as one.

"Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have at present a comparatively high multiple of 8. The Commission proposes to maintain it in both the States, mainly because of the low density of population 163 and 117, respectively, per square mile and poor communications.

"The Commission has specified June 3, 1953, as the date before which any objections or suggestions have to be submitted in regard to its proposals. The *Gazette* also publishes minutes of dissent."

Recommendations of the Bar Committee

The All-India Bar Committee, set up by the Government of India in 1951 with Justice S. R. Das of the Supreme Court as Chairman and seven other members, had recommended the creation of an all-India Bar Council consisting of (*a*) two Judges of the Supreme Court who had been advocates, to be nominated by the Chief Justice of India, (*b*) the Attorney-General of India and the Solicitor-General of India as ex-officio members, (*c*) delegates from the State Bar Councils, and (*d*) three members to be elected by the Supreme Court Bar Association from out of their number who should ordinarily be resident in the State of Delhi and practising in the Supreme Court.

The Committee's work and recommendations had assumed 'the continued existence of the present legal system in India, out of which present legal profession has grown up.'

The *PTI* reports that the Committee recommended that "For the first two elections the delegates from State Bar Councils will be elected on the following basis: (1) each State Bar Council will elect one from amongst their number, (2) each State Bar Council having on a prescribed date more than 1,000 advocates entered on its register will elect one additional member who shall not be a member of that Bar Council.

"Excepting the judges and the ex-officio members, the other members of the all-India council would hold office for six years.

"The all-India Bar Council should maintain a common roll of advocates; prescribe qualifications for admission of advocates and the fees to be paid; consider cases where the State Bar Council is of opinion that application for admission of any candidate should be refused; prescribe rules of professional conduct and etiquette; prescribe the procedure for enquiry into cases of misconduct by State Councils and hear appeals; and lay down standards of legal education and other such matters.

"State Bar Councils will be set up for each of the Part 'A' and Part 'B' States. Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh will have a common State Bar Council. Delhi and Himachal Pradesh will be attached to the Punjab Bar Council, Ajmer-Merwara to Rajasthan, Bhopal to Madhya Bharat, Kutch to Saurashtra, Manipur to Assam, Tripura to West Bengal, and Coorg to Mysore.

"Each State Bar Council shall consist of two Judges of the High Court who have been advocates to be nominated by the Chief Justice, the Advocate-General, or if there is no such office, the Government advocate or standing counsel, and 15 elected members. The bar councils of Assam, Orissa, Saurashtra and Pepsu will only have one Judge instead of two and 10 members instead of 15.

"The seats in the State Councils will be so distributed that interests of those practising in the High Court of the State and in the district courts will be kept in view."

The Committee had also recommended the present dual system in the Supreme Court and the creation of a system of acting advocates for the Supreme Court.

The Committee had, however, expressed the view that no case had been made out before it for the abolition of the dual system as it obtained in the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts. The system in those two High Courts could continue.

The Committee had suggested a uniform qualification for admission to the roll of advocates under which a person seeking enrolment must possess a law degree in addition to a degree in arts, science or commerce. The person concerned should also have undergone a further period of one year's apprenticeship and passed an apprenticeship examination. State Bar Councils, or in case of their inability the Universities in the State, should hold such examinations.

India's First Mercury Mine Discovered

The *Hitavada* in its issue dated May 5 contained a report to the effect that presence of large deposits of mercury had recently been detected in one of the manganese mines in Ticora tahsil in Bhandara district in Madhya Pradesh. According to a staff reporter of the paper, the mine which was privately owned had been temporarily closed, following the discovery of mercury and some of the big bosses of the mining industry of M.P. were frantically trying to secure fresh contract of that particular mine. It was not known if the Government of India were aware of the discovery.

Mercury being in the category of strategic materials, its value as a potential dollar earner was immense. Therefore it should justly be considered a national asset and the mine should be nationalised, the report added.

What is of even more importance, in our opinion, is that the mine should belong to the nation and the products be carefully husbanded for future emergencies.

Future of Hyderabad

The *People* reports that a meeting of the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee would be convened shortly to decide the future of Hyderabad. It was significant that the secretaries of the Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra P.C.C 's had also been invited to attend the meeting. According to the political correspondent of the paper, "The question of settling the future of the State has become necessary to reopen in view of the inability of the Andhra leaders to select a capital for their new State. They are openly saying that Hyderabad will be the logical capital. Kannadigas and Maharashtrians agree that Hyderabad belongs to Andhra. It is also conceded that if the Andhra State is coming a Visala Andhra State will not remain far behind. Why should not the Government face the inevitable? Why should money be wasted on the building of a camp capital?"

It was also being strongly contended that if the Maharaja of Kashmir could go, there was no reason why the Nizam of Hyderabad also should not quit.

Preservation of Wild-life

Science and Culture writes: "In recent years protection of Nature and preservation of wild-life, particularly various types of animals living within the sylvan surroundings, attracted world attention due to fast depleting wild-life in different parts of the globe."

In India, the diminution of natural resources was particularly evident where the wants of a vastly increased population had been met by uncontrolled and unwise encroachment on natural resources leading to the consequent disturbance of the delicate balance between man and his natural environments with grave

detritment to the productivity of the soil through erosion, etc. Though a number of State Governments had framed laws against indiscriminate shooting, "poaching, hunting with flashlights, netting, trapping, dynamiting and various other methods of destruction of wild-life with modern weapon and motor transport have of late become rampant, as a result of which some of the wild fauna are on the verge of extinction. This applies also to plant life. Plant hunters of India and sometimes from countries overseas in their frequent botanical raids have rendered our countryside and forests almost denuded of orchids, primulas, lilies and many other horticulturally and medicinally valuable plants well-known for their beauty and healing properties. Some of the rare species of plants too are almost going to be extinct."

In the view of the paper, "A wise policy of wild-life conservaiton should also provide for : (1) Adequate laws of protection, (2) adequate areas as permanent sanctuaries or refuges for species in their known habitat, and (3) adequate organization to enforce the former and administer the latter."

The Government of India in a resolution, dated the 4th April, 1952, announced the constitution of a Central Board for Wild Life under the chairmanship of the Maharaja of Mysore, "with a view to prevent the extinction of any species and their protection in balance with natural and human environment." The Board was to devise among other things "ways and means of conservation and control of wild life through co-ordinated legislative and practical measures. . . ."

Dr. Sunder Lal Hora writes in *Science and Culture* that the inaugural meeting of the Board was held at Mysore from November 25 to December 1, 1952. Four Technical Committees were formed. Their recommendations were now before the Government for consideration. The recommendations included the proposals for the setting-up of National Parks and Sanctuaries, the appointment of State Wild Life Boards, and co-ordination of the activities of such departments as Forests, Agriculture, Scientific Research, Transportation, Information and Broadcasting in matters of publicity and education of the public concerning wild life. It was also suggested that the transport of living animals and birds caught in India should be prohibited from 1st April to 30th September, except for exchange of animals for zoos, movements of circuses, etc.

Ignorance of Candidates

The Uttar Pradesh Public Service Commission in a review of the combined competitive examination, 1951, says, "Quite a number of candidates showed a most deplorable lack of knowledge of even elementary geography and science."

Out of the 696 candidates who had appeared in the examination, 106, including four scheduled caste candidates, were called for the *viva voce* test. Four of *the 12 women candidates* who had sat for the *examination were called for viva voce* test, but none *were found suitable for appointment.*

According to a summary of the review published in the *Leader,* some of the candidates did not have any sense of composition of Hindi and committed inexcusable spelling mistakes. The general quality of the essays was good. There were a few really very good scripts. Some candidates appeared to possess only a superficial knowledge of day-to-day developments and their expression lacked precision. The standard of the answer papers on general knowledge was definitely below what one might fairly expect from university graduates. The poverty of the general knowledge of the candidates was really shocking.

Exploitation of the Unemployed

The *Clarion,* a Calcutta weekly, has drawn the attention of all concerned to the racket that is going on with the unemployed. Driven by hunger and humiliation persons out of employment for long periods often grasped at anything that might come their way. People with good qualifications often accepted jobs carrying salaries far below those paid to unskilled labourers. But even when a man got a job there was no certainty that he would get his remuneration. The paper gives a characteristic description of this practice.

According to it, there were employers whose aim was to run their businesses as far as possible on unpaid labour. To quote the paper, "An unemployed person after fruitless search, which may extend over many months, is called for an interview. Usually, he is ushered into a one-room office, furnished with the minimum of tables and hearing all the appearances of a mushroom concern. Even if he is not impressed by what he sees, there is always the gnawing hunger of months and the terribly bleak outlook of continued unemployment to goad him into taking a chance. The prospective employer knows these things. They are, in fact, his trump cards."

The job-seeker is driven to accept the minimum remuneration and is required to do all kinds of work. His work is generally never specified nor does he ever receive an appointment letter. "The month passes but no pay-day arrives. A newcomer to a firm is usually reluctant to earn the reputation for being troublesome, particularly, just when starting his career with a concern. So he rather diffidently approaches the boss. He is informed that the matter is being looked into. This takes about a month by which time the next pay-day should come along. It does not, and if the employee goes on, it is quite possible that the next month will also prove payless."

In some cases, there is delayed payment, but in most cases the poor employee never gets his salary.

NOTICE

Subscribers, advertisers, selling agents and publicity agents are requested to address *all* business letters, etc., including letters intimating change of address or non-receipt, to the Manager, *Modern Review,* and *not* to the Editor, for prompt action.

MANAGER—The Modern Review

SARVODAYA AND MARXISM

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

At a recent meeting in Madura, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa is stated to have observed that

> "Gandhiji's ideals were already in practice in Russia to a certain extent" and that "though the Russian ideal was not Sarvodaya in the fullest sense of the term, the social order in Russia today very much approximated in certain respects to Gandhian ideals."

We are sorry to find that during the last few months the learned Professor, consciously or unconsciously, has been instrumental in creating great confusion of thought in the public mind about the twin ideologies of Gandhism and Communism. It is, therefore, no longer desirable to allow his statements and utterances to go unchallenged.

It is, undoubtedly, true that we are all dissatisfied with the Capitalist way of thinking; Capitalism as a creed and economic philosophy is now dead as dodo. We are also fully conscious of the fact that the prevailing economic conditions in India are far from satisfactory and that the problems of poverty, unemployment and economic inequalities need be tackled with a sense of urgency. Leaders of different political parties are gradually realising the inevitability of Gandhian approach to most of our economic maladies and the dynamic philosophy of Sarvodaya is being increasingly appreciated with a sense of realism and practical commonsense. But to suggest even vaguely that Sarvodaya and Marxism are similar in certain respects and that Gandhism is being followed in Russia is to render great disservice both to Sarvodaya and Marxism. The two ideologies are, indeed, poles asunder and their basic principles are almost diametrically opposed to each other. Shri K. G. Mashruwala, the well-known authority on Gandhian thought, took special pains to write a series of articles in the *Harijan* to strongly repudiate that suggestion that "Gandhism is Communism minus violence." These articles have since been published in the form of a booklet entitled *Gandhi and Marx*.

> "Gandhism and Marxism," observes Shri Mashruwala, "are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike."

It is, certainly, a matter for regret that Prof. Kumarappa appears to be, of late, suffering from such a colour-blindness.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has also been repeatedly telling us that the "two ideologies are irreconcilable and the differences between them are fundamental." On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, Vinobaji remarked :

> "Two persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference; one breathed, the other did not."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has stated several times that

> "*Ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength.*"

According to him, there is greater similarity between Marxism and Capitalism because both attach great importance to material needs and physical welfare rather than to moral standards and spiritual well-being. Mahatma Gandhi also regarded Bolshevism as "the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization" and stated :

> "In so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me."

Gandhiji always detested this "mad race after money and material goods" and laid great stress on a higher 'Standard of *Life*' rather than merely a high standard of living.

The fact of the matter is that Sarvodaya and Marxism are basically dissimilar and any attempt to reconcile them is bound to prove futile and even hazardous. To Gandhiji, spiritual values were of the essence in all aspects of human existence; to the Marxists, religion and philosophy are the "opium of the poor." The first word of religion," said Engels, "is a lie." Lenin regarded it as "one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." The Marxists regard Mind as "a derivative of Matter." To them the conception of a Soul and spiritual values are, more or less, fantastic non-sense and betray bourgeois mentality. Moreover, Gandhiji attached great importance to the means and methods and never believed in the theory of ends justifying the means. While the Mahatma insisted on Truth and Non-violence even for the achievement of Indian Swaraj, Lenin thought it necessary "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth" for the achievement of his objectives.

> "Even though Russia has many achievements to her credit," wrote Gandhiji in 1942, "her work will not endure unless her methods are clean."

Mahatmaji was convinced that permanent good could never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Writing in the *Harijan* as late as 1946, Gandhiji observed :

> "The Communists seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on an outside power."

While Gandhiji firmly believed in "the essential goodness of human nature" and preached the change of hearts rather than the breaking of heads, Stalin was of definite view that "you cannot conquer the enemy without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul."

There is one more essential difference between Sarvodaya and Marxism. To Gandhiji, democracy was the very basis of a non-violent and Sarvodaya society. Even centralisation of political and economic power was detrimental to the healthy growth of a Sarvodaya State.

But to the Marxists, democracy is "a bourgeois conception which the revolutionary proletariat must overthrow" (Lenin). Trotsky also endorsed this view by naming democracy "as a wretched and worthless masquerade." In his book, *The State and Revolution*, Lenin made it quite clear that the Communists seek "an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery, even its republican variety." While Gandhiji advocated the establishment of a decentralised socio-economic order based on cottage industrialism and village community life, the Marxists visualise a "dictatorship of the proletariat" founded on a highly centralised state and a mechanised, industrialised society. The ultimate aim of Marxism is said to be the establishment of a classless society in which the State shall "wither away." But, as Prof. Aldous Huxley observes in his *Ends and Means*, such a highly centralised State "may be smashed by war or overturned by revolution from below; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will wither away."

It is no use labouring the point further. It is clear as daylight that the two ideologies of Sarvodaya and Marxism are fundamentally different from each other. Any attempt to create confusion of thought at a time when the two modes of thinking are engaged in a Titanic struggle for survial in India and outside is, to say the least, un-Gandhian. We would, therefore, earnestly appeal to Prof. Kumarappa not to allow his personality to be misused by any political group for its own ulterior motives.

———:O:———

FEDERALISM IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By IQBAL NARAIN SRIVASTAVA, M.A.,
Dept. of History and Political Science, Agra College

The new Constitution of India is federal in its pattern. In its federalism it is at once old and new, orthobox and unorthodox. It is old in so far as it adheres to the broad principles of federalism. It is new in so far as it marks a departure not only from the existing federal constitutions of the world, nay, from the theory of federalism itself. Comparatively speaking, it is more unlike America and less unlike Canada. Again, it is at once similar and different from the Act of 1935, which is according to some, its foster-father.

In a way the federalism of the new Constitution of India is a type by itself. In it the consembly-gods have tried to combine the advantages of a unitary government during emergencies with the advantages of a federation in normal times. Our constitution is unique in so far as it can be both federal and unitary, federal in normal times and unitary in days of emergency. Federal Government is known to be a weak government—too weak to stand emergencies—as it parcels power into too many hands. In the view of a philosopher critics allege that a house divided within itself cannot stand, when the rains descend in torrents and the overwhelming floods come, when the dissensions within and the aggressive shocks from without put its stability to test. Naturally, therefore, in a federal system of government provision has to be made to meet emergencies, if it is to be worked out as an ideal system of government. Our constitution represents one of the most elaborate efforts to remove this weakness of a federal system. Our constitution, as already stated, is such that it can be federal and unitary according to circumstances—federal in normal times, and unitary during emergencies. It is in this way that our constitution-makers have tried to make up the weakness of a federal system of government during emergent circumstances that require quick decision and *still quicker action. Not only* this our constitution is not a federation with a bias towards the autonomy of the units. It prides in its prejudice for the centre. This has been done with the specific purpose of meeting emergencies and emphasising the need of national unity and stability against the centrifugal tendencies of our country. In a word, our constitution provides for a flexible federation with a pronounced unitary bias. And this is unorthodox enough, if not unique in itself.

Appalled by this unorthodoxy of our federal system, some critics have gone to the extent of saying that our constitution is not federal. To them it is a unitary state covered in a federal clothing. K. C. Wheare, for example, is of opinion that

> "Our constitution establishes indeed a system of government which is at most quasi-federal, almost devolutionary in character; a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than a federal state with subsidiary unitary features."

This estimate of our federalism is based on the orthodox view of the theory of federalism. It ignores expediency as a great political factor which must be applied to modify the precepts of political theory in their practical operation. The god-fathers of our constitution have applied this yard-stick in their orientation of federalism.

Theoretically speaking, it has all the classic features of a federation. It enjoys the supremacy of the constitution. There is also clearly marked distribution of powers between the centre and the component units. A federal judiciary has also been established and it enjoys vital powers as the custodian of our constitution and the guardian of our Fundamental Rights. But the unique federalism of our constitution and the special needs and situation of our country have blended some new and uncommon features with this classic texture of federalism. These features, which may appear to be abnormal, can be analysed as follows:

(i) Its Process of Formation

Our federation has been Canadian rather than American in the mode of its formation. A federal union can be formed either through the process of integration or disintegration. In the case of the former process, it may be formed by a voluntary agreement between a number of sovereign and independent states, as in the U.S.A. In the case of the latter process, the provinces of a unitary state may be broken up to be united again into a federal union. Here thus we disintegrate in order to integrate. This has been true of Canada where the provinces had no separate or independent existence, apart from the colonial government of Canada and where the union was not formed by any agreement between them, but by an Act of the British Parliament which broke up the provinces of Canada to rejoin them under a federation. India also like Canada had a thoroughly unitary constitution, until the Government of India Act of 1935. The constitution then was so centralised that the provincial governments were merely the agents of the Central Government. The Act of 1935 provided for a federal constitution. As the Joint Parliamentary Committee put it, the federal system in India was to be set up "by creating autonomous units and combining them into a federation by one and the same Act." But in fact the Act of 1935 did not succeed in breaking the iron framework of unitarism in India. The federation prescribed by the Act of 1935 died still born. Though Provincial Autonomy was practised, it was more a fiction than a fact. The Centre still retained overbearing control on the provinces through the Governor-General's special responsibilities and the Governor's powers of individual judgment and discretion, in the exercise of which he was under the direct supervision of the Governor-General. In a word, even under the Act of 1935, the Provinces, aye not even the native states (with *Paramountcy* hanging as the sword of Damocles above their head) were sovereign states like the States of American Union. The present Union of India too is not the result of any compact between independent and autonomous states. In fact, the provinces as independent units had no part in the making of our constitution. Our constitution was framed by the representatives of the people of India who formed the Constituent Assembly and framed the federal constitution of India. In its formation thus our Constitution resembles the constitution of Canada as well as the Act of 1935 with one important difference that the latter were imposed by a British Statute, while the former is self-imposed by the people of our country themselves.

(ii) The Note of Uniformity and Centralism

Throughout our Constitution, there is a recurring note of uniformity and centralism. As already stated, the object of the framers of the Constitution of India has been to build a strong central authority which may be able to resist external aggression and also to check the play of internal disruptive forces and thus shield our nascent state. With this end in view a set of provisions to strengthen the Centre on the one hand and to secure national uniformity and solidarity on the other have been incorporated in the text of our Constitution. These provisions are the following :

(1) Our Constitution provides for one citizenship—the citizenship of India. In contrast to this the American Constitution creates a dual citizenship. Here our constitution is Canadian. This provision is made to strengthen a sense of national unity among the Indian people.

(2) Our Constitution provides that, though the Union and the States shall have their own public services, the state officials shall administer the State as well as the Union laws. In the same way, the members of the Union Services, while working in a State, will also execute state law. Article 258 of the Constitution even provides for the delegation of the Union executive functions to the States. Likewise there will be no separate system of federal courts for the administration of federal laws in our country. The State Courts will administer both the State and Union laws. Thus our constitution has avoided a clear-cut bifurcation in the administration of the Union and the States as in the U.S.A. It does not create a double set of officials and a double system of courts. Here our constitution is unlike America and like Canada. Our Constitution-makers have followed the Canadian model to avoid unnecessary waste of money in having double sets of administration and above all to create a sense of harmony and national unity between the States and the Union Governments.

(3) Then there are certain provisions with a definite bias towards centralism. *Firstly*, residuary powers are vested with the Centre. *Secondly*, the constitution specifically makes it a duty of the States to execute the Union laws and to exercise their executive powers in a way as not to interfere with the executive powers of the Union. In this respect the State shall be under the directions of the Union. If a state fails to carry out the directions of the Union, the Constitution empowers the Union to supersede the State Government concerned. This provision of our Constitution re-echoes Section 126 of the Government of India Act 1935 which laid down :

> "The executive authority of every Province shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation, and the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the giving of such directions to a Province as may appear to the Federal Government to be necessary for that purpose."

It will be noted here that this plan of Union directives to the States is totally foreign to the spirit and letter of the American Constitution. *Thirdly*, the Governor of a Province can reserve a State Bill, for the signification of the assent of the President who can even disallow it. Here again our Constitution is a replica of the Act of 1935, and faithfully follows the Canadian model. *Fourthly*, the Governor of a State shall be appointed by the President of the Union and shall hold

office during the pleasure of the President. This provision again is repugnant to the constitution of the U.S.A. but exists under the Canadian Constitution. *Lastly*, the Union Parliament can assume to itself the legislative powers concerning any subject included in the State list, if the Council of States by a simple resolution of two-third of the members present and voting declare that such legislation is necessary in the national interests. Thus even in normal times the Union Parliament can disturb the distribution of powers as laid by the Constitution. This cannot be justified on the ground that the Council of States has representatives of the States. In our Constitution there is inequality of State representation in the Upper Chamber. Obviously, therefore, this provision is a serious blow to the status of the States who are in fact left at the mercy of the majority in one of the Houses of the National Legislature. This provision appears over-bearingly prejudiced in favour of the Central Government and is open to the danger of being misused. In our Constitution thus unlike America the National Government can transfer to itself any of the powers belonging to the States by an almost unilateral action. Yet in view of the fact that some of the States in India (particularly the native states of the once 'princely India') do not have either healthy democratic traditions nor well-developed party system, this provision has to be tolerated as a transitional feature. But as our democracy grows in years in the States, the parental guardianship by the Centre shall become growingly intolerable as well as superfluous.

(iii) THE EMERGENCY PROVISONS

A unique thing about our Federal system is that it can become unitary under emergencies. The President is empowered to issue a proclamation of emergency. When such a proclamation has been issued, the power of the Union executive to give directions to the State executive will extend to any and every matter, notwithstanding any provision in the Constitution. The legislative power of the Union Parliament will also automatically extend to matters in the State List. Thus by a mere scribbling of the President's pen, the Federal India would become unitary. Thus the authors of our Constitution have imparted to the federal system the strength of a unitary system during emergencies. This is a unique achievement, nay a contribution to the theory of feredalism itself.

(iv) UNIQUE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS

In the scheme of the distribution of powers also our Constitution differs from other constitutions of the world. The principle followed in the distribution of powers in the federal systems of the world has been "Enumeration and Residuum." This principle has taken the following two shapes in practice:

(i) One is the enumeration in a list of powers assigned to the federal centre, leaving all *powers not specified in the list* (i.e. residuary *powers) to the federal* units.

(ii) The other is the enumeration in a list of the powers assigned to the federal units and leaving the residue with the Centre.

In India's federal scheme under the new Constitution, as under the Act of 1935, the principle of the Statutory allocation of powers both to the Centre and the Units through a system of 'lists' have been adopted. The three lists are "The Union List," "The State's List," and "The Concurrent List." The residuary powers are vested with the Union Government.

(v) UNFEDERAL REPRESENTATIONS

"Federal State," writes Dicey, "is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights."

And so to cater to the state rights and to guarantee to the component units an equality of status in the federal family, the states are usually granted equality of representation in the Upper House of Legislature, irrespective of their size or population. This has been true in America and Australia. But in our Constitution, like the constitution of Canada, there is no equality of representation to the Council of States. As given in the Fourth Schedule "the number of State representatives to the Upper House varies from 1 to 31." Our Upper House does not only have representatives of the State but twelve nominated members also. This make our Constitution unfederal in representation in the American sense and yet federal in the Canadian sense.

(vi) UNIQUE POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT

Our President further goes to make our Constitution differ all the more from other federal constitutions of the world. Unlike the Canadian Governor, he is not appointed on the advice of the Union Ministers. He will be elected by the members of the Union Parliament, and of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. His emergency powers are not known to any other head of any federal government of the world.

(vii) AN INTEGRATED CONSTITUTION

Lastly, in a sense our constitution is an integrated one by which the Constitutions of the Union as well as those of the States have been prescribed. In contrast to this, the Constitution of the U.S.A. simply drew up the constitution of the National Government. The authors left the states to continue or preserve their orginal constitutions and in the case of new admissions to the Union to draw up their own constitution by a convention.

"The States of the Indian Union," writes Shri Durga Das Basu, "shall have no rights or powers anterior to or apart from this constitution."

To sum up, our Constitution is federal in essence and spirit in spite of its pronounced and at times overbearing unitary bias. Thus it is wrong to suppose that our Constitution is like a pyramid which begins with a broad federal base and narrows upwards to evolve into a single unitary top. In fact, our Constitution provides for a flexible federal structure which can be stretched or bent so as to meet emergencies without breaking its framework, and when the emergency has passed, it can slip back into its fold like a tree whose outer branches have been pulled aside to let a vehicle pass.

BASIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

By Prof. PRABODH CHANDRA GOSWAMI, M.A. B.T.

Problem of Basic Education in the new set-up

One of the recent innovations in the educational world is Basic education. It was introduced by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, and was given to the Indian Congress for execution at the time of setting up ministries just after the constitutional reforms of 1935. At that time there was much critcism about the type of education which created only slave mentality and made only office assistants. It was too literary and not practical. It created un-employment of the educated class and made the people urban-minded. All the evils of India were attributed to it. So Congress, which was loudest in criticising the old type of education in India, could not be satisfied with it and jumped at the Basic education of Mahatma Gandhi; and since then different Congress ministries in different States have been experimenting with it.

Even then, the progress of Basic education in the country is not rapid. It is rather slow. Slowness is due to a great extent to the lofty ideals inherent in its conception. It is considered as a means to a new social order based on Truth which is same as Love, positively, and Non-violence, negatively. It is patterned after an ideal which is basically the ideal of life and culture of India of the past but yet an ideal which is not quite in harmony with life that we see around us. New India is agog with some sort of restlessness—some yearning after change—change for some higher status the measuring rod of which has become money.

India is astir. There is movement everywhere. People are moving from the villages to the towns. They are leaving agriculture to become vendors, day-labourers, and even loafers. Government too is moving. Innumerable schemes are constantly being thrown at the public by the Government for the betterment of the country. New posts are being created. Officers are constantly moving from old posts to new ones. If they cannot move, they become restless, restlessness causes irresponsibility; irresponsibility, inefficiency. Under such an environment of change and restlessness, irresponsibility and inefficiency, creation of some new social order where there is only serenity and no restlessness, responsibility and no discontent, love and no fighting, is bound to be slow and halting.

Some of us, even all of us, do not like this state of affairs. But it is we who set the ball rolling. We were not satisfied with the old order where there was no life but inertia, no freedom but oppression, no growth but stagnation. We wanted to build a new social order. We were all unanimous about the necessity of building a new social order and if we, in our over-enthusiasm to build it in one particular way or the other, do not create chaos and confusion as some sections of the followers of that great Marx seem to do, we shall certainly see a new social order evolving during our very life-time; but it will not be the new social order as envisaged by you alone or *me alone. If there is to be* democracy in the country and if in democracy we should allow the growth of different ideals, such a social order can never be the social order after a set pattern of one group of social reformers only. Social order in democracy is ever in the process of being evolved, and it will ever be changing. An educational system designed to serve a social order of a given pattern can never bring in democracy and at the same time succeed. In democracy there cannot be the imposition of any mode of life however desirable it may be for the time being. A new social order of a given pattern cannot be created and an educational system with such an ideal must fail as the ideal behind it is ever un-realizable.

Then, do we come to the conclusion that Basic education, which was designed as a means to a new social order as envisaged by the Father of the Nation, is useless; and the expenditure of lakhs of rupees spent by the Government on Basic education is a large national waste?

The New Social Order

It is said that the Father of the Nation was an idealist and even an anarchist. He wanted the full development of the individual and for this he wanted complete freedom. But he cannot be an anarchist of the Western type. He was not an anarchist with a gun in his hand but love in his heart. He was not out to create conflict but bring in harmoy and mutual understanding. By the full development of the individual he understood the drawing forth of all that is divine in man. This is done when the individual follows a moral code—a code of duty based on truth and love. Freedom of the individual is freedom within the bounds of duty. A rich man is only a trustee and is not free to use his wealth as he likes. A married man is not free to use his wife for the satisfaction of his passion. This freedom is not given, not because, the problem of problems in India is the problem of over-population—in that case this may be allowed with contraceptives—but because the Father of the Nation was for all purity. For the full development of the divine in man purity is an essential condition. He considered cleanliness,—and by cleanliness he meant the cleanliness of the body as well as of the mind, inner as well as outer,—as next to godliness. He thought that the Divine in man can grow only in a medium of perfect purity; and it is the duty of the individual first of all to prepare such a medium and then to use his freedom for the full blossoming of his divine self.

Freedom is of course essential and there cannot be the blossoming of the individual without it. But the freedom of one must not mean the oppression of the other. Any form of oppression—social, political, or economic—has no place in his scheme of social order. Inequality of any form is nothing but another name of tyranny and oppression. Untouchability is a form of social inequality. It is also an expression of social uncleanliness. Centralisation, political or economic, limits individual freedom; so there is no place for it in the

new social order. For the sake of political decentralisation, he advocated the cause of panchayat raj and co-operative commonwealth. For the sake of economic decentralization, he advocated the cause of spinning and other handicrafts. If we only limit our wants and passions and if we only utilise our time properly,—spending eight hours on spinning and gardening, eight hours in mental and recreational activities, and the last eight hours of the day in rest and sleep,—it is possible not only to drive out want and poverty with handicrafts alone but also to lead a life of art and culture. Again, in an economic order with handicrafts, everybody will have to work with hand and brain, and there will be no class distinction between manual and brain workers—a distinction which causes a barrier between man and man.

Besides, the development of the individual which is the rock of his philosophy and which means the integral development of the personality—an all-round development of body, mind and soul—will be possible when the individual works with his muscles, thinks with his brain, feels with his heart, and prays with his soul. In the new social order the hand-worker also will be the brain-worker engaged in community-prayer and singing with the music of the charkha. The individual will thus be a fully developed individual capable of maintaining a proper balance between his physical, mental, and spiritual growth.

Basic Education as a Means to a New Social Order

Basic educationists consider education as a means to a new social order. Like all educationists in the world, they consider education as nothing else but life—it is a process of living. They believe in a particular mode of life and this involves a particular form of social order to which Basic education is a means. In Basic education, they have given prominence to the following as they consider these to be essential for achieving the new order:

1. Safai: It means inner as well as outer cleanliness. It prepares the medium in which the individual is to grow. Work of a scavenger is a noble profession as it prepares the very ground for the Divine.

2. Common kitchen: Freedom is essential for growth. Inequality of any form is a door to tyranny and oppression. There is an element of the Divine in every man. Untouchability and class distinction must not remain even when we take food. Besides, inter-dining breeds a sense of one-ness—a sense of harmony which is so essential in a form of co-operative society.

3. Community prayer: It develops our sense of harmony. Our soul expands and emotions get stimulated in the right direction.

4. Spinning, weaving, agriculture, and carpentry: These are essential for a decentralised economic structure and for maintaining the proper balance between manual and mental work. Decentralised economic structure pre*pares the ground for* self-sufficiency—self-sufficiency of *the individual and the* country. Self-sufficiency makes the *individual and the* country independent of others. Indepen*dence is, of course,* the core of the new social order.

5. Correlation in teaching: Reading, writing, arithmetic and other school subjects are to be correlated with craft activities. Integral development of personality being the aim of Basic education as well as of all educational systems of the world, such correlation is a very essential factor not only in Basic education but also in all the progressive systems of education of the world.

Introduction of crafts and teaching through them will go a long way to solve the problem of finance—solve the 'paradox' that arises from pursuing a policy of prohibition and thus diminishing incomes from excise duties and a programme of compulsory primary education and thus increasing expenditure on welfare activities. We cannot but fail to see how the missionary schools earn a lot from craft work in them. Besides, these will make our pupils productive and not mere book-worms. It will remove a great defect in our educational system. It will make our pupils village-minded too.

Criticism of Basic Education as a Means to the New Social Order

Basic education is a means to the social order as envisaged by the Father of the Nation. If we are sincere and have faith in the new social order, we can certainly realise it through Basic education. But are we all sincere and have faith in the new order? Some of us are not certainly sincere in our belief and certainly consider this social order as the order of the mediæval age. Some of us do not think that all men and women will learn the art of self-control and will thus solve the problem of over-population, nor do we think that men and women have learnt to limit their wants. Some of us, thus, think large-scale production is essential to realise freedom from want. If that is so, what is the good of learning spinning and weaving? All of us will not become spinners nor weavers. There are innumerable occupations besides spinning and weaving to which we want to fit in. Why should spinning and weaving alone get so much prominence and not other crafts? Besides, cotton can be spun and woven in the mills and that too quickly. So where is the place of hand-spinning and weaving?

If these views are sincerely held by a section of the public, then the introduction of Basic education for the creation of a new social order is an imposition by the State. Let those social reformers who believe in the new social order work for it but at the same time others must also have the same freedom. Different people will work differently and a social order will be evolving where every body's aims and aspirations will get some expression. Such evolution is an essential feature of democracy. Then why should the State choose only one mode of life and discard others? Will it not be an imposition of Russian type which some of us are so loud to condemn? Why call it democracy? It is out and out autocracy of a group—a party.

So if Basic education is to fit in democracy, it must be interpreted differently or it will fail to command us

ation from all sections of the community. The next a different party with a different conception of social gets into power, it will be discarded without mercy. nditure on Basic education will be national waste.

Democracy and Basic Education

Education is life and life is education. Life is a opment of everything that is in the man to be. But can develop only in stages and in sequences. A grows to a seedling and a seedling to a tree. A blossoms and produces fruits. A child grows to an scent and adolescent to an adult. An adult marries preserves the race. Stages are there as surely as he sequences. Proper food and drink are essential he growth of a child as these are necessary for the th of a tree. A child has a mind and it requires al food. A child has a personality and it requires a l environment. A tree cannot grow in a shady and even if it can grow, it will not grow to its shape. A child cannot get its personality developed society where there are too many taboos and dicta- A society where every individual is allowed to grow s own way is a democratic society.

But a society cannot grow outside ourselves, as we ot grow outside it. The relationship between the idual and the society is mutual; they act and react on the other. The individual grows into a tyrant; lemocracy vanishes; the growth of an individual be- s a myth.

The society is an organism as surely as the man is. living cells in man grow and they grow in mutual onship to one another. The better is the mutual onship, the better is the growth of the cells and the ism. When the mutual relationship is broken, the ism dies and with it the cells. Similarly, the better e growth of the individuals, the better is the growth ie society in which they live. The growth of doc- im and no mutual adjustment are sure to bring an to democracy as a cancerous growth of a cell brings ad to the individual. Thus, the basis of democracy utual adjustment and mutual toleration.

But what is the bone of contention in democracy? do we so often fall out and break each other's head? are the problems about which all of us are interest- ad so are to quarrel about? These are the problems od, cloth and shelter. These are the fundamental s. These problems become easy of solution if all of re fully acquainted with them. The primary re- te of coming to an agreement is knowledge. Know- will give us proper understanding and mental ad- ent which will make the basis of democracy secure. So if we are desirous of making the basis of demo- strong and stable, it is essential that everybody has er understanding of the vital problems round about cloth, and shelter. A great many persons are ged in occupations round about these. Even the pation of a railway driver, or a painter can be linked e activities about food, cloth and shelter because we re a *driver to move food from one place to another,* and a painter to beautifully paint on the walls of our houses. The first picture in the history of man was drawn in a cave where he used to live in. Thus if we understand properly the social significance of the activities round about food, cloth and shelter, we can understand the social significance of other activities as well and enter more intimately into the ideals behind our social life and culture. If we understand the problem of food in Japan, we understand the conflict between the yellow and the white in Australia. If we understand the dependence of Indian agriculture on the vagaries of Nature, we understand the fatalistic outlook of the Indians. If we understand the problem of acute poverty in Russia before and immediately after the revolution, we understand the rise of Dictatorship in the land of white bears. In short, an understanding of most of the problems of the day depends on our understanding of the life about our most fundamental wants. The basis of world peace rests on such understanding. The basis of world peace is the basis of world democracy. Autocracy establishes itself only through chaos and anarchy.

The education which provides such a basis of understanding may rightly be called Basic Education; for it gives a basis on which democracy can be built. It gives a basis for the growth of personality too, as only in democracy a man's personality can grow. Without democracy life is no life for there is no development; without some sort of Basic education democracy is short-lived for there is no mutual adjustment. So if we want to live and live in democracy, Basic education of some sort must be the education for all. Sooner it is provided better it is for the country.

Essential Features of Basic Education for Democracy

The most essential features of Basic education for democracy are the basic crafts (*i.e.*, agriculture, spinning and weaving, and carpentry) and teaching through these crafts during the stage of compulsory education. We shall have to teach children passing through the stage of compulsory education, *i.e.*, between the years 6 and 12, through activities; for during this period they pass through a stage of development during which they cannot sit in the class room and listen to a teacher but during which they want some activity to be engaged in. A child can of course be disciplined with a rod and compelled to sit in the room but he cannot be disciplined to learn. If we attempt to teach children at this stage through lectures and not through some activity, they are bound to be failures and wastage as these are already in our present-day schools.

All educationists throughout the world know this. Project method in America and Complex method in Russia are based on this principle. Americans and Russians agree at least on this point, however they may differ on others. Main methods of education in both the countries are based on the principle known as education through activity. Our Basic education is also a method of education through activity. But whereas in the other two methods, there is no definite selection of activities, in

Basic education there is such selection. In the Basic education for the new social order, emphasis is given mainly on one activity, *i.e.*, spinning. For the sake of giving variety and more thorough understanding of the different aspects of our social problems, in Basic education for democracy, emphasise is given on three activities, *i.e.*, spinning, gardening, and building. When activities are selected, and are limited to a few, problems of organisation, administration, and finance also become easy.

It is to be clearly understood that we do not introduce agriculture, spinning, and carpentry in our schools to make our pupils farmers, spinners and carpenters. They will fit into different occupations found in society and will learn these according to their liking and special aptitude. Provision must be made for such training but this is more a problem of secondary and technical education than that of primary education. The introduction of the crafts does not mean that a child is to learn less of language, literature, mathematics and other school subjects. The aim is rather to teach more of these and in a better way and to more children. We have selected these crafts because these are the basic activities of society and through them our children will learn about all the basic problems of the day, understand the social significance of our activities and thus enter into our ideals and culture more intimately. Besides, practice in these will make them more productive, will give the necessary training to their hands and fingers which will serve them later in case they become expert technicians. Before one learns to handle a delicate machinery, one should have proper skill of his fingers. The stage of romping can come only after the stage of crawling. So even for those who want to build our economic structure on large-scale production, Basic education is not useless if they have only faith in democracy.

Education for democracy is not a new concept. Prof. Dewey has written volumes on this, and has set up institutions for this. But whereas Prof. Dewey is slightly vague about the activities to be introduced, we are not so. Besides, he has not also pushed so far in his method the idea of education through activity as we have done in ours. In these respects Basic education of our conception is even a step ahead of that taken by Prof. Dewey.

Basic Education for Democracy and for the New Social Order

Education through crafts features in Basic education for democracy as well as for the new social order. In both, crafts are considered to be the most important activities through which all other school subjects are to be taught. Besides craft activities, there are other important features in the Basic education for the new social order, *e.g.*, Safai, common kitchen and community prayer. But Safai is even now an important thing that we want to see in all our schools. Safai will always be there, only it need not have any moral significance in the Basic education for democracy. Similarly, although music and singing will be there, these need not be in the form of prayers. Similarly, opportunities for inter-dining will arise even in our Basic schools. When vegetables will be grown in the school fields, pupils will naturally like to have occasional picnics with their own products. But we need not insist on common kitchen as the most important part of Basic education and thus convert all our schools to residential ones which is an impossible proposition under the present conditions of financial stringency.

Thus, Basic education for democracy, provides all the important features of Basic education for the new social order. One may be used as a step to the other; but yet may not be adjunct to it. Essential features will be the same in both, the difference will be only in lesser emphasis on ideals in one than in the other.

When that is the case, the progress of Basic education will be rapid for we shall face less opposition from the teachers and the public. If we do not over-emphasise the programme of inter-dining, no opposition need come from those who do not like such practice on grounds of religion and custom. If we do not make our educational system adjunct to any mode of life, there need not be any opposition from those who are not in tone with the Philosophy of Gandhiji. If we do not stigmatise the old teachers as no good for Basic education and as having no revolutionary outlook, we need not be deprived of their help and co-operation. What we shall require of them is only a slight change in their educational practice. They were formerly teaching Arithmetic with sticks and beads, now they will be required to teach through slivers and seedlings. This is not a fundamental change even in method; it is only a change in material.

The work for the Government will be easy; for what will be required of them is only the introduction of the Basic crafts in all our schools in the first stage and teaching through these crafts in the second stage. The whole problem of educational reconstruction in the primary stage may thus be given in a succinct phrase "From education-*cum*-craft to education through craft."

Thus there will not be any confusion about Basic education and all irresponsible talk about it will stop. People will no longer talk of two types of education—one for the children of the peasants and the other for the children of the ministers. Administration will be an easy job, for no more abstract ideals will be attached to it but only a few concrete things will be given for execution. Training of teachers will be smooth as the teachers will be asked not to learn an altogether different method in education but to handle only a new material with his old tool. There will be more harmony and understanding among all teachers as one group of teachers will not consider themselves as selfless social workers and different from others.

In such an atmosphere of harmony and no opposition, the future of Basic education and with it the future of democracy in the world, cannot but be quick, sure and stable. If democracy is our aim, then, there is no doubt that expenditure in Basic education is a good investment for the country.

THE U.N.O.

A Better League of Nations ?

By Dr. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. D.P.A., D.F. A. & D.

is a popular belief that the U.N.O. is a new of the League of Nations which was started after st World War. It is, therefore, thought that it is ter than the League and that it must go the way organisation. In fact, some prophets of pessi- are never tired of repeating that sooner or later it neet its inevitable doom. There is no doubt that .N.O. is not a perfect mechanism and there are ous shortcomings in it but that does not warrant ief that there are no virtues in it.

the League was based on Wilsonian idealism the). is based on the practical realism of the late nt Roosevelt of the U.S.A. and the British Prime er, Mr. Winston Churchill. The germ of the of Nations is found in the fourteen points of nt Wilson which he enunciated during the course first world war. They were presented by him to gress on January 8, 1918 in an address to that body rmed the basis of the negotiations for the peace ent of 1919. The fourteenth point ran thus : "A l association of nations must be formed under covenants for the purpose of affording mutual tees of political independence and territorial inte- o great and small states alike."[1] These points of were also based on what is commonly known as rinciple of self-determination of nations. These unding ideals were no doubt discarded by the akers and the new world organisation was tied to ace settlement of 1919 which proved unfortunate ny ways. But the U.N.O. is based on the c Charter signed by President Roosevelt and Minister Churchill on August 14, 1940 on the eas five years before Japan signed the armistice e United Nations Declaration signed on January, by 26 nations which formed the wartime coalition the axis powers and which incidentally formed cleus of the new world organisation, the need for establishment was recognized by the Foreign ers of the United States, Great Britain and the Union when they met in a conference at Moscow October 19 to October 30, 1943. In the commu- which was released by them on November 1, 1943 leclared that

"They recognize the necessity of establishing at earliest practicable date a general international anisation, based on the principle of the sovereign ality of all peace-loving states, and open to mem- ship, by all such states, large and small, for the ntenance of international peace and security."[2]

ie communique of the Teheran Conference which ttended by the big three statesmen of the world on December 1, 1943 also declared :

"We shall seek the co-operation and active parti- ation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of Democratic Nations."[3]

But the details of the machinery and working of the new world organisation were thrashed out and completed at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in October, 1944 and its charter was finally signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945.

The U.N.O. is an improvement over its predecessor both in respect of its organisation and functions. The League of Nations had as its aim the promotion of international peace and security.[4] But the purposes of the establishment of the U.N.O. are set forth in Article 1 of the United Nations Charter. They are : to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations based on the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature and to harmonize the actions of nations in the attainment of these objects.

The League of Nations had three principal organs, *viz.*, an assembly, a council and a secretariat which were mentioned in Article 2 of the Covenant. But, besides these, there were two other world organisations which were attached to the League, *viz.*, the Permanent Court of International Justice which was provided for in Article 14 of the League Covenant and the International Labour Organisation. But the U.N.O. has not only a General Assembly, a Security Council and a Secretariat but also an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Trusteeship Council and the U.N.E.S.C.O. are not entirely new organisations. The first has replaced the Permanent Mandates Commission and the second has been substituted for the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. But the Economic and Social Council is an entirely new organisation. It has been created with a view to promoting the economic and social betterment of the people residing within the territorial jurisdiction of the various member states. It was realised at the time of the formation of the new world organisation that its aim, *viz.*, the establishment of International peace and security cannot be achieved without removing economic and social causes. Thus the U.N.O. has gone one step further than the League of Nations. It aims at preparing a more solid ground on which the new structure of world government is based. Furthermore, the U.N.E.S.C.O., which is an amplified and improved form of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, aims at creating a

F. H. Hartmann : *Basic Documents of International Rela-*
. 46

2. *Ibid*, p. 158
3. *Ibid*, p. 165
4. See the Preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations

psychological basis for world peace. It aims at building a defence against devastating wars in the minds of men.

The League of Nations started with some handicaps. The very country whose President had taken the initiative for the formation of the League did not join it. President Wilson was very keen to join the League but the U.S.A. Constitution provides that the President shall enter into treaties with foreign countries with the advice and consent of the Senate[5]. The Senate did not want American participation in European affairs as after the war the U.S.A. reverted to the policy of isolation towards Europe. Therefore, the Senate, or to be more exact the 'Irreconcilable' Senators under the leadership of Henry Cabot Lodge, laid down their own conditions for joining the League. Those conditions were not acceptable even to President Wilson. Naturally they could not be acceptable to the other allies of the U.S.A. The result was that the U.S.A. signed a separate peace with the defeated central Powers and she did not join the League of Nations. Other important countries outside the League were Germany which joined it in 1926 and the U.S.S.R. which joined it in 1934. This time all the sponsors of the idea of the U.N.O. are its members. It is fortunate in keeping within its fold the leaders of the two power-blocs, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

The League Covenant provided for voluntary withdrawal of membership. According to Article 1 of the Covenant, any member could withdraw from the League after a two years' notice. But the U.N. Charter does not provide for withdrawal of members. It can, therefore, be argued that legally a withdrawal is not possible, although it is difficult to predict as to what action the U.N.O. would take if a country withdraws its membership. Recently, South Africa threatened to sever her connection with the U.N.O. but after a temporary boycott of the General Assembly she resumed her seat in it. It should also be noted here that at present the U.N.O. is not in a position to force any member to remain within its fold.

Both the General Assembly and the Council of the League acted on the unanimity rule. If a decision was arrived at by simple majority it was not binding. No doubt, there were some exceptions, as for example, in matters of procedure only a simple majority was required. Moreover, the Assembly could admit a new member by a two-thirds majority and amend the Covenant of the League by a bare majority. But no amendment would be valid until it has been ratified by all the members of the Council and a majority of the members of the League. The U.N.O. has discarded the principle of unanimity of all members as it is difficult to attain. It has, therefore, substituted it by the unanimity of the big five which was arrived at between the big three statesmen of the world at the Yalta Conference which met in Crimea from February 4 to February 11, 1945 and which is popularly known as the big five veto.

5. *Article II, Section 2.*

Under the League sanctions were primarily economic which means that in the first instance only trade and commercial intercourse with the aggressor country would be stopped and military sanctions would be applied later if the economic sanctions proved inadequate.[6]

The sanctions under the U.N.O. are also primarily economic but if the Security Council feels that they would be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as it considers necessary. In such an eventuality it may call upon the member states to contribute military forces. For this purpose it has been provided with the expert assistance of a Military Staff Committee.

Without entering into the merits of the question it may be asserted that the action of the U.N.O. in coming to the military help of South Korea when she became an object of aggression of North Korea on June 25, 1950 constitutes a landmark in the history of International Organisation. It is the first instance of a world organisation using force to fight aggression. No doubt, it was possible because the U.S.A. was interested in it. But the U.N.O. failed to act in a similar case in Kashmir where Pakistan committed an act of aggression against India.

Moreover, recently an attempt has been made by some powers under the leadership of the U.S.A. to provide that in case the Security Council which is primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and prevention of aggression is paralysed by the exercise of the veto power and is prevented from taking action, the General Assembly should be called into session at twenty-four hours' notice to discuss the matter and take suitable effective action. Such an emergency session of the General Assembly would be called if the Security Council so decides by a majority of seven votes. The Political Committee of the United Nations passed a resoluton to this effect on October 18, 1950. Thereupon, the General Assembly set up a Collective Measures Committee to study the measures which would be taken including the contribution of armed forces of the various member states and to submit its report to the sixth session of the General Assembly held at Paris at the end of the last year. Consequently, the Political Committee passed a resolution sponsored by eleven members under the leadership of the U.S.A. on January 8, 1952 at Paris calling on the member states to help in the formation of a 'shadow army' which would be ready to fight aggression in any part of the world. The resolution states:

> "Each should take such further action as is necessary to maintain within its national armed forces elements so trained, organised and equipped that they could promptly be made available in accordance with its constitutional processes, for services as a United Nations Unit or Units."

But what is regrettable is that this decision was not arrived at unanimously due to the fact that there is considerable misunderstanding between the two power-blocs represented in the U.N.O., one of which is

6. Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

mently in the minority and which has every reason ink that the new move is directed against her. The ishment of an international army is the responsibility e Security Council under Article 43 of the United ns Charter. But Mr. Foster Dulles, the U.S. sentative at the fifth session of the General Assembly, ked :

"The Security Council should, of course, have its ance to exercise its primary responsibility to ernational peace and security. But if it fails then e General Assembly has a duty promptly to consider e situation."

he League could not take the initiative in any r. It could not discuss any matter unless it was ht before it by a member. But the Security Council tself take the initiative. In fact, it is the duty e Secretary General to bring any matter to the ion of the Security Council if he thinks that it is to threaten international peace and security[7].

rom the above it should not be inferred that the O. cannot be further improved. In fact, it can as a real instrument of world peace if the following ns are effected in its oganisation and working.

irstly, it should be global and not hemispherical. esent the question of the admission of Red China to have become an obsession with some people but aly China but also Germany and Japan should be ht in the U.N.O.

econdly, it should be a forum of the people and he governments of the various countries because overnments are engaged in the game of power- s while the people want peace. Moreover, the uments are also very touchy in regard to questions cedence and prestige which often lead to war.

hirdly, a world government can only succeed if the uments of the member states give up their national gnty which should be pooled at one place, *i.e.*, UNO,

ourthly, the governments of the member states l give up real-politik or power-politics. At present re living in a state of nature. They should recognize ational law and order their conduct in conformity it.

ifthly, the politcal parties in the various countries are members of the United Nations should adopt omotion of the objects of the U.N.O. as an integral of their political programmes. In this respect the and objects of the Indian National Congress are satisfactory[8]. Moreover, Article 51 of the tution of India provides as a directive principle of policy that the state shall endeavour (a) to promote itional peace and security, (b) to maintain just onourable relations between nations, (c) to foster t for international law and treaty obligations and (d) to encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration. But what is desirable is that such provisions should be incorporated in the constitutions of all countries.

Sixthly, although the principle of veto or the unanimity of the big five is an improvement over the unanimity of all the members, it prevents the U.N.O. from functioning as the effective instrument of world peace. That is why there is a proposal to assign the responsibility for the maintenance of world peace to the General Assembly in case the Security Council is prevented from taking action in any matter due to the use of veto power by any of the big five members. So long as the principle of equality of member states is not conceded, the U.N.O. cannot accomplish much. It may, therefore, be suggested that the important decisions of the U.N.O. should not be arrived at by the unanimity of the big five but by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

Seventhly, an international government without an international police force and army is worse than useless.

Eighthly, the five enemies of world peace, *viz.*, nationalism, imperialism, militarism, racialism and social injustice should be abolished from the world to pave the way for a world government in the real sense of the term.

Finally, the U.N.O. is only a mechanism. No mechanism can work satisfactorily unless the men who work it are in right earnest. Therefore, the ultimate solution lies in improving human nature which is the spring of all human action and which is responsible for most of the ills of our present-day world.

In the words of Sir Alexander Cadogan, a former British representative on the Security Council :

> "A hundred per cent reliance, if that were possible, on the efficiency of the United Nations, a certainty that the purposes and principles of its charter would be served and observed, would almost usher in the millennium. We should certainly be living in a very different world. But there is no such certainty, there can be no such reliance."

But there is no cause for despair because the U.N.O. is a real attempt at establishing a world parliament of man. In fact, it constitutes a mighty experiment in world government whose novelty does not lie in the fact that it outlaws war. That task was accomplished by the Kellog-Briand Pact of 1928 which permitted the waging of war in self-defence.

But "the important innovation in the present United Nations structure is the collective attempt to create a political, economic and military machine powerful enough to make it unnecessary for any country to be in a position in which it has to wage war in self-defence."[9]

In the opinion of Dolivert, "The United Nations Organisation is potentially and actually much stronger than the League of Nations."[10]

Article 99 of the U. N. Charter.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress ws as its object the establishment of "World Peace and hip."

9. Louis Dolivert : *The United Nations*, p. 12.

10. Ibid.

ON THE CENSUS OF PAKISTAN

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

In the Census of 1941 the Muhammadans, especially of Bengal, inflated their numbers under the inspiration of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque. His speeches were almost direct appeals for inflation. A protest meeting at the Town Hall was held under the presidency of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, former Law Member of the Viceroy's Council; and Mr. Haque had virtually to apologise by writing a personal letter to Sir N. N. Sircar. While the Hindus, who boycotted the Census of 1931 under the Congress guidance, were asked to have themselves counted, they were also asked not to inflate their numbers. The All-Bengal Census Board under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee issued daily appeals in the press not to inflate but to have themselves correctly enumerated; the Muhammadans acted otherwise.

That the Census of 1941 was an inflated one is the opinion of competent observers and competent authorities. Mr. M. W. M. Yeats in the *Administration Report* on the Census of 1941, says at p. 21 :

> "In one major City, Lahore, communal passions were violent enough to destroy the value of the enumeration record . . . It was not the enumerators who wrecked the Lahore Census. It was the people themselves. Any census reposes on the householders' truthfulness and in a *purdah* country this is all the more so."

In another place, writing about the mother-tongue and subsidiary language, he says :

> "Muslims were told to return their mother-tongue as Urdu and many cases were brought to my notice where men who manifestly knew nothing of that language but were Muslims by faith persisted in returning it as their mother-tongue admitting that they had been 'told' to do so. If this is how leaders imagine they can misuse a census then there is not much hope for India."

In another place he observes that

> "Nothing will make me believe that the number of persons actually literate in Urdu is anything like so great as the number who returned it. The only effect of such misguided zeal is to destroy the very facts it is sought to obtain."

We need not multiply quotations. Mr. R. A. Gopalaswami, the Registrar-General of India for 1951 in Census of India—Paper No. 1 of 1953, notes :

> "In the 1941 Census, as is generally known, there was competition between communities in parts of Bengal and the Punjab, with the result that numbers were inflated." (p. 1).

Yet on the basis of the 1941 Census which was accepted as correct by our political leaders of the Congress and of the Muslim League, the partition of Bengal and of the Punjab took place.

The Pakistan Government now admits in their *Census Pamphlet* No. 2, that there has been an inflation of the number of Muslims. Let us give the figures for East Bengal:

(The figures are in 000's)

Year	Muslims	Hindus	Others
1931	2,48,97	1,07,12	4,30
1941	2,95,77	1,19,18	7,82
1951	3,22,27	92,39	4,66

The Pakistan authorities say at page 31 of their *Census Report*, 1951 :

> "Assuming that the rate of increase in the Muslim population has been rising fairly regularly it would appear that in 1941 the total strength of the Muslim element was between 270 and 280 lakhs."

In another place they say : (See p. 33)

> "The Muslim increase include 7 lakhs of persons who reported themselves in the 1951 Census as Muhajirs, but the total immigrant element would appear to be between 15 and 20 lakhs."

In Statement H, they have given the adjusted communal comparison as follows :

Adjusted communal comparison (in lakhs)

	Total	Muslims	Hindus	Others
Adjusted—				
1941	386	270	109	7
1951	421	322	94	5
Variations	+35	+52	−15	−2

The percentage of Muslims in 1941 was 72.3.

The total population of East Bengal (as now constituted, *i.e.*, including a portion of Sylhet) was in 1941 4,22,77,000 and in 1951 4,19,32,329; including 1,26,000 reporting their nationality as Indian. Thus there has been a net decrease of −0.8 per cent of the recorded population.

If we deduct the 20 lakh Muslim immigrants from the total recorded population, the net decrease would be −5 per cent. In their adjusted figures for 1941, they have reduced the population from 423 lakhs to 386 lakhs, *i.e.*, by 37 lakhs; and distributed this among the Muslims and the Hindus by 26 lakhs and 10 lakhs respectively. The Muslim inflation is thus 26 lakhs.

According to their own admission, the Muslims in East Bengal inflated their number in 1941 by some 10 per cent.

In the case of the Pakistan Punjab they admit inflation of Muslims. From Diagram I' given at p. 37, the amount of inflation of the Muslims is of the order of 10 lakhs. The number of Muslims in the Punjab in 1951 is 183,93 thousands; of these 48,82 thousands are said to be Muhajirs. The natural population in 1951, including the inter-censal normal increase, is thus 135,11 thousands. Thus the inflation is of the order of some 7 or 8 per cent.

We shall now try to give some broad statistical details of Pakistan's population.

	Area	Population
Pakistan (entire)	3,65,907 sq. miles	7,56,87,000
East Bengal	54,501 „	4,21,16

East Bengal as per cent

of Pakistan	14.9 %	59.6 %

Religious Composition (as percentages)

	Muslims	Caste Hindus	Scheduled Hindus	Christians	Others
Pakistan	85.9	5.7	7.2	0.7	0.5
East „	76.8	10	12	0.3	0.9
West „	97.1	0.5	1.1	1.3	..

Density of Population (per sq. mile)

Pakistan	206.9
East Bengal	772.8
Punjab	298.7 (next best in density to East Bengal)
West Pakistan	107.8

Percentage of Literacy

Pakistan	13.8
West Pakistan	9.7
East Bengal	16.9

East Bengal's percentage is exceeded in federal Karachi alone, where it is 31.3 per cent.

Population details of East Bengal

Muslims		3,22,26,639
Caste Hindus	41,87,353	
Scheduled Hindus	50,52,250	
All Hindus		92,39,603
Buddhists		3,18,951
Christians		1,06,507
Parsis		..115
Tribal		30,278
Others		10,236
Total population		4,19,32,329

Percentage of Muslims

Pakistan		86.9
Punjab	97.7	
Sind	96.8	
N. W. F. P.	99.8	97.1
Baluchistan	98.5	
Karachi	96	
East Bengal	76.8	

Percentage of Muslims in Districts of E. Bengal

1.	Dinajpore	64.6
2.	Rangpore	79.8
3.	Bogra	87.3
4.	Rajshahi	80.4
5.	Pabna	83.7
6.	Kushtia	91.6
7.	Jessore	69.7
8.	Khulna	54.6
9.	Bakerganj	79.5
10.	Faridpore	70.7
11.	Dacca	78.8
12.	Mymensingh	82.9
13.	Sylhet	67.7
14.	Tipperah	81.3
15.	Noakhali	84.2
16.	Chittagong	77.3
17.	Hill Tracts	6.2

We summarise below the main statistical data :

Area in sq. miles		*Population* (in 000's) Total	Muslims	Caste Hindus	Scheduled Caste Hindus	Christians	Others
3,65,907	Pakistan	7,56,36	6,49,59	43,49	54,21	5,41	3,66
52,900	Baluchistan Districts	6,02	5,94	3	1	4	—
81,239	Baluchistan States	5,52	5,43	9	—	—	—
54,501	East Bengal	4,19,32	3,22,27	41,87	50,52	1,07	3,59
812	Federal Capital Area, Karachi	11,23	10,78	5	13	21	6
13,815	N.-W.F.P.	32,23	32,17	—	2	4	—
27,242	Tribal Area	26,42	26,41	1	—	—	—
62,987	Punjab	1,98,15	1,83,93	2	19	4,01	—
15,918	Bahawalpur	18,22	18,08	1	11	2	—
50,443	Sind	46,06	41,49	1,24	3,20	2	1
6,050	Khairpur	3,19	3,09	7	3	—	—

The number of Sikhs, if any in the Punjab, is less than 35 persons, and in Sind less than 12 persons. Thus one may say there are no Sikhs in Pakistan.

The number of Muhajirs, *i.e.*, Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan and of Literates are as follows :

	Muhajirs (in 000's)	Literates (in 000's)	Literates as per cent of total population
Pakistan	71,50	1,03,74	13.8
East Bengal	7,01	71,08	16.9
Punjab	48,82	19,28	10.2
Bahawalpur	3,71	1,10	6.0
N.-W.F.P.	51	2,51	7.8
Tribal Area	—	33	1.3
Sind	5,61	5,02	10.8
Khairpur	11	28	8.8
Baluchistan	29	51	8.2
Baluchistan States	1	12	2.2
Federal Karachi	6,48	5,91	31.3

From these data we may guess the difficulty of Pakistan in equating East Pakistan with West Pakistan. East Pakistan has 56 per cent of the population, 70 per cent of the literates; 90.5 per cent of the Hindus in Pakistan, but only 15 per cent of the area. East Pakistan is densely populated, while West Pakistan is thinly peopled. But 20 per cent of the Muhajirs are in West Pakistan. In this context, it is not difficult to understand that there would be occasional shortages of food in East Pakistan. But it is not a little surprising that West Pakistan, with her large irrigated areas and a large food surplus, has thought it fit to export food rather than send it to East Pakistan in her times of difficulty and has now become highly deficit in food herself !

THE FOOD PROBLEM

By P. C. BANSIL

To form a correct appraisal of the food problem, we should know :

(*a*) The total production of all the food-grains in the country ;

(*b*) Overall quantity necessary to feed the nation ; and

(*c*) Total supply available for consumption.

As for (*a*) we can only rely on the existing food statistics supplied by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, although the figures supplied by them are in no way satisfactory. They have been underestimated[1] both in the case of surplus as well as deficit States.

Taking 1950 as the normal year, we have already discussed[2] at length, that the existing production is more than sufficient to meet our normal requirements. It would, however, be sufficient to repeat that against the home production of nearly 50 million tons in that year, our requirements could not be more than 43 million tons under any circumstances. The fault therefore lies at (c) above—the actual supply available for consumption.

Causes of this Malady

To enable us to judge for ourselves the circumstances which led to this dismal condition, as it exists today, let us have a hurried glance over the last decade or so and see for ourselves as to when, where and why this trouble started. Rice imports from Burma before its separation in 1937 were not a serious matter and were in fact a normal feature of one part of the country catering for the needs of the other, in the best economic interests of the nation. The matters took a serious turn only after 1942 when the country was threatened by the clouds of war from her eastern borders. India as a whole is no doubt self-sufficient, yet it has deficit pockets in the South and the East, the areas where there was a sort of complete chaos in the early 40's. There was a complete paralysis of the transport and communication system. And there were transport bottlenecks.[3] To make the position still worse, the Government of India had conferred on the Provinces concurrent powers under the Defence of India Rules, to exercise the power of prohibition of movement and of requisition of food-grains on the 29th November, 1941.

This was followed by a control on the price of wheat on December, 1941. And that too not only against the wishes of surplus States of the Punjab and U.P., but at the risk of their flagrant opposition. Controls are good and are an essential safeguard in emergencies of the type we were facing in the 40's, but they must be accompanied by their essential attributes. The key to the success of food controls lies in obtaining control over supplies at their source and all along the channel of distribution, unless they reach the consumer at the fixed rate and in quantities sufficient to meet his normal requirements.

The wheat control order of 1941 lacked these pre-requisites. The controls were half-hearted and haphazard ; there was no administrative machinery strong and capable enough to carry out the orders of the Central Government. And worst of all no heed was paid to the side of distribution for another one and a half year, when the matters had taken a turn which was beyond repairs.

These were the critical days in the matter of the food problem. The disease required an expert diagnosis. It is, however, a pity that the cardinal mistake then committed, could never be rectified. Working on the prevailing psychology, the Government focussed their attention, if at all, on the production aspect. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, the then Food Member, met the delegates of the Provinces and States on April 6, 1942 at a Food Production Conference and thus it was decided to launch the Grow More Food Campaign under the auspices of the Advisory Board of the Imperial (now Indian) Council of Agricultural Research.

Nobody would object to increasing the existing level of production, but the emphasis at the moment was called for on the conservation of the existing stocks, which were more than sufficient to meet the requirements of the people and their fair distribution by some high power Central authority.

It was late in the day—September 1942—that the Sixth Price Control Conference evolved a Basic Plan for the Centralised purchase of food-grains. The nation was astir with August movement and everything and anything done by the Government was opposed tooth and nail. The fate of the Basic Plan was thus written on the wall. The ghastly drama of the Bengal Famine, responsible for a toll of nearly 1.5 million lives, was the direct result. Mr. Afsal Hussain described this position as a 'virtual Dunkirk'[4] on the food front in Bengal. "The whole country was parcelled out into innumerable blackmarkets."[5] What to talk of the ordinary consumer, even the Government was forced to purchase its normal military requirements of food-grains from the blackmarket.

Under the threat of this impending famine and echoes of food shortage from all corners, attempts were first made to introduce rationing in Bombay on May 2, 1943. Mr. Kirby, the then Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, was able to announce by March 1944 that population under rationing had increased to 25 millions, and by the end of 1951, it had swollen to 126.75 million.

---

1. *Grow More Food Enquiry Committee Report*, 1952, p. 116.
2. "Food Facts—An Analysis" by P. C. Bansil, *The Modern Review for October, 1952.*
3. *Dr. L. C. Jain : Indian Economy During War*, p. 18.
4. *Famine Commission Enquiry Report on Bengal*, p. 196.
5. Dr. L. C. Jain : Op. Cit., p. 11.

For rationing to be successful, it is necessary that the Government must have the necessary stocks with them for distribution. Procurement thus comes as a corollary to rationing. The wrong premises that the country is suffering from a shortage of production—on which the Government had been working so far, was again responsible to lead them into a dismal abyss. Agreed, that the deficit or even the surplus provinces were not prepared to resort to procurement; it is nevertheless a fact that no serious efforts were made by the Government to evolve an efficient machinery for procuring the necessary amount of grain from the home resources. They resorted to an easier course of imports—the only other alternative. When rationing was once introduced, the Government under its Welfare State ideal was duty-bound to meet its commitments for providing the necessary amount of food to the rationed population. It was never realised that the fundamentals of our food policy in the sense of reducing imports depend upon procurement up to the required standard. No effort was made to win the co-operation of the public, and the position has not changed even today. The Prime Minister in his foreword to the Provincial Development Programme said :[6]

> "Unfortunately this lack of sense of co-operative effort is largely absent in the country, today. . . . This prevailing psychology of the masses has to be changed. This is no easy task, but none the less, it is an essential one, if substantial progress is to be made."

The Solution—Master Plan

It is now clear that the problem became acute because of the wrong distribution system. An increase in production is welcomed, but the short-term solution lies in increased procurement, proper distribution and conservation of the existing stocks. Thus observes Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao :[7]

> "I cannot help feeling that part of the failure of Government's food policy in the direction of diminishing imports has been due to their mistaken notion that an increase in production would lead to an equivalent diminution in imports and a rather naive confidence in their ability to bring about such an increase in production in the immediate post-war period. Increase in production is undoubtedly important; but it is essentially a long period programme. The essence of food policy in the short period is procurement, if it is to have a significant effect on prices; and that procurement has been inadequate is clear from the fact that domestic procurement is hardly 10 per cent of domestic production, while the population rationed is of the order of 30 per cent."

For the solution of the problem it would thus be necessary to modify the existing system of distribution and procurement, etc., and give an opportunity to trade to function in the normal channels, with of course necessary safeguards for the interests of the consumer at large. We cannot, therefore, remove all sorts of controls at once.

We need not, however, be frightened by the bitter experiences of December, 1947 Decontrol. The sudden 'go back' at that time was not the result of any well-laid policy, but as correctly concluded by the *Eastern Economist* (Annual Number, 1948) :

> "The closing weeks of the year 1947 saw the retreat from rationing just as a matter of defeat as the authorities could not maintain the basic ration of even 10 ounces."

The opening stocks with the Government for the year 1948—645 thousand tons—being the minimum in the rationing history, naturally the Government could not, under the circumstances, meet the requirements of the situation, and have an effective control of the grain market.

The country would thus be divided into four self-sufficient contiguous zones as follows. Free movement of grains would be allowed within the zone. The interests of low paid people in the cities would be safeguarded by the provision of fair price shops on the Czechoslovakian model and those of the non-producing classes in the rural areas by legislation that at least two-third of their wages would be in kind, if they so desire. The Fair Price Shops would supply at least 50 per cent of the quota in coarse grains.

Four Zones

The areas constituting the four zones and the food position is shown against each. Production figures have been taken for the year 1950 and the requirements have been calculated at the rate of 11.5 tons for 100 persons as already worked out by us by various methods. (This comes to about 13.3 ozs. per adult per day on the basis of 86 per cent adult equivalent).

1. *North-Western Zone* : *Areas*—J & K, Himachal Pradesh, Bilaspur, Punjab, Pepsu, Rajasthan, Ajmer, Kutch, Saurashtra and Bombay.

The Food Position

Surplus States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram after making an allowance at 12 1|2 p.c.	Requirements	Surplus
		(In thousand tons)		
J & K	4.41	785	460	325
Punjab	12.64	2384	1449	1935
Pepsu	3.49	654	402	252
Himachal Pradesh	0.98	166	114	52
			Total surplus	2564

Deficit States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Deficit
		(In thousand tons)		
Delhi	1.74	27	200	173
Bilaspur	.13	11	15	4
Rajasthan	15.3	961	1760	799

6. Dr. Gyan Chand ; *Provincial Development Programme.*

7. Presidential address by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao at the 22nd Session of the Indian Economic Conference, 1950, *Indian Journal of Economics, 1949-50, p. 229.*

Kutch	.57	25	65	40
Saurashtra	4.14	290	472	182
Bombay	35.95	3892	4128	236
Ajmer	.69	22	80	58
			Total deficit	1494

Net Surplus—1070 thousand tons

2. *Central Zone* : *Areas*—Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Coorg, Bhopal and Travancore-Cochin.

The Food Position

Surplus States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Surplus
		(In thousand tons)		
Madhya Bharat	7.95	1054	920	134
Madhya Pradesh	21.25	4042	2450	1582
Bhopal	.84	122	96	26
Coorg	.23	32	26	6
			Total surplus	1748

Deficit States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Deficit
		(In thousand tons)		
Hyderabad	18.65	1307	2144	837
Mysore	9.07	685	1035	350
Travancore-Cochin	9.28	224	1069	745
			Total deficit	1932

We are left with a net deficit of about 2 lakh tons. But a closer study of the individual States would reveal that the deficit position is not so pessimistic. Hyderabad has never been supplied with more than one lakh tons of food-grains, the figure for the year 1950 being 91 thousand tons. This view is further confirmed by a *P.T.I.* news, dated March 22, 1951, which gives the views of an official of the Hyderabad State who said that the normal annual deficit of the State was 1 lakh tons of food-grains. We would, therefore, be fully justified in taking the normal outside requirements of Hyderabad at a maximum of 1 lakh tons. The whole of the net deficit is thus wiped off and we are left with a surplus of about 5 lakh tons.

Similar is the case of Travancore-Cochin, which produces as much as 7 to 10 lakh tons of tapioca and has never imported from outside more than 3 lakh tons of food-grains. After making adjustment on the above lines we find that even this zone will have a net surplus of about 9 lakh tons.

3. *Eastern Zone* : *Areas*—Assam, Manipur, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar, Orissa, and Madras.

The Food Position

Surplus States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Surplus
		(In thousand tons)		
Assam (including tribal area)	9.60	1530	1046	484
Tripura	.64	171	75	96
West Bengal	24.81	3306	2852	454
Bihar	40.22	4787	4653	134
Orissa	14.64	1875	1679	196
			Total surplus	1364

Deficit States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Deficit
		(In thousand tons)		
Manipur	.58	48	67	19
Madras	57.0	5833	6555	722
			Total deficit	741

Net Surplus—619 thousand tons.

At the top of this huge surplus, the production of fish in this zone is as much as 9.5 million maunds and a huge production of subsidiary foods like tapioca, sweet potatoes and potatoes.

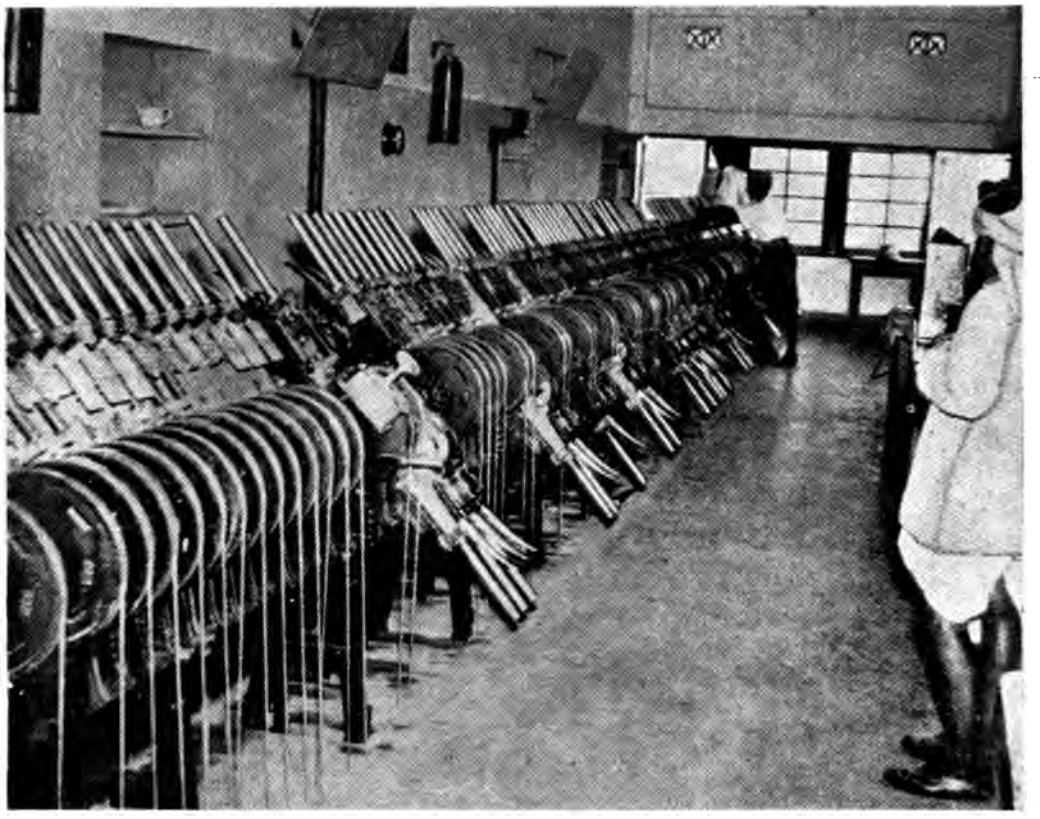
4. *Northern Zone* : This zone is to comprise of Uttar Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh, which have a population of 63.21 and 3.57 million, respectively, with a net production of 8770 and 495 thousand tons, against their normal requirements of 7260 and 640 thousand tons, respectively. This leaves us with a huge surplus of more than 13 lakh tons of food-grains which should be kept as a reserve under the control of Centre to meet any emergency in any part of the country. The demand for the Defence Services and Collieries which is of the order of 2 lakh tons and is the direct responsibility of the Centre can also be met out of the huge surplus of this zone.

PRE-REQUISITES TO THE PLAN

Before embarking on the implementation of the plan, it would, however, be necessary that proper storage facilities are immediately provided at least at every Tahsil Headquarters and as the areas constituting each zone would be a little large, it would be essential to make arrangements with the Railway Ministry to reduce freight charges for long distances and give top priority to the movement of food-grains. The whole of our administrative machinery will require a complete overhauling and full intra-State as well as intra-Ministerial co-ordination obtained. The last but not the least, every effort will have to be made to win the co-operation of all the parties not represented in the Government by the formation of a Non-party Food Front. Each zone will be placed under the administrative control of a Zonal Commissioner, who will have an advisory committee, represented by all shades of opinions in the area and will apprise the Union Food Minister with the day-to-day developments. He will also be represented at the Food Ministers' Conferences as and when they are held.

Efforts will be made to change the existing psychology of the people and a regular propaganda machinery set up for the purpose. If possible this may be done under the Non-party 'Food Front. Food imports would not be stopped immediately, but would be reduced for the time being and totally done away with the two or at the most three years.

Tagore Birthday celebration by Rabichakra at Kalibari Hall, Simla



During the past thirty years, the Indian Railways have made rapid strides in the development of signalling systems. Here is an interior view of the Central Cabin at Ondal

Siliguri Station Building which was built in 1951. It is most modern from the points of view of architecture and amenities

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI

position of women during the Middle Ages, is
l a very interesting study. The Ancient Age and
liddle Age, roughly called the *Vedic* Age and the
i Age, present an interesting contrast, specially
regard to the question of women's position,
tion and progress. Due perhaps to political
s mostly (if not entirely), at the end of the
period, the golden age of women's all-round
ess and emancipation, a marked tendency was
d in society-elders and law-givers to put a
int on women's freedom, both physical and
l, and confine them more and more within the
sanctuary of a home. The inevitable result was
women, deprived of their birth-rights of educa-
and freedom came, at the same time, to be
ed of their inherent social, legal and political
. The start to this wholly regrettable and un-
ntable process of the subjugation of women was
in the 1st century A.D. by the most celebrated
ancient *Smriti-kara* or Law-giver, Manu. Hence,
uld not be very wrong to hold that from the
o the 18th century A.D., this downward trend
e cultural life of the country continued un-
d, leaving a permanent blot in our national life,
due to Herculean efforts of the great Raja
Mohun Roy, the father of modern India, the
rd trend in women's progress and emancipation
tarted afresh, and is still continuing through
ungrudging service of liberal-minded social
rs and reformers.

but while it is undoubtedly true that the position
omen in medieval India during the Smriti Age,
ing from the absolutely panicky and, as such,
-sighted policy of the then heads of society, will
remain a matter of deepest shame and sorrow for
l, yet it also cannot be denied at the same time
the picture is often overdrawn. For, even during
Dark Age, streaks of light are not wanting in the
of very just and liberal provisions for safeguard-
women's fundamental rights to equality with men
l spheres: domestic, social and political. This is
able not only during the age of early Smritis, but
ss in that of later Smritis, represented respectively
ie famous *Smartas* Manu (1st century A.D.) and
unandana (15th century A.D.). Further, from the
re of society as painted in the literature of those
as well as from the invaluable literary contri-
ns of women during that time, we come to know
even during the Middle Age, women of India
not wholly deprived of education and freedom.
Smriti Age has been condemned enough—and
y so. But it is now time to turn our attention also
is under-current of liberalism, this sense of fair-
and justice which fortunately never forsook us
under the greatest provocation of political
acies.

Only one or two instances from the early Smritis, as well as from Sanskrit literature of medieval India are given here to illustrate the above.

The Position of Women in Yajnavalkya-Smriti

Perhaps, next to Manu-Smriti, the Yajnavalkya-Smiriti, composed approximately in the 2nd century A.D., is the most celebrated and ancient one. The views of this Smriti, regarding women are very similar to those of the Manu-Smriti. In the manner of the Manu-Smriti, it also asserts that, of the five objects of great veneration, *viz.*, *Ritvik* or one who performs sacrifices, *Upadhyaya* or one who teaches only one part of the Vedas, *Acharya* or one who undertakes initiation and teaching of the Vedas, *Guru* or one who undertakes all the Vedic rites from *garbhadhana* to *upanayana* and then teaches the Veda, father and mother—each succeeding one is to be honoured more than each preceding one, and thus mother is the most honoured of all (Yaj. 35). Like Manu again, he recognises 'Gandharva' marriage as a legal one (V. 51) and enjoins grown-up daughters to choose their own husbands, if there be no one to give them in marriage to suitable bridegrooms (Yaj. 64). Yajnavalkya supports the practice of *Niyoga* also (V. 68-69). He recommends bigamy only under certain special circumstances, *viz.*, only when the present wife is a drunkard, suffering for a long time, cunning, barren, harsh, etc. But if a husband remarries even when the first wife is living, he will have to pay an adequate maintenance for her (Yaj.-Sm. 73). If, however, a man remarries even when an obedient, qualified, sweet-tempered wife with sons is living, he will have to make over a third of his own property to her (Yaj. 76). Of course, exactly after Manu, Yajnavalkya, too, holds that women are never fit for independence, but must always be controlled by fathers, husbands, sons or relatives (Verse 85).

As regards women's right to property, however, Yajnavalkya holds advanced views, in comparison with those held by later law-givers. He enjoins that those wives who have no *stri-dhana* of their own, should be given equal shares with their sons by them. (V. 117). If the sons divide their father's property after his death, they should also give an equal share to their mother (V. 126), and an one-fourth share each to their unmarried sisters (V. 127).

Although Yajnavalkya denies freedom to women, he does not go to the length of vilifying them like Manu. On the contrary, he bows down to them as the greatest symbol of purity—The Moon has given them chastity, the *Gandharvas* auspicious speech, the Fire an all-round purity—hence it is that women are ever-pure (V. 71). Accordingly, those who vilify women, whether justly or unjustly should be fined (V. 73).

ATRI-SMRITI

This is a well-known Smriti, composed approximately in the 2nd century A.D. In this Smriti, no accounts are found as regards the position of women. But what strikes us here is its repeated emphasis on the inherent and essential purity of women as a class. We find here, first, exactly the same verses as found in Yajnavalkya Smriti (V. 292), emphasising the all-round purity of women (Atri V. 139). Then again in verses 188-198, it is said that being ever pure, women are never polluted even by immoral gratification (V. 188). One of the greatest blemishes of later Hindu society was to ex-communicate as impure even those women who were forcibly abducted. But Atri-Smriti, in a right spirit of justice and fair-play, enjoins that abducted women are never to be discarded as impure, even when men of other castes or foreigners are responsible for this heinous crime, not only that, even when this leads to illegitimate child-birth. (V. 191, 197). In another place also, he eulogises women as ever pure like the flow of water or the grains of dust blown up by the wind (V. 238). Atri-Smriti also salutes the mother as the greatest *guru* (V. 149) :

नास्ति "वेदात् परं शास्त्रं नास्ति मातुः परं गुरुः ।"

VISHNU-SMRITI

This is also a well-known Smriti, composed approximately in the 2nd century A.D. the main interest of this Smriti centres round the fact that amongst all the Smritis, it for the first time refers to 'widow-burning,' though, by no means as a compulsory custom. The verse is as follows :

"A woman should be protected by her father, husband and sons during childhood, youth and old age respectively. If her husband dies, she should either follow him to the funeral pyre, or lead a life of chastity."* (V. 14).

But as regards the proprietary rights of women, the Vishnu-Smriti holds an advanced view. In the 17th chapter, it enjoins as follows :

"If a man dies without a son, his property would pass to the following in order of preference : wife, daughter, father, mother, brother."†

Thus, Atri-Smriti, though not so liberal as to allow the wife a share in her husband's property when her sons are living, is at least just enough to allow the same to her or to her daughter, to the exclusion of other male relatives.

It is also liberal enough to recognize the *Gandharva* form of marriage and like Manu and Yajnavalkya, recommends that after waiting for three years, grown-up girls should choose their own husbands (V. 24.40). In common with other Smritis, it too, recognises three great *gurus* for a man—Mother, Father, and Teacher (31.1).

PARASARA-SMRITI

This celebrated Smriti, composed approximately in the 6th century A.D. contains the only verse, found in the Smritis, enjoining re-marriage for women under certain circumstances :

"If the husband be lost, dead, has embraced asceticism, be impotent, ex-communicated, then, in time of the above five kinds of disasters, women can marry again."*

As well-known, the famous reformer and philanthropist, Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar legalised widow-marriage on the strength of this verse.

Parasara-Smriti also holds, in common with Atri-Smriti, (188 *ff*) that as women are ever-pure, even abducted women are not to be ex-communicated and discarded (10.24, 26).

In a rather humorous verse, Atri-Smriti forcibly raises its voice against the senseless discarding of women as goods and chattels. It points out that a man who discards his innocent and virtuous wife will have to be born as woman seven times and repeatedly suffer from widowhood (4-15). In another well-known Smriti, *viz.*, Katyayana, too, the same thing is mentioned, *viz.*, that if an innocent, venerable wife dies after being insulted by her husband, then she will be born as a man thrice, and the husband will be born as a woman (20.13).

It is clear from the above that in the age of early Smritis, even to a late time, women were not entirely deprived of their fundamental birth-rights to education, property and freedom, though their position had much deteriorated from that in the Vedic Age.

POSITION OF WOMEN AS REFLECTED IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Literature, it is rightly said, is the mirror of the soul of society. From that standpoint, position of women, as reflected in the well-known literature of the Middle Ages, is indeed a very interesting study. Just one or two examples mainly from the Sanskrit dramatic literature which abounds in female characters, are enough to illustrate this fact.

In Kalidasa's first drama *Malavikagnimitra* (4th century) there are quite a large number of highly educated and cultured female roles. Here we first meet the great woman scholar and ascetic Pandita Kausiki, greatly honoured by all, including the king, for her deep and wide learning, profound and penetrating power of judgment, as well as her intensely affectionate and unselfish manners. This shows that even in the

* बाल्य-यौवन-वार्धक्येष्वपि पितृभर्तृ पुत्राधीनता ॥
मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ॥

† "अपुत्रधनं पत्न्यभिगामि । तदभावे दुहितृगामि ।
तदभावे पितृगामि । तदभावे मातृगामि । तदभावे भ्रातृगामि"

* नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

4th century A.D. asceticism and the life of a celibate student, were allowed to women. The heroine of this drama, Malavika, too, is a learned and accomplished young lady; and the Queen Dharini, too, has been delineated as no less perfect.

In Bhavabhuti's *Malati-Madhava* (7th century A.D.), we meet with a female ascetic of great repute, *viz.*, Kamandaki, a Buddhist nun, to whose house flocked together students from different parts of the country for learning. The heroine, Malati, a learned young lady, is found to paint the picture of her beloved with the greatest ease and proficiency. The two ascetic disciples of Kamandaki, *viz.*, Saudamini and Buddharakshita, Malati's friends and companions all represent a very bright picture of women's freedom and progress in those days.

In Banabhatta's *Kadambari* (7th century A.D.), a famous prose work, the three celebrated female characters, *viz.*, Kadambari, Mahasveta and Patralekha, possessed of great learning and wisdom, also show a bright side of society. Mahasveta is described having her body purified by the wearing of a *Brahma-sutra* or holy thread of initiation, and expertly playing on a flute. The holy thread proves that she was entitled to the study of the Vedas as well.

The famous drama *Ratnavali* by Sriharsa (7th century) depicts the heroine Sagarika as painting a life-like picture of the king, after seeing him stealthily only once, and her friend Susangata painting her by the side of the king's picture at a moment's notice. As usual, all the ladies, here too, have been delineated as very qualified and cultured ones.

In another still later drama by Rajasekhara, *viz.*, *Viddha-Sala-Bhanjika* (10th century A.D.), the heroine Mrigankavali writes such beautiful poetry in the difficult Vaidharbhi style and Sikharini metre as to gain the highest praise from the king. She is also depicted as an expert painter painting her own picture on crystal-walls for the king to see.

Another celebrated Prakrit drama *Karpura-manjari* by Rajasekhara also vividly portrays a very bright and encouraging picture of the high standard of educational proficiency attained by some women of those days (10th century A.D.). In this drama, all the ladies have been described as highly learned, most of them being experts in the difficult art of poetry-writing. Thus, even the royal maid-servant Vichakshana is found to compose poems regarding the *Malaya-samirana* or the spring-breeze and recite them before the king, queen and Vidusaka, and is highly praised by the king for her poetic abilities, fitting her name "Vichakshana" or a clever maiden. Her supreme cleverness and ready wit are admirably displayed in her palyful repartees with the Vidusaka before the king and the queen in this scene. Later, Vichakshana herself hands over to the king three poems composed by Karpuramanjari, herself and her elder sister Shulakshana describing the love-lorn state of the heroine Karpuramanjari and her great grief at her forced separation from her beolved, the king. All the three are rightly complimented by the love-lorn king himself, and even Vidusaka, Vichakshana's constant opponent admits Vichakshana and her sister Sulakshana to be "Mahitala-Sarasvati" and "Tribhuvana-Sarasvati" or the goddess of lerning on earth and in the three worlds respectively. In another place, again, when Karpuramanjari meets the king, Kurangika, her companion, reads out to the king a poem composed by Karpuramanjari describing the moon, which also charms the king by its sweetness of language, depth of meaning and variety and originality of ideas. Thus, in the *Karpuramanjari* we find many instances of women attaining that high standard of educational efficiency so as even to be able to compose excellent poems at a moment's notice.

Instances may be multiplied from classical Sanskrit works of medieval India to show that the female characters painted there do indeed stand out as bright examples of the height of literary perfection and moral excellence to which Indian women of those days reached. They were all well-educated, versed in the fine arts, like music, dancing and painting, and experts in the art of writing poetry, and witty conversation. Further, they enjoyed full freedom of thought and movement, were at perfect liberty to choose their own husbands, and did so, as a matter of fact, after secret meetings with their suitors, or in the open courts or *svayamvara-sabha*. Thus, adult-marriage and love-marriage were the only forms of marriage known to this classical Sanskrit literature, especially, dramas. In a word, these numerous women of Sanskrit literature seem to move in a beautiful dream world of their own above the actual social world of every-day life where the law-givers were increasingly depriving women of their fundamental rights of freedom and education and confining them to the narrow limits of their own homes only. But literature cannot entirely be cut off from life but rather reflects the present trend of society. The characters portrayed here are, no doubt, by themselves imaginary, in the sense that they do not stand for any living person. But, still they represent the proto-types of actual men and women as found at the time in society and that alone is the secret of their appeals to the readers. Merely impossible, absolutely fantastic personalities and situations cannot hold the attention for long or rouse the proper sentiments on proper occasions. Hence, the universal permanent appeal of those literary gems of Sanskrit literature is based on the fact that they did represent actualities and possibilities in those days. Thus, there can be no doubt, that even during the Middle Ages, a class of people belonging to the higher strata of society remained unaffected and unperturbed by the unjust Smriti-laws and rulings and continued to educate their girls, as before, give them freedom, in particular, when grown up a free choice of grooms.

In this way, it is no exaggeration to say that in

India, women's birth-right to education and freedom were never entirely jeopardised, never entirely ignored and trampled under foot, even in the face of that great avalanche of sudden fright and helplessness that seemed to sweep away the just and firm foundations of our social life during those ages.

——:0:——

A REBEL MAGISTRATE OF BIHAR

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A.,B.L.

[The Wahabi Movement that aimed at the overthrow of the British power from India had one of its two storm-centres in Patna. It was in charge of Maulvi Ahmedullah, a Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor of Patna City.

He was, however, exposed in a Criminal case at Umballah and was arrested. He was tried in 1865 for treason, conspiracy and attempt to wage war. He was convicted and all his property at Sadickpur in Patna City was confiscated. His career is unique and is disclosed below. The writer has gone into the authoritative papers for the story.]

Maulvi Ahmedullah of Sadickpur, Patna City, was appointed a Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor under Government Orders No. 2577 of 21st September, 1860. Before that he had been appointed by Government Orders No. 301, dated the 6th June, 1853 a member of the Patna Committee of Public Instruction. While he was in Government employment as a member of the Patna Committee of Public Instruction along with a few other relatives he was arrested by the then Commissioner, William Taylor, during the Sepoy Mutiny. William Taylor, the Commissioner of Patna, had secret information and was morally convinced that the small but strong sect of the Wahabis in Patna City had a lot to do with the Sepoy Mutiny. He had put the arrested Wahabi in a bungalow under his personal surveillance and he ruthlessly executed in a public manner a few of the supposed conspirators at the Public Place now known as Bankipore Maidan. Taylor was later on persuaded to release the other Wahabi suspects including Maulvi Ahmedullah. Taylor had to pay dearly for the firm steps he took to stem the tide of the Sepoy Mutiny one of which was his action against the Wahabis. Taylor was removed from the Commissionership and later he resigned.

When Maulvi Ahmedullah was appointed a Deputy Collector in 1860 it was obviously not known that Ahmedullah was already in a big conspiracy of the Wahabis to throw out the British from India. One centre of the operation of the Wahabis was in Mulkah-Sittana and the other centre was in Patna under the operational guidance of Maulvi Ahmedullah, *Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor.*

Sitting in his house at Sadickpur, Ahmedullah with a number of aliases guided the operations of the Wahabis in their move against the British, and his field of operations went beyond the limits of India's frontiers. At his house a weekly meeting used to be held usually after evening prayers. The members of the committee were, besides Maulvi Ahmedullah, his brother Maulvi Yahiya Ali, Chief priest and correspondent, Abdul Rahim, relative and assistant to Yahiya Ali, Abdul Gufoor, a confidential servant of Maulvi Ahmedullah, treasurer. There was another very important member of the Committee, Elahi Buksh, who acted as the banker. The house of Ahmedullah was referred to as a *chota godown* in the correspondence. A regular system of code words was used in all Wahabi correspondence and everyone of the conspirators had an alias. The battle was referred as Mokardama (suit or case in court). Gold mohurs were called red rubies. The remittance of money was mentioned as the price of books. The money transactions were very large as Elahi Buksh's books alone shew Rs. 26,000 in drafts in one year sent through him independent of other remittances in gold mohurs, which were sent by a private messenger or *kossid.*

Maulvi Ahmedullah had his secret agents in all the important places of Bengal and Bihar. One Haji Badruddin, a hide-merchant of Dacca, was the most active agent and all the collection from the east used to come through him and was forwarded by him to Patna through one Phagu Lal on whom drafts were drawn. In Calcutta there was one Abdul Jubber of mahalla Moореeganj who used to go out on preaching mission. Maqshud Ali, another agent, was a Muktear in the High Court and had also a house in Patna. Ahmedullah had his agent in important districts like Pabna, Rajshahi, 24-Parganas, Jessore, Faridpur, Murshidabad, Maldah, Rangpur, Monghyr, Tirhut (Muzaffarpur), Bihar, Arrah, Buxur, Banaras, Allahabad, Kanpur and Meerut besides other places. Patna was the storm-centre but the men who fomented the conspiracy acted in great secrecy. Ahmedullah had specially appointed *kossids* or messengers to carry information and money to and from Mulkah-Sittana. Among the *kossids* the more important were Samsuddin of Deobun in Saharanpur district, Abdul Rahman of Kaithal, Nizamuddin of Thaneswar, Hidaetullah, a Kashmiri resident of Jammu and others. Besides the members of the Central Committee already mentioned

in Patna there was one Elahi Baksh, a Muktear, who took an active part in Wahabi movement. Maulvi Umair and Abdul Rahim, the two merchants, were employed to dispose of the hides and skins given as *zakat* in Jehad war fund. Sayed Ali, a partner of Monohor Das, a banker, was useful in remitting money to Sittana. There was another Elahi Buksh who later on was convicted and sentenced to transportation for being in the conspiracy. He turned to be an important witness against Maulavi Ahmedullah. One Nandlal, a resident of Fathua and *thikadar* of villages, was a clever forger and was employed wherever his talents were required.

There appears to have been a general move at the instance of Ahmedullah throughout the districts of Bengal (which comprised Bihar, Orissa and Assam) for the realisation of *zakat*, a contribution for the war fund. Through the agency on the political side as well as through the preachers the Muslims were constantly reminded that they have to raise a *jehad*, a holy war of Muslims, against the *kafirs* or infidels. In their correspondence Christian and British troops were called the heirs of Rookallah (Jesus Christ) deceased. One of the leading principles of Wahabism was the expectation of an Imam (guide or prophet) who will lead all true believers to victory over infidels. These two tenets make the Wahabis fanatics and men and money were constantly and ruthlessly raised in expectation of the Imam and the duty of *jehad*. Maulvi Ahmedullah was the pivot of these activities and fully utilised his opportunity as a Government servant to further the Wahabi conspiracy. Great care was taken by Ahmedullah to prevent the possibility of suspicion as to the share he had in Elahi Buksh's business. When he became a Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor he transferred his share to the name of the office treasurer, Abdul Gafoor. All letters from Bengal appear to have been received through a book-seller in Patna and all letters received from friends on the frontiers were received through Elahi Buksh. On the arrest of Elahi Buksh at Umballah (a story which will be disclosed) the last meeting of the committee was called by Ahmedullah at his Sadickpur house and it was decided to destroy the whole of the correspondence and they were all destroyed. But the papers that had been seized in connection with the trial of some of the Wahabis at Umballah give out a lot of secrets of the Wahabi movement guided by Maulvi Ahmedullah.

For a proper appreciation of the Wahabi movement, it is necessary to indicate briefly what Wahabism is. The sect of Wahabis takes its name from Abdul Wahab, a seceder from the orthodox Mohamedan faith, who acknowledged Mohammad as a great and good man but denied his divine character. Abdul Wahab was born at Elhautia, a village five or six days' journey, south of Deraiyeah, the capital of the province of Nejd. He preached that Mohammad the prophet was a mortal and he preached for all the nations of the world and not for one only—the Arabs. He reduced Mahomedanism to pure Deism and made several prohibitions concerning social and religious habits, such as the use of opium, wine, tobacco and the use of the rosaries for prayers and would not allow the deification of any saints or graves of the saints. This reformed creed made great progress among the nomadic Arabs or Beduins. The creed received great enrouragement under Saud, the grandson of Mohammad Ibu Saud who conquered Mecca. It is not necessary to follow the growth of Wahabism and how it affected Turkey and Egypt at one time. The death of Saud was the forerunner of the ruin of the Wahabis. But even when the power of the Wahabis was broken Wahabism was not exterminated. Wahibism had a great follower in Syud Ahmed who was a native of Rai Barielly and began his life as Sowar under Amir Khan Pindarry. Ahmed received his religious training under one Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi. Syud Ahmed quickly attracted a large number of followers and became a religious teacher. His influence in Bengal was great and the doctrines that he preached were almost identical with those of the Arabian Wahabis. Ahmed came to Patna and made many converts and appointed his agents. The Chief agent appointed in Patna was Shah Mohammad Hussain in whose house he stayed. Mohammad Hussain had been given a sanad empowering him to appoint his successors. This sanad was later traced to be in possession of Yahiya Ali who was convicted in the Umballah case and was the brother of Maulvi Ahmedullah. Syud Ahmed also visited Calcutta, Bombay, Barielly and after he had acquired a large number of followers he travelled in 1824 through Kandahar and Kabul preaching among the Yusufjahi tribes on the Peshawar borders. He also inflamed Barakazi sardars and proclaimed religious war against the Sikhs whose power in Punjab at this time had been very great. Their fight with the Sikhs brought only temporary and occasional success. Ahmed was defeated and fled into Surat. He afterwards acquired great influence among the Pathans through Futtah Khan of Panchadar. A general insurrection later occurred when the Pathans rebelled against him and Syud Ahmed was forced to fly to Hazara where he was joined by the remnants of his followers. In 1830, they were again defeated by the Sikhs under Sher Singh and Syud Ahmed was slain. Those of his followers who had escaped and found their way to Sittana, a village belonging to Syud Akbar Shah who had been a friend of Syud Ahmed. After Syud Ahmed's death some of his followers came back to Bengal and gave out that he had disappeared by a miracle but is still alive and would come forward as the Imam at some future time. This rumour reached Patna and some of the Patna Wahabis, namely, Maulvi Billait Ali and Inait Ali, started for tracing out Syud Ahmed who was considered by that time to be the

Imam and prophet. Fictitious stories of miracle were spread and the two Patna pilgrims returned preaching Jehad through the chief cities and towns of Upper India. They had been once arrested on the frontier for having attempted to create a disturbance among the Khagan tribes. They were sent back under custody to their homes and in Patna they were under security and the order was that they should not leave Patna. But some time after Enayet Ali was arrested in Rajshahi and in 1850 he was turned out of the district and sent back to Patna. Enayet Ali was again bound down by the Magistrate of Patna and his surety was Maulvi Awleeah Ali, a Wahabi of Sadikpur, father of Iradut Hussain. From the proceedings of the Punjab Board of Administration, dated 12th May, 1851, both Enayet and Willayut Ali were found to be on the frontier fomenting trouble. In 1852 the British Government were convinced that there was an attempt on the part of the Wahabi fanatics to tamper with the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry at Rawalpindi. This conspiracy had originated in Patna and many of the Sadikpur Muslims were found at Sittana in Swat. By this time men with arms and money from Patna were constantly going in small batches to the frontier for joining the Jehad.

In early 1852 on the representation of the Punjab Government the Magistrate of Patna searched the house of Hossein Ali Khan. Somehow the news that there would be a search had reached his ears and all the correspondence in the house were destroyed. The Magistrate of Patna in his letter to Government mentioned that Jehad was being preached from the house of Billait Ali and that the Wahabis were in league with the police. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, recorded a minute on the 28th August, 1852 to the effect that treasonable correspondance was being carried on between Patna and the frontier was known to Government and that the Patna conspirators should be closely watched. But it appears that the watch was extremely weak probably due to the fact that the police was in league with the local Wahabis in Patna.

There was a prosecution in 1853 at Rawalpindi where one Mohammad Wully was convicted for trying to tamper with the 4th Native Infantry Regiment of Rawalpindi. In this case also the names of Ahmedullah and other residents of Patna were mentioned as forwarding supplies to the fanatics in the frontiers. On the 7th September, 1862 the fanatics attacked the camp of the Guide Corps at Iopee but were repulsed. It has been mentioned:

"This hostile band of Hindustani and Bengalee fanatics which has cost the British Government so much trouble, treasure, and blood appears from all the information on record to have had its root in Patna where these frontier disturbances had been fomented and supplies of men and money regularly transmitted to the Hills by the family of the Maulvis in Sadikpur whose influence and agencies had extended over the greater part of Lower Bengal, Behar, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab."

During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 the Wahabis were again in the limelight in Patna but the firm action of Commissioner Taylor nipped the trouble in the bud. Moreover, the Wahabis of Patna had already been invited to go to the hills and make an attack on the British frontier and for this reason they remained more underground in Sepoy Mutiny days.

After the Mutiny the Wahabis in Patna redoubled their activities and thousands of villagers from different parts of Bengal started coming to Sadikpur. From there they were despatched in small batches to Mulkah-Sittana hills through Umballa where they were led to believe that Imam Syud Ahmed would appear and lead them to victory. In 1863 four Bengali Muslims were arrested in Karnal on their way to Umballa. One Gusan Khan, an Esufzye in Military service, was approached by four Bengali Muslims to join them as there was going to be a fight. Gusan Khan arrested them but the Magistrate released the men. Two months later a disturbance broke out on the frontier as suggested by the Bengalis. On this Gusan Khan ascertained through his son who was sent to Mulkah-Sittana that the fanatics on the hills were assisted wih men and arms by Mohammad Jaffir of Thaneswar. On this information Mohammad Jaffir's house was searched and a lot of correspondence were discovered. Jaffir had absconded but was later arrested at Aligarh in company of some Wahabis of Patna. These men gave out that they were the servants of Elahi Buksh and a telegram was sent to the Patna Magistrate to arrest Elahi Bukah. Among the correspondence seized in Jaffir's house a letter was found advising Mohammad Shufee that the rosaries composed of large and small red beads numbering 300 and crystal beads numbering 600 be despatched from Patna. At the same time one Hossain of Thaneswar was arrested coming in an *ekka* towards Umballa and had in his possession two jackets in which gold mohurs were sewn tallying in number with the number of beads noted in the letter found in Jaffir's house. All this led to a regular enquiry and Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, Magistrate of Patna, was asked to pursue the matter.

Ravenshaw's final report after the conviction of Ahmedullah is an important document and is dated 9th May, 1865. He followed up clues ascertained from the Umballa Trial which had resulted in the conviction and transportation for life of Mohammad Shufi and ten others among whom were Yahiya Ali, his brother, Abdul Rahim, his nephew, Elahi Buksh, banker and Abdul Guffoor, a confidential servant and treasurer. Mr. Ravenshaw searched Phagu Lal's house and found several entries of drafts in his books from Dacca and other places. Elahi Buksh who had been convicted in the Umballa case was brought to

Patna and a lengthy statement was obtained from him. The statement of Elahi Buksh was a complete vindication of the theory that the pivot of the movement was Maulvi Ahmedullah. Elahi Buksh was brought to Patna from Umballa jail and was kept concealed in the bungalow in the compound of Mr. Ravenshaw. Ahmedullah of course had been arrested immediately on the starting of the enquiry.

Ravenshaw had worked hard for months. Ahmedullah was put in the dock for trial on various charges of treason and was convicted by the Judge and the sentence of death was passed on him. The Committing Magistrate was Mr. Monro who had relieved Ravenshaw as the Magistrate of Patna and the Judge was Mr. Ainslie. Ahmedullah was defended by W. Makenzie.

The case came up to the High Court for confirmation and the sentence of death passed by the Judge was commuted to transportation for life.

The judgement of the High Court was delivered on April 13, 1865 by Justices C. B. Trevor and G. Loch.

There were four charges against Ahmedullah, namely, that he had attempted to wage war against the Queen, that he had abetted waging war against the Queen, that he had collected and abetted collection of men with the intention of waging war against the Queen. The Sessions Judge had found him guilty. After discussing the evidence at some length the learned High Court Judges came to the conclusion :

> "We think that the fact of the existence of a conspiracy in Patna for waging war against the British is proved ; that in furtherance of that conspiracy a Jehad against the Government was preached and that men and money were forwarded across the frontier. We have evidence that some of the men thus sent joined the rank of the combatants at Sittana and fought against the British Government. We have evidence also that money in gold mohurs and hoondees for the support of these rebels was remitted to Mohammad Jaffir at Thaneswar and Mohammad Shufi at Umballa. We find that the prisoner was a constant attendant at the preaching in the house of Abdul Rahim at Patna proclaiming a Jehad. We find that he was cognisant of and consenting to the conspiracy and to the acts done in furtherance thereof and though it may not be possible to point to any one act in particular as proved to have been done by him directly in furtherance of the objects of that conspiracy yet the conspiracy being proved and his connection with it, the acts of each of his co-conspirators done in pursuance of the common object are his acts and therefore to be held as evidence against him. We think that the evidence before us is sufficient to support the conviction of the prisoner under section 121 of the Penal Code upon the second count of the charge. But as we do not find from that evidence that the prisoner took a more active part in this conspiracy than others who have been convicted and sentenced, we decline to confirm the sentence of death passed by the Sessions Judge but direct that the prisoner Ahmedullah be transported for life and forfeit all his property to government."

So ended the famous trial and the writer is not aware of any other trial in which a Magistrate in India had been found guilty and convicted for treason. Mr. Ravenshaw pursued the case with meticulous care. Ravenshaw appeared before the Magistrate and the Judge. Although in the High Court he could not argue the case himself he entrusted it to another Advocate and instructed him. Ravenshaw's final report indicated that although the backbone of the Wahabi movement was broken by the conviction of Ahmedullah there were other Maulvis who were preaching treason at various places and going underground frequently. He also referred to the activities of the Ferisie sect in Lower Bengal whose doctrines were much allied to the Wahabi creed.

It may be mentioned here that the properties of Ahmedullah at mahalla Sadikpur in Patna City were confiscated and made over to the Patna Municipality.

The story of Ahmedullah discloses certain peculiar features. It is difficult to comprehend how a man, who had been suspected as a rebel and was sent away under surviellance from the Punjab, who had been arrested in Patna during the Sepoy Mutiny as a suspect, could have been appointed a Deputy Collector and Incometax Assessor. It is also clear that the police efficiency was questionable because in the very heart of Patna City meetings were held, hundreds of Bengali Muslims used to come to the Sadikpur house of Ahmedullah and very little was known on the surface till Ahmedullah's trial occurred. One is almost led to believe that the police were in tacit league with the Wahabis. It is difficult to appreciate how with all the lack of transport and communication facilities such a great and ramified conspiracy could be fostered. All this will show that there was a fanatic zeal almost verging on religious insanity which inspired the Wahabis. Successive repulses sat lightly on them and there was no decline in contribution in the shape of men and money for an end which was being kept up by the fiction that a man who had died would appear as the Imam and wage a successful war against the infidels. The hold of the Wahabis was indeed very firm on the Moslems of Bihar and Bengal as shown by the fact that lacs of rupees were sent to Mulk-Sittana every year from Patna and this continued for several years. Wahabism was a dynamic creed and the non-Wahabis also contributed liberally to their fund.

It is probably not known to many that the present Patna City Municipality office is situated on the land on which his house stood, the house that served as the place for the meeting and the clearing ground of men and money for the Wahabi cause.

A SUCCESSFUL UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSION

By ALFRED S. SCHENKMAN,
Acting Deputy Director, International Institute of Educational Sciences, University of Utrecht

"If the East had been industrialized and not the West," said a speaker at the Universities of the Netherlands 1952 Summer Session, "then this session, instead of being held at Leiden in Holland, would have been held at Benares or Jokarta."* The quip was made in answer to a question, by Dr. Tjan Tjoe Som, new Professor of Chinese Philosophy at the University of Indonesia. He was one of almost two dozen professors and experts who spoke on such subjects as the meeting of East and West, the Population Problem, Social Movements in East and West, and the Development of Understanding between these two great areas, etc. The lecturers came from Indonesia, from India, and of course from Holland.

But this Summer Session was not for lecturers only. Its success—and this success was considerable—was in large measure due to the complete participation of the members of the Session. These members came from 16 countries, from Europe, from Asia (India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Japan, Iraq), from Africa, and from the U.S.A. and Canada.

The session was not "meant to be a training course from which the students return home with ready-made solutions." It was rather meant to function as "a meeting place where persons from various parts of the world could exchange information, opinions and experiences." The organizers of the course tried to find a way best to bring about this exchange of opinions. They thought that such exchange (in the words of the Vice-Chairman, Dr. G. W. Locher) should "not be limited to incidental personal talks but should form one of the most essential parts of the program." Therefore they "worked out a system of discussion groups as functional elements of the session." It is the place and manner of working of these discussion groups that we shall describe here.

Now, the writer presents this report as an "insider," for he was a Discussion Advisor, one of three officially appointed. But he was also in a very real sense an "outsider." For he was an American citizen working in a Dutch University. He saw things therefore with two eyes, one being that of an organizer, the other an observer's eye. This report, the product of such dichotomous vision, combines in itself both the inside and outside points of view. From the inside, the reporter writes as a participant in the making of important decisions and as one, therefore, who went through the ups and downs that go with the making (and the not-making) of particular decisions. From the outside, he reports as one who saw things from a different background and with *therefore a different* point of view. This "two-in-one" outlook meant that he could be at the same time planner, critic, and proselytizer.

Let us turn from the reporter to the local scene. Universities just like any other institutions have their own histories and traditions; national educational systems likewise have roots that go far back. The Dutch universities, which have long and distinguished histories, show some of the bad points as well as the good points of adherence to tradition. As in most other European universities the lecture method has assumed the status of a *system*. And as in most cases of set and crystallized systems, the adherence to tradition is so much demanded that there can be little real examination either of the tradition or of the merits of the system.

Lack of financial resources, of course, is in all countries a handicap to education. But financial starvation is too often used as a cloak and shield to excuse lack of imagination and to excuse the unwillingness to tamper with tradition. There is a misconception that American universities can "do so much" because they have money; this arises from the publicity given to "new movements." Yet American professors are basically just as conservative as professors anywhere else; new methods though conclusively proved better than old find it just as hard to secure acceptance in the U.S.A. as in educationally conservative Holland or Britain or India.† Professors in every country are just about equally committed to their status roles and to the pseudo-security of the teaching method which makes them authority figures.

Universities, when they do advance in educational method, do so more because of the willingness of their professors (or of some of them) to examine the relevance of old traditions and of traditional methods than because of any supply of money. In the experiment to be reported on, for instance, there was a reasonable amount of financial starvation. Certainly this Dutch Summer Session was not backed by thousands of dollars or of guilders. But the Committee which decided the policy of this course was made up of members forward-looking and venturesome; the persons in charge of the day-to-day working of the course were willing and anxious to try new things. That is why its history teaches us much in the details. That it could develop so successfully in the brief space of two years teaches us how much a small group of persons can accomplish when its members are open to new ideas and suggestions.

The 1952 topic of the course was the same as that of the previous year. The writer was on the staff

* *Eastern and Western World.*

† It can profitably be restated here that the lecture system has almost the same stranglehold in America that it has in most parts of Europe or Asia.

also in 1951, so that both he and the topic (*Eastern and Western World*) had already been tried. In both years the assignment of this *functionnaire* was to organize "workshops" (small discussion groups) but the 1952 experiment was the more successful because there was already the experience of the previous year to learn from.

After the 1951 session the writer prepared a report for the Chairman of the Course in which some nine points were made. These were summarized as follows:

> "(1) Use every device possible to develop in the student members (from the start) a feeling of belongingness, of belonging to a group; to this end everyone must know everyone as soon as possible. (2) One individual should be given clear responsibility for seeing to the successful organization of the discussion periods, and (3) discussion policies should be decided on the basis of a well-formulated philosophy of education for the course. (4) Assuming the approval of a "Workshop" plan, then the real leaders of the small groups should not be appointed but should be elected "by their peers"—though there can be some manipulation of the chance method of assigning places in the workshops. (5) There was too much planned this year. Next year let the students plan a goodly number of their own evenings and cut down too on the number of lectures. (6) It would be educationally (and financially also) desirable to have a longer summer session—either one term of four or five weeks, or two terms of three weeks each. (7) To have a larger student enrollment it is necessary to use advertizing and more than one kind. (8) Travel scholarships (as from England or France to Holland) should be offered; this is in itself good advertizing for very little outlay of money. (9) There should be some speakers from the East."

It is relevant to give this summary here because most of the points were acted on, as we shall see in detail further on. To quote again from the report, from the section preceding the summary (above): "I make my suggestions boldly and without adulteration —also without apology—because it is only thus that the contrasts can be brought out; and contrast is a very effective way of increasing receptivity—as well as of increasing retrenchment!" Whatever the reason, there was great receptivity to new ideas on the part of the 1952 Committee.

To give additional background, we quote one further passage from the Report to the 1951 Chairman:

> "I make the recommendation that the philosophy of education for the entire course be re-examined. While I accept as inevitable the dismissal of my formulation (that education is best which educates least) as too Utopian (!), I suggest a compromise between this point of view and the extreme example of the conservative (or kindergarten) philosophy: 'In the afternoons someone must summarize each speech of the morning and then ask if there are any questions.' Perhaps a better way of stating the antithesis is to say that there must be some compromise between the idea that all discussions in an afternoon must be directed at an expert (or experts) on "Industrialization of India," "Nationalism in the West," or what-not, and the opposing extreme that the more aimless the discussion the better.
>
> "My own feeling would be something like this. There must be some modification of the extreme academic position that it is only 'facts' and 'learning' that count. We must get away from the idea that there are experts and non-experts; in a course on 'Eastern and Western Work' one of us is expert. And yet I need but cite the self-demonstrated pseudo-expertness of various 'students' from India, England, Egypt, Canada, America (if you wish to place me here), etc., to show that psychologically we all have need of being experts . . .
>
> "Specific recommendations: It is impossible, with the limited time available and with the number of subjects covered in the lectures, to expect the students to read in order to have background on which to base sensible discussion. It is impossible to have satisfactory *large* meetings for asking questions of the duly constituted expert of the day. It is impossible on financial grounds to have officially appointed experts in the several small groups that are contemplated here. The solution: Have as discussion topics subjects on which everyone already has some ideas, *i.e.*, (in many cases) in which people already feel themselves to be expert.
>
> "In this connection I suggest here centering at least several of the discussions around answers written by the students themselves to certain questions given them *at the very beginning* of the course (at a definitely scheduled time). Certain questions of the questionnaire we used this year might well serve as starting points for four or five meetings. . . Different methods could be worked out (or would be worked out by the groups themselves) for successful discussion . . .
>
> "Assuming always the existence of small discussion groups and the absence of officially appointed leaders, there comes up the question of leadership. My own solution would be to rely on the leaders 'arising' in each group; they will come from the soil. This does not mean that in our "purely by chance" distribution of students into the different groups there cannot be a certain selection. The person charged with organizing the work-hops should in some way, at registration time, have occasion to meet all the students and to form preliminary impressions.
>
> "Completeness of reporting requires that I state here that I was not entirely happy with two of the 'leaders' who this year came to the fore in two different groups. That they were selected by the groups, however, cannot be questioned; and personality conflicts (or preferences) are inevitable consequences of democratic organization. One method of minimizing the danger of 'wrong' leaders would be to ask each group on the first two or three days to elect different *temporary* chairmen before making the final selection.
>
> "In any case some of the difficulty this year was due to the schizophrenia already referred to, to the fact that the role of the small groups was never really adequately explained, etc. We did say that the groups would have the right to decide themselves what to do. But this 'filtering generality' became meaningless because in the

absence of concrete examples all the groups fell back on the traditional and simply decided to 'discuss the lectures.'

"*Suggestion* : The groups might spend the first week say in discussing the written answers as noted above. Then in the remaining weeks they might each concentrate on one topic (or problem) to be selected by themselves, from among the lecture 'subjects' or elsewhere. By definition, the power to determine one's own destiny means just that. It would, I think, be a good idea for the workshop organizer to write out and to give in advance to every member of the course a memorandum expressing the Administration's ideas on the possibilities of the small groups."

With this as background, we turn now to the 1952 plans and organization.

There was a committee charged with the making of policy and with the selection of lecturers, staff, etc. On this committee there were representatives of the different Dutch universities. The Chairman was the Rector Magnificus of the Leiden University, Professor J. H. Boeke. The person responsible for the day-to-day operations of the committee was Dr. Locher, the excellent Vice-Chairman. We had discussions before the session began about the philosophy of education that would guide us and there was almost complete agreement in advance, and during the session, about this philosophy. This was in contradistinction to what we have already termed the schizophrenia in the 1951 session—where different persons followed different guiding stars. The agreement in advance on philosophical and methodological considerations accounted, as much as anything else, for the success of the course.

It was agreed before the session opened that there would be discussion groups and Discussion Advisors. The points made in the quoted paragraphs (above) about the methods of selecting discussion leaders were adhered to. There were six groups, of 16 or 17 members each. Each of the three Discussion Advisors was "responsible" for two groups (though each kept, to a greater or lesser degree, in the background).

At registration time all of the participants in the course were interviewed for "potential leadership ability." The division of the entire membership (of 100 +) into the six groups was made in part haphazardly, with an attempt to have where possible equal numerical representation of different countries in each group. The "potential leaders" were divided up, and six persons were chosen by the Discussion Advisor to be temporary Chairman for the first day. It was made clear that each group would *have to* select a different chairman for the second afternoon and that the final organization of the group would be decided only on the third day.

In general, the lectures were held in the mornings—sometimes one, sometimes two. The small groups met usually for one hour or one hour and 15 *minutes in the early afternoon*. The discussion was *usually on the morning* speech or speeches. And the quality of the discussion depended on factors such as the personality of the Chairman for the day, the specificity or haziness of the topic, the need for factual information as opposed to mere opinion, etc. (The discussion of the place of women in the East, for example, was more solidly grounded than the talk about "Political Relations between East and West"). After the discussion in the groups there was customarily a meeting of the entire membership, for an hour or so, and questions were asked of the morning speaker or speakers. This question period was judged by the students to be in general less successful than the small group meetings.

Each group decided on its own type of organization. Two of the workshops chose a rotating chairmanship; one chose a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen; the most popular form of organization was two joint chairmen—one from the East and the other from the West. It should be remarked that the original selection of potential leaders by the staff more often than not proved to be poor. No potential leader can be a leader in this type of discussion group if he talks too much! And the very qualities which impressed the Discussion Advisors at first sight in several cases inhibited group members from talking!

On the first day after Saturday and Sunday registration, there was the giving of the questionnaire. About one hour was given to answering the questions (in writing). Then the purpose and working of the groups was explained by the Vice-Chairman.

Two days later, on Wednesday, the whole afternoon was given over to the reading, and discussion, of selected answers. The time-table of this afternoon will make clear what was accomplished that day. From 2 P.M. to 2-20 the writer read selections from the answers to the question, "You have never visited the East. How would you describe as simply as possible your impressions of what the East consists of?" Then a representative, each from Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, the Sudan, gave spontaneous comments about these answers.* After this, from about 2-50 to 3-15 there was general discussion, from the floor; this was not always restrained and reached some boiling temperatures.

A fifteen-minutes pause and rest, and then from 3-30 to 3-45 reading of answers to the question, "Before you came to Holland (or to some other Western country) how would you have described as simply as possible what the 'West' consists of?" Then spontaneous comments from a representative each of Britain, France, Holland, and the U.S.A. Again

* The answers are revealing. They give as good a collection of stereotypes as one could hope to get anywhere. Some of them, of course, show great insight and understanding. There is no space to give more than one or two samples here. A European student characterized America as : "Death of a Salesman." A Dutchman wrote of the East : "A mysterious people; their thoughts are quite different from ours, just like their characters."

general discussion. Finally the reading (briefly) of selections from the answers to the two questions: "If you are American, how did you visualize Europe before you came here?" and "America is 'West.' But if you have never before been to America, how do you visualize *it*?" The discussion at this point was also most "unrestrained"!

The formal meeting broke up at 5 P.M., but the discussion of differences and of newly discovered similarities went on at a formal tea, the next item on the program, and then on into the evening and into the rest of the session. At one stroke people had been made to know each other. Two dozen students had spoken at this meeting, and others had had their feelings and opinions voiced by the reading of those answers. No longer were persons from many different countries complete strangers to each other.

And so, even thus early in the Session had we accomplished a great part of our aim. We had always wanted the Summer Course to be "a meeting place . . . for the exchange of information, opinions and experiences." The "inoculation by questionnaire" provided the conditions which facilitated this exchange of views. The time given over for the use of the workshops in the next days was now more constructively used because some of the tensions existing between nationalities had been dissolved away.

To be sure, there were still the tensions between individuals. But they were no longer a problem of East-West relations; they were now rather a problem of human relations. There was still sufficient ignorance, and prejudices galore. But the total environment now favoured the attack on ignorance; improvement could be made. There were still points to be smoothed out in the organization of the groups. But in no case can ideal running of a society be achieved instantaneously; from here on at least we had a co-operative tackling of our problems.

The six groups structured themselves differently. But the final achievements differed from case to case not so much because the formal committee organization varied but because group characters were different. Each group had its own individuality; this was the result of the interaction between the personalities of the individual members. The different groups had different members. But the members of the 1952 Summer Session of the Universities of the Netherlands, regardless of the groups into which they happened to have been placed, were pretty unanimously convinced of the desirability of the small "workshop" meetings.

Not only were the members of the course enthusiastic about the *small* groups, however. They were enthusiastic about the whole Session—about its organization, atmosphre, and accomplishments. Indeed, this 1952 course "Eastern and Western World" was in a very real sense a workshop for forging the new undivided world of the future. The course *was* after all a training course for the bringing in of this better world.

———:O:———

WOMEN IN INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I

The part played by the women of Bengal in our freedom movement cannot be overestimated. They gave proof of courage and heroism even in the middle ages.

In the early days of British rule, Rani Sankari of Bansberia, Hooghly, and Rani Bhabani of Natore and, later on, Rani Rashmoni, Maharani Swarnamoyi of Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Maharani Saralkumari of Putia, Rajshahi, Rani Bindubashini of Mymensingh, to name only a few, left their mark in the annals of the province as patrons of learning as well as administrative heads of respective families. Their liberality flowed in different channels. In times of scarcity, famine, flood and epidemics, they opened their coffers for the relief of the poor and the distressed, and won recognition of their unstinted service from the State.

Maharani Swarnamoyi went even one step further. Our political aspirations received a rude shock at the hands of the British Government when they almost closed the doors of the Civil Service, the "Steel Frame" of Indian *administration, in 1876.* The newly started Indian Association took up the matter and carried on agitation against this governmental measure throughout the country and it was also considered necessary to move the English people at home on this subject. The Association had no money. Maharani Swarnamoyi stepped in and donated a few thousand rupees for the purpose. With this money of hers the Association deputed Barrister Lal Mohan Ghose, later President of the Indian National Congress, to England to conduct agitation there. The British people came to know of the actual state of affairs then prevailing in India from the spirited speeches of Lal Mohan Ghose.

In the Pre-Swadeshi Days

It is noteworthy that even in the early years of the Congress Indian women evinced particular interest in its affairs. We find two Bengali women, in the person of Swarnakumari Devi and Kadambini Ganguli, attend the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress in 1889 along with eight other Indian and European ladies. The association of these two ladies with the Congress became more intimate when they

attended its Calcutta session the following year as full-fledged delegates. Kadambini Ganguli delivered a short speech in the open Congress while moving the vote of thanks to the President Sir Pherozshah Mehta. Annie Besant referred to this event in her *How India Wrought for Freedom* (p. 116) in the following felicitating terms :

> "One of the lady delegates, Mrs. Kadambini Ganguli, was called on to move the vote of thanks to the Chairman, the first woman who spoke from the Congress platform, a symbol that India's freedom would uplift India's Womanhood."

Both Kadambini and Swarnakumari were ardent supporters of the Congress movement in its

Kadambini Ganguli
The first woman to speak from the Congress platform

early stage. Mrs. Ganguli was the principal organiser of the Women's Conference held during the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1906. She worked hard as President of the Calcutta branch of the Transvaal Indian Association formed to help the passive resistance movement started afresh by M. K. Gandhi in Transvaal, South Africa, in 1908. She also visited with Poet Kamini Roy the coal mines of Bihar and Orissa in 1922 to report on the condition of the women labourers there. She died full of years and honours in 1923.

Swarnakumari Devi's great contribution in the political sphere was her long and arduous service in the cause of Swadeshi. Long before the Swadeshi movement *Swarnakumari Devi had* taken up her pen to *rouse the national consciousness.* In a song which became famous she asked people to take the vow of Swadeshi and resolved to use country-made goods even if they were inferior. Swarnakumari was also a pioneer amongst women in organising annual exhibitions of home industries for women under the auspices of the Sakhi Samiti. It was a practical effort to revive our dying industries.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Swarnakumari was eminently responsible for having prepared the ground for the Swadeshi movement. So that when the call came women took up the constructive work of fostering national arts and crafts by the constant use of Swadeshi goods.

Sarala Devi and the New Spirit

This intense patriotism of Swarnakumari Devi found a forceful outlet in her daughter Sarala Devi, later known as Sarala Devi Chaudhurani. When still young her literary writings elicited praise not only from Rabindranath Tagore who was her uncle but also from that great novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the Rishi of 'Bande Mataram'.

Much of her girlhood was spent in Western India with her uncle Satyendranath Tagore. There she saw the Marhattas laying great emphasis on courage and valour and worshipping Shivaji as their national hero. Their festivals were also attended by physical and military exploits. All this made a deep impression on the spirited nature of Sarala Devi and she wanted to introduce the heroic aspects of the Maharastra festivals in her own province. She had already taken up the editorial charge of *Bharati*. Through the pages of the *Bharati* she appealed to her countrymen to cultivate courage and face danger and even death in preserving self-respect, both individual and national. She gave practical shape to her ideas by establishing a centre of physical culture at her place in Ballygunge, Calcutta, and employed Professor Murtaja to give instruction in it to the young men. A number of physical culture centres grew up in different parts of Calcutta. She even proposed to the authorities of the Congress in 1902-3 to organise an exhibition of physical feats at the time of its annual sessions. The news of her endeavours at the rejuvenation of youth in Bengal spread far and wide. It was through her efforts that the minds of the youths of Bengal underwent a radical change and got prepared for the reception of the New Spirit, the spirit of defying our so-called masters who stood in the way of our national independence.

Sarala Devi adopted some new methods which served to bring about a psychological change in our people, too. She composed national songs and gave them tunes so that we could sing them in chorus. During the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1901 her famous song—

"अतीत गौरववाहिनी मम वाणि ! गाह आजि हिन्दुस्थान"

was sung in chorus by

fifty-six persons of different provinces. Like the Ganapati and the Shivaji *Utsab* of Maharastra Sarala Devi organised in 1903 anniversary meetings in memory of our heroes, such as, Pratapaditya and Udayaditya, to inspire the youths of Bengal with a sense of national pride and self-respect. *The Bengalee, Sanjibani* (Bengali weekly), *New India* and other nationalist papers of the time spoke highly of this move of Sarala Devi. Bepin Chandra Pal wrote in his *New India*:

> "As necessity is the Mother of Invention, Sarala Devi is the mother of Pratapaditya to meet the necessity of a Hero for Bengal."

The cult of heroism and hero-worship received an impetus when Professor Kshirode Prasad Vidyabinode and dramatist and actor Amarendranath Dutta gave vent to these national feelings in their dramas on Pratapaditya. In 1904, Sarala Devi introduced *Virastami Brata*, a vow of courage and self-sacrifice, on the Mahastami day of the Durga Puja. An exhibition of physical feats was organised. Mothers tied the *rakhi*, or ceremonial thread, round the wrists of their sons and daughters as a token of their vow. But the main part of the ceremony centered round the sword-worship. A sword was placed in the midst of the meeting-ground, decorated with flowers and paste of sandal wood. Young men used to offer *anjali* (offerings of flowers) to the sword with the chanting of a Sanskrit *stotra* (verse) composed for the occasion. This *stotra* referred to the heroes of our race and their exploits from Krishna and Ramachandra down to Pratapaditya and Sitaram. This ceremony was very much appreciated by the people, and the Bengali youth got themselves rechristened in the cult of valour and courage, as their forefathers did in the past. Sarala Devi composed a song under the caption "Virastami" for the occasion.*

Sarala Devi also did much for Swadeshi. She opened a store of country-made goods in Calcutta and gave it the name of "Lakshmir Bhandar." The authorities of the Congress used to hold industrial exhibitions along with the Congress sessions. In the Bombay exhibition of 1904 Sarala Devi sent some specimens of Swadeshi goods on behalf of the "Lakshmir Bhandar." The Bhandar obtained a gold medal from the exhibition authorities on account of the superior quality of the specimens exhibited.

* Part of the song is given here:

"स्वदेशानुरागे जेइ जन आगे अति महापापी होक ना केन,
तबू से जन अति महाजन सार्थक जनम ताहार जेनो।
देश हित व्रत ए परश मणि, परशिबे आर बारेक यखनि;
राज भय आर कारो भय तार घूचिबे ताहार तखनि जेनो।
मातृ भूमि तार जेई अकातरे निज प्राण दिते कभू नाहिं डरे
अपघात भय आशु तार जाय मरणे गोलोके जाय सेई जन।"

Married to the popular Arya Samajist leader, Rambhuj Dutta Chaudhury in 1905, Sarala Devi had to leave Bengal. Henceforward the Panjab became the field of her activities but her connection with the Congress was lifelong.

Sister Nivedita

An account of the political activities of women in this period will be incomplete if we leave out Miss Margaret E. Noble, an Irish lady, known in India as Sister Nivedita. She got herself initiated into Hinduism by Swami Vivekananda in 1898, and adopted India as her motherland. Bengal became the centre of her activities. According to Romesh Chunder Dutt, once President of the Congress, Nivedita was "a lady who is now one of us, who lives our life, shares our joys and sorrows, partakes of our trials and troubles, and labours with us in the cause of our Motherland."*

Swarnakumari Devi

In politics Nivedita was far ahead of her times. She had had affiliations with the Irish revolutionary party of Great Britain. India's dependence on Britain distressed her much. She came into contact with Sarala Devi who often went to Belur, and was acquainted with the method of her work. But she found a more congenial comrade in Sri Aurobindo who was organising Western India for revolutionary work. Her visit to Baroda in 1902 made it possible for her to come in close contact with him. On her return to Calcutta Nivedita gave away her library of valuable books on the revolutionary and nationalist movements of different countries, about two hundred in number, to the centre of the revolutionary activities in

* Life and Work of R. C. Dutt—J. N. Gupta, p. 287.

Bengal, situated then at 108 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. It was here that she often delivered lectures to the young men on the natiosalist movements of other climes. It has now been revealed that Nivedita was a member of the National Revolutionary Council of Five with Sri Aurobindo as one of them. Swami Vivekananda knew of her revolutionary leaaings. He wished that she should eschew politics, otherwise his mission work might be hampered. Nivedita, however, did not give up politics. Within a fortnight after the death (1902) of the Swami, she severed her connection with the Ramakrishna Mission, with a view to have a free hand for herself as well as to save the mission from any entanglement.

Sarala Devi

Besides being a revolutionary of a high order, Nivedita, during the Swadeshi days, took up the pen to rouse in us a taste for the cultivation of our national art, architecture, literature and history—our national education and culture. She discovered a meaning in every trifling thing of Bengal and interpreted it to the people in her inimitable style. Her books on these subjects have become classics in English literature. Though she did not join the political movement or any political party publicly, her heart was always with the advocates of the revolution. She actually went to the court in 1907 to stand surety for Bhupendra Nath Dutta, youngest brother of Swami Vivekananda, who was arrested for sedition as editor of *Jugantar* and *subsequently convicted to one year's rigorous imprisonment. When working to relieve the famine-ricken people of Backergunge,* Nivedita spoke at women's meetings and preached Swadeshi amongst them. She asked them to take to the *charkha* and other useful handicrafts. The cult of the *charkha* was being preached in Bengal in the Swadeshi days long before Mahatma Gandhi took it as the symbol of his movement.

The Swadeshi Movement

On the 3rd December, 1903, there came the proposal for readjustments in the Madras and Bengal Presidencies. This created a storm of agitation. Rabindranath, in his famous address "Swadeshi Samaj," delivered in August, 1904, suggested the establishment of parallel government. Women also played their part. Sarala Devi and Sister Nivedita strove hard to infuse the spirit of patriotism in the rank and file and it is creditable that Bengali women effectively played their part in both the Swadeshi agitation and the revolutionary movements.

The Government of India passed orders on 20th July, 1905, to the effect that Bengal would be divided. This gave rise to a wave of discontent throughout Bengal. Meetings were held in the remote mofussil districts and proposals on the boycott of British goods were mooted everywhere. On 7th August 1905, a large meeting was held in the Town Hall. Here the comprehensive boycott resolution was passed. The actual partitioning of Bengal came off on 16th October, 1905. This day was a day of mourning for the Bengalees and was commemorated by abstaining from all sorts of work. Sacred threads were fastened round the wrists of brother and brother and sister and sister, which came to be known as *Rakhi-Bandhan*. Women observed *arandhan*, abstinence from cooking, as a protest against this autocratic measure. In Jemokandi, a village in the Murshidabad district, about five hundred women attended a meeting on the memorable 16th October and read out in chorus *Bangalakshmir brata katha* written for the occasion by Acharya Ramendrasundar Trivedi. In this *brata katha*, Ramendrasundar asked the women of Bengal to make up their mind, once for all, to use nothing but country-made goods in *pujas*, *bratas*, domestic ceremonies and festivals as also in our everyday life. Poet Girindra Mohini Dasi composed a poem, "Banganarir Rakhi-bandhan," in which she besought her sisters to resolve like Draupadi not to dress their hair till the partition of Bengal was annulled.

Like Girindra Mohini, Poet Kamini Roy, Mankumari Basu, Hironmoyi Devi, and Kumudini Mitra (later Mrs. Basu) tried to infuse the Swadeshi spirit to our countrymen and women through their poems and essays in Bengali. Some went even a step further. To make Swadeshi successful a few of our sisters organised meetings in their houses and mahallas and undertook to introduce *charkha* or spinning-wheel in the zenana. Hironmoyi Devi wrote to the effect that, besides boycott of foreign goods, some of the women had resolved to resort to spinning since the 16th October.

Another batch of women had introduced *Mayer Kauta* (that is, putting handfuls of rice in a pot in the name of our Motherland) in their families with a view to helping our national fund. At some places in the mofussil women took prominent part in organising Swadeshi Melas, exhibitions of country-made goods. One such was organised in Majilpur, 24-Perganas, by Basantabala Home and Poet Girindra Mohini Dasi.

Sister Nivedita

In the twelve-month that followed, the Swadeshi spirit spread far and wide. Side by side with the Congress, a Women's Conference was held in the Bethune College grounds on 29th December, 1906, presided over by Lady Chimanbai, the Maharani Gaekwar of Baroda. Needless to add, the women of Calcutta took much pains in making the conference a success. In her presidential address Lady Chimanbai laid special stress on the manner of progress the women of Bengal had made during the years of the Swadeshi movement. Her actual words were :

> "I know how the ladies of Bengal have helped and supported the Swadeshi movement which is now spreading fast over Northern India and the Punjab, over Gujarat and the Deccan, over Madras, Mysore, and Travancore, everywhere over this great continent."

The Persecution

The Swadeshi movement brought in its wake an insatiable thirst for liberty. *Sandhya, Jugantar, Nabasakti,* and *Bande Mataram* (the English daily) gave expression to the New Spirit day in and day out. The Government could not remain idle. They first tried to gag the Press and arrested one after another, the editors and printers of the above journals. Bhupendra Nath Dutt of *Jugantar* was convicted, as its editor, for one year's rigorous imprisonment on 24th July, 1907. In this connection women, about two hundred in number, assembled in the house of Dr. Nilratan Sircar on the following 9th August and gave expression to their distress in no uncertain terms. Lilabati Mitra, wife of Krishna Kumar Mitra and aunt of Sri Aurovindo presided over the meeting and, according to previous arrangements, an address was presented to the mother of Bhupendra Nath and Vivekananda. It should be noted here that Lilabati was an ardent supporter of the Swadeshi cause like her husband and patiently bore the brunt of official vagaries and repression for years.

The prosecution of *Sandhya,* another principal advocate of freedom, and the trial of its editor Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya also sent a thrill into the people. Brahmabandhab died while his trial was on, on the morning of the 27th October 1907. Hemangini Dasi, wife of Dr. Sundari Mohan Das, together with a few other ladies, went out of their way to appear before the funeral procession and paid their last respects to the departed leader. Hemangini made a short speech on behalf of the women of Bengal, too.*

Lilabati Mitra

* *Bandemataram,* 24 August, 1907, writes : "And lastly when a few disconsolate ladies waded through the crowd like apparitions and touched the sacred tenement of that great soul, the whole crowd was overcome by feelings which were never experienced before. The brief funeral speech of the more elderly among them had an unspeakable eloquence. It moved the whole crowd to tears. She had referred to the part he had played in arousing Indian womanhood.

The persecutions had already set in ruthlessly. The Alipore Bomb Case and the deportation of our renowned leaders, such as Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitra, showed the stiffening of both the national spirit and the administration. Mrs. Margaret E. MacDonald, who accompanied her husband, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in 1909-10 to India and toured the country, in an article to *The Modern Review* for August, 1910, referred to the "tremendous movement going on amongst the women." She wrote:

> "We are fond of labelling the Indian aspirations as *sedition* when if they were amongst ourselves we should call them *patriotism*. This movement seems to be spreading as much amongst the women as amongst the men.

Basanti Devi
(Mrs. C. R. Das)

> "The women are craving for education, and to take some part in the movement of affairs. Take for instance, the Swadeshi movement. This could not have succeeded in the way it has done without women. They have meetings in each other's home, and determine only to buy goods made at home, and not to buy goods made by foreigners. . . .
>
> "The women in the Zenanas often do not know how to read or write, but in spite of this the Swadeshi movement is spreading very much in the places where one would hardly think there would be opportunity for its growth."

The graceful political references unobtrusively introduced struck a chord in every bosom and when she mourned his loss along with the *persecution of Bepin Ch. Pal and Upadhyaya's beloved Sriman Sarada Charan there was loud sobbing and weeping* all through the crowd."

The Interlude

The Swadeshi movement continued for several years. The authorities found that repression could not serve their purpose effectively. It only drove the revolutionaries underground. The economic effect of the boycott was also being felt in England. For these reasons the 'settled fact' was at last 'unsettled.' That is, the partition of Bengal was annulled in December, 1911, and both the Bengals were united. Things seemed to settle down for the time being.

Though grounds for the Swadeshi movement no longer existed, still the aspirations of those more forward could not rest satisfied till complete freedom was achieved. The revolutionary spirit was abroad. It spread throughout India by now. The British must be driven out, and that with the fire-arms. The simple women of our villages came to the aid of those dreamers of national freedom, whenever occasion arose. It is now a truism to say that revolutionary activities could spread so widely in Bengal because women helped them ungrudgingly. One such woman was Dukaribala Ghose who was arrested for keeping *mauser* pistol and convicted for three years' rigorous imprisonment in 1916. She wrote to her husband from jail, not to lose heart, for three years would pass away in no time.

In Indian politics another woman began to take an active part. She was no other than Sarojini Naidu (Chattopadhyaya). Daughter of Bengali parents, she chose a South Indian doctor as her husband and lived in Hyderabad. A poet of repute and an orator, she was asked by the late Gopalkrishna Gokhale to take to politics whereby she would be able to serve our motheland more effectively. She joined the Bombay Congress in 1915 and had the honour of moving a resolution on self-government. In the Calcutta Congress of 1917 presided over by Mrs. Annie Besant, Sarojini made her mark by making an illuminating speech. As a member of the Home Rule League, she went to England and pleaded in a memorandum to the authorities there for the grant of political rights to Indian women. Her sister Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya worked for the cause of Home Rule in Madras in co-operation with Mrs. Annie Besant.

Sarala Devi Chaudhurani continued her political work in the Panjab. She conducted and edited *Hindusthan*, an Urdu weekly, in conjunction with her husband, Rambhuj Dutta Chaudhury. This was turned into a daily later on. During the troublous days of the Martial Law in the Panjab (1918-19), Sarala Devi Chaudhurani did yeoman's service to the cause of our suffering brethren over there even after the deportation of her husband, Rambhuj. When the call of Mahatma Gandhi came, it was Sarala Devi Chaudhurani who, amongst Indian women, first responded to it. She lent her cordial support to Gandhiji's Non-co-operation programme.

The Non-co-operation Movement

The Non-co-operation proposal was mooted by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi for the redress of our national grievances, and was approved by the special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in August 1920, and ratified in its plenary session at Nagpur in the following December. Women of Bengal, like their sisters in other provinces, began to respond to the call of Mahatma Gandhi. They did not hesitate to come forward to take part in the movement along with men. Sarojini Naidu was in England then. She acquainted the British public with the causes of our grievances. Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli, as captain of the women volunteers of the special Congress, had given sufficient proof of the organising powers of the daughters of Bengal.

With the progress of the movement Bengali women stood side by side with men, regardless of the consequences. They attended public meetings, gave liberally to the Swaraj Fund, took to charkha and hawked khaddar from door to door. Basanti Devi accompanied her husband, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, in his tour throughout the districts of Bengal, and asked her sisters to contribute their share in the national struggle. Boycott of foreign goods, especially cloth, was the main item of the programme—as before in 1905,—and women rose as one even in remote villages to make it a success.

As the movement grew in volume, the bureaucratic wrath also increased. Section 144 prohibiting public meetings as well as ordinances banning volunteer organisations were proclaimed in Calcutta. The Congress decided to break these orders. Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi and Suniti Devi were arrested in Calcutta, while hawking khaddar on the 7th December, 1921. At their arrest popular resentment ran so high that the Government were compelled to release them after a few hours' detention. This was the first time that women were arrested in any non-violent political work. In the absence of Deshabandhu, Basanti Devi carried on the work of her husband as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. She also presided over the Bengal Provincial Conference, held in Chittagong on April 15 and 16, 1922. Reference in her presidential address to the necessity of council-entry to conduct the Non-co-operation movement from within the Council Chambers, was the signal for the birth of a party, later known as Swaraj Party. She also referred in her address to the imprisonment of Sabitri Devi of Darjeeling for political activities.

To rouse political consciousness in women, a Women's Organisation was started by Urmila Devi, sister of Deshabandhu known as 'Nari Karma Mandir.' An able and sincere band of women workers centred round this Mandir, the most notable being Hemaprabha Majumdar, wife of Basanta Kumar Majumdar of Comilla. The main function of this organisation was to carry on the constructive work of the Non-co-operation programme, such as political education, spinning and weaving and buying and selling khaddar from door to door by women. But it was soon drawn into the vortex of the movement. When men were arrested in thousands, the Nari Karma Mandir took upon itself the work of convening meetings in the public parks of Calcutta in defiance of the prohibitory orders. Women had now to face the baton of the

Urmila Devi

sergeant and the *lathi* of the police. It was at one of these meetings that Hemaprabha Majumdar received injuries at the hands of the police. She showed so much gallantry at the time that Deshabandhu used to say of Hemaprabha : "She is the only 'man' outside jail." Mohini Devi, an old lady, also dedicated herself to the cause of the country. She walked barefoot all along the streets, canvassed khaddar, attended public meetings and spoke whenever needed. It may be noted here that it was mainly due to the women of Contai, district Midnapore, that the movement there under the leadership of Birendra Nath Sasmal was tremendously successful.

(To be continued)

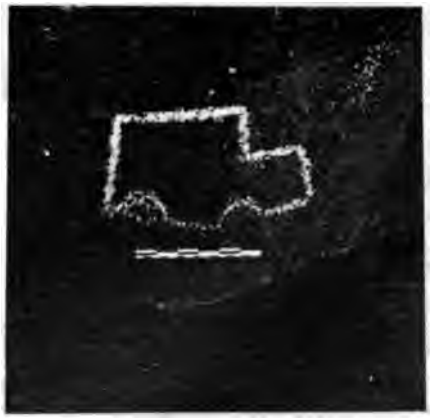
PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES IN BELLARY

By RICHARD CHINNATHAMBI, M.A.

Rock engravings on the Peacock Hill some five miles north-east of Bellary town have been mentioned in the original Government Manual of the District, dated 1872. Mr. Fawcett read a paper on the subject before the

Peacock Hiil, Bellary. Trap Dyke on right contains rock pictures

Congress of Orientalists in 1892 and illustrated it with photographs taken by him. Till the year 1948 when Dr. S. Subba Rao excavated the site on top of the Hill for evidence of pre-historic settlement, no attention was paid to the rock pictures. Dr. Subba Rao mentioned about their existence in his thesis, "Stone Age Cultures of Bellary." Instead of the vague description, "high up among the dark rocks which form the crest of the



Motor car as represented by the modern shepherd boy

trap dyke on the northern end of the hill . . . . are a large number of rough figures, pictures or graffti . . . .," found in the District Gazeteer, Dr. Subba Rao directed :

> "You have to go up the Vittalappa Gutta from the valley in between the Sannarasamma Hill and the Vittalappa Gutta. If you go to the top you will get a dried-up pond and a series of rock terraces with washed-out ash, etc. On the edge of the escarpment and on the steep face of the rock you have the drawings."

Failure to follow the direction will entail weeks of

Two bulls fighting over a cow—see a woman represented schematically between the two bulls

fruitless combing of the Hill, such as I had to go through and we might come only across crude copies of the originals as well as the present art of the shepherd boys on the stray boulders. In the monthly magazine of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, dated September 1951, Mr. D. H. Gordon has drawn attention to these rock engravings with a view to determine their age.

Idea of Lingam and Yoni equated with Siva and Parvati

Art of the Shepherd Boys

The modern shepherd boy idling on the rock at the foot of the Peacock Hill has scratched on the boulders what passed before his eyes—the motor car and the Mysore bulls ploughing the fields below. He loved a cattle fight and he pictured two riders setting their

animals at each other. He knew also that bulls sometimes fought over a cow and he pictured that too; only he presented the other sex schematically by a well-known symbol. By adding a trident and a crescent moon he brought in the idea of Siva and Parvati. There can be no doubt that these scratchings by the shepherd boys are very recent but in one picture the lines are deeply grooved, about ½" and the fact that the modern shepherd boys has drawn a poor imitation of it nearly only emphasises the archaic nature of the original. It implies domesticated animals and if only a shepherd boy watching the fields had drawn this fine grooved picture of a cattle fight it could not have been earlier than 10,000 B.C. by which time "most of mankind was at the Neolithic level" (H.G. Wells). Higher up on the rocks there is another example of the domesticated animal with very long horns and there is the faint impression of a human beyond its tail. One gets to the conclusion that the human was driving it along. It is definitely not a hunting scene.

Cattle fight—deeply grooved lines. Note a poor imitation nearby

Domesticated animal—faint impression of a human driving it

Bows and Arrows

On the stray boulders at the foot of the Hill there are further indications of a later culture. On one rock two humans are shown as fighting with bows and arrows. The humans are still stick figures. I am inclined to date it as after the end of the Megalithic period 300 B.C. This is supported by another picture where three men are obviously driving away something. The two figures on the left look like later imitations and the one near the human hand is possibly the older original which was copied. But a sword and shield can clearly be seen on another boulder; only the man's head looks like a bird's with prominent beak. The figure is repeated on still another rock. The body is pecked which is clearly visible. These two bird-men are unique among the pictures depicted on the trap dyke and may be the representation of a supernatural friend or helper (*totem*).

Two stick men fighting with bows and arrows

Sex Motif

It is very rare to find sex motif in rock pictures, says Mr. Gordon. The Peacock Hill pictures are exceptions. I noticed two stick figures front to front in an unmistakable attitude. This pose is uncommon even among savages and the drawing may be of very recent origin, but on a boulder lying almost on the plain there is a picture, grooved well, of sexual intercourse between a man standing and a woman prostrate. I found the motif repeated in a bas-relief on one of the stones used for constructing the main wall of the upper fort on the Bellary rock. Higher up on the

Three men driving away something

rocks we have humans depicted in line but with exaggerated genitals. There can be no other motive than the sheer exuberance of life that must have impelled the pre-historic artist to indulge in representation of the sex act.

Man with sword and shield and bird's head

PECKING OR BRUISING ?

I examined some of the famous three-horned cattle referred to by Mr. Gordon. At close quarters it is difficult to make out the figures; but from some distance the figures are clear. They look a shade brighter than the *surface in contiguity. To the touch* the surface of the *figures is also indistinguishable* in its finesse from the *general exterior of the rest of* the rock panel. At this distance of time the marks of chipping could have disappeared due to the weather, if at all the figures were drawn by pecking. Mr. Fawcett's view that the figures are the result of bruising, rubbing a hard piece of rock against the surface to give this shading, is borne out

Sex-act between a man standing and a woman prostrate

further by the smallness of the figures. These examples of bruising are found on only one rock panel. A typical specimen of pecking is however found on another rock surface. There is no mistaking the method used by the artist. The surface bears marks like those made on grinding-stones renewed by the stone-smiths in South Indian homes. It is arguable that the pre-historic man adopted bruising first for drawing figures before he thought of pecking the space bounded by the outline

Human figure with sword and shield and bird's head on top of rock panel. Note also sex-act front to front of two stick figures on left of panel

Cattle fight

grooved by him. In fact one figure of a human under a rock shelter was found scooped out uniformly to a depth of ½". This would have been the natural result of very close pecking.

FAWCETT'S ORIGINALS

Mr. Fawcett's originals are grouped, nearly all of

them, on one overhanging rock panel inaccessible to shepherd boys or woodcutters, very high up among the

Sex-act in the bas-relief on stone used for constructing ring wall, Upper Fort, Bellary Rock

cliffs. All the excitement of going into an art gallery newly opened can be experienced by merely gazing at these wonderful creations of the stone-age man. We see an elephant, a camel, deer, antelopes, long-horned cattle, what seems a tribal dance of stick-men, hand in hand, a long row of stick-men marching along, stick-men

Human figure with exaggerated genital. Note a faint figure raised on a T stand to the left. Below there is an antelope with long horns and tines

excitedly running about an antelope or long-horned animal—a roundup possibly. All that we associate with Bushmen art we notice—only there were no Bushmen here. The art tradition in Peacock Hill has a very early Palaeolithic origin. That "sub-men" sought shelter in *the rock crevices of these low granite* hills, and continuous occupation from very early times about 40,000 years ago, is borne out not merely by these rock pictures

Examples of bruising—rock panel

Examples of bruising. Close-up

but even by the yield of pre-historic implements of the cavemen.

Example of bruising. See cattle-like shading on top right centre

Mohenjo and Harappa

If the three-horned animals in the rock panels remind one of the trident between the horns of the oxen depicted on Harappa cemetery pottery, and the T-shaped

stands on which figures of oxen are shown raised bring to mind such representations on Mahenjo Daro sealings, we can argue that it was a later art tradition brought to Bellary which was a centrifugal focus of pre-historic cultures. "It has been proved," says L. Adam, "by

Typical examples of pecking : cattle with long horns and completely pecked body on left of centre

archaeological research that, even in pre-historic times, commercial relations extended over distances as wide as from the Mediterranean to Sweden," and cites how glass beads from ancient Egypt found their way to Africa, Europe and Asia.

Fawcett's original Peacock Hill

50,000 Years Old

Fawcett mentions the figure of a couchant Nandi before a lingam on the rock panel. There is a tiger quite near and obviously very recently drawn. This group Fawcett would not put down to stone-age men. *Mr. Gordon says it might have* been executed anywhere *in the 7th. century. Mr.* Gordon further warns that *pending tangible proof of the* age of the rock from an analysis of the patination (chemical changes on the skin of the rock) it is difficult to conclude the exact age of these rock pictures. He would, any way, put it down to, tentatively, the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Peacock Hill therefore holds a priceless art treasure for us. But it has not been protected from the

Another view of Fawcett's original Peacock Hill

vandalism of the quarry men. Out of the 260 dykes in Bellary district the Peacock Hill alone is endearing to

Schematic representation of two women

us for its association with our pre-historic ancestors. While no one minds the surface collection of stone axes, celts, hammer stones, scrapers and other implements by celt-hunters it would be a grave injustice to posterity not to take measures to protect, under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the trap dyke on Peacock Hill from being blasted away.

Copyright photographs by Richard Chinnath

MERCHANTS IN VEDIC AND HEROIC INDIA

By SURESH PROSAD NIYOGI, F.R. ECON. S. (LOND.)

ly part of the Vedic Age was an age of economic
ciency, *i.e.*, of primitive economy. So there was
pe for trading. The principal means of livelihood
Vedic Aryans was agriculture and cattle-breeding.
, the beginning of various trades and industries
traced in the Rigveda. References are particu-
quent to the labour of the worker in wood who
l a carpenter, joiner and wheelwright in one;
tion of chariots and metal utensils was also his
. The Rigveda also refers to tanners and skins of
prepared by them, sewing and plaiting of mats
ss or rags, weaving, etc.

Yayurvedic society, however, was highly developed
see the introduction of the principle of labour.
30th Chapter of the Vajasaneyi Samhita a
of trades and vocations like those of rope-
jewellers, potters, cultivators, weapon-makers, etc.,
tioned. References of traders and their guilds are
wanting.

excess of production in certain localities induced
men to carry them to other places where these
disposed of on profit. In this way there arose
ial enterprise and we find the mention of mer-
the Rigveda and the use of the verb *kri* denoting

erally speaking, in the Vedic Age we find three
of merchants—the Vaisyas, Panis and Brahma-
these three the Vaisyas were the most superior.
Rigveda, Sankhayana Aranyaka and Aitareya
the Vaisyas have been praised. In the highly
d society of the Yayurveda we find that the pro-
f trading has been assigned to the sons of Vaisyas
nts). In the Vedic literature we also find the
apati meaning the leader of the Vaisyas, *i.e.*, the
ts. This clearly indicates that the Vaisya mer-
ere organised and the Visapatis were the chief
s of their organisations.

Panis were another class of merchants. We
now, however, who the Panis were. The word
derived from the verb *pan* meaning barter.
ans that a pani is a merchant (*pani banik*
. According to the evidence of the Vedic lite-
hese Panis were a rich and enterprising merchant
ely devoted to the cause of gain either by trade
gh usury. Roth and Zinner say that they were a
merchant class who neither worshipped the
revered the priests. According to Hillebrandt
e the Parnians of Strabo. Ludwig thinks that
e aboriginal merchants who went in caravans to
nd North Africa. They were attacked by the
so they had organisations of their own. From
s however, it appears that the Panis stole the
(cows) of the Aryans. The Aryans, on the other
hand, with the help of their national gods attacked and defeated them. According to Prof. Macdonell, the Panis were usurers (Bekanata) of Babylon or of aboriginal origin. They were very rich and did not give any offerings to Aryan gods, hence they were an object of intense dislike.

The Panis were no doubt exploiting aboriginal or foreign merchants having no faith in Vedic gods. They were detrimental to the peace and happiness of the Aryans. The discontent of the people voiced by the Risis will be evident from the following lines of the Vajasaneyi Samhita: "Let the Panis bringing about miseries and who are hostile to the gods clear out from the country." The Panis were Shylock traders and no doubt practised dishonest trade in the country, otherwise the popular feeling would not have been like this. According to the commentator Mahidhara, Panis were those merchants who exploited others with their goods and hence were monsters.

From a verse of the Rigveda it appears that the Panis had no faith in the religion of the Aryans. According to Sayana, the Panis were like hunters—society was their victim. The discontent of the people and the greed for money of the Panis may also be proved from the following lines of the same Veda : "Oh Indra ! while bestowing upon us wealth do not behave with us like the Panis." This clearly indicates that the Panis exacted money from the people.

Brahmanas in the Vedic Age did not generally carry on trade. But sometimes they were compelled to take up trading as a means of their livelihood under extremely emergent circumstances. Thus in the Rigveda we find that Dirghasravas, a son of Usij and the sage Dirghatama, a Brahmin, was forced to adopt the profession of a trader due to the failure of rains.

In the Atharva Veda we have some information about the early merchants and the articles they exchanged. A verse shows that the Vedic merchant was an adventurous wanderer, who moving from place to place risked not only his goods but also his life for gain. So we see that the merchants are praying to their national god Indra, so that he might be their guide and leader, chasing ill-will, wild beasts and highway robbers. The merchant's main function was to sell and exchange his goods for those of another locality. He seems to have been the forerunner of the Sarthavahas and caravan-leaders of the Heroic age and early Buddhist age.

In the Vedic literature we find the words Ganas and Vratas which mean guilds or corporate unions in classical language. The word Ganapati meaning the leader of a guild is also found in the early Vedic literature. But it is doubtful whether all these were merchants' guilds. In the Aitareya Brahmana we find the word Sreshti meaning the leader of a mercantile guild.

In the history of the merchants' organisation Bhaga the god of fortune is regarded as traditionally the first Sresthi (being of the gods) as the war-god Indra is regarded as the king of the gods. A passage of the Taittiriya Brahmana states that Bhaga desired to be the lord of all earthly and supernatural powers and the leader of the mercantile guild of the gods. He was chief among the equals. This indicates that the merchants' guilds were formed at that time with persons standing on equal footing.

The origin of the word Sresthi is traced back to the word Srestha. In the Chhandyogyopanishad it has been used to mean a leader. In the Aitareya Brahamana we find that the word has been used to mean supremacy or leadership through capacity or merit. The word Sresthi is also found in other Brahmanas.

Now who is Bhaga? Bhaga is the god of fortune and is one of the twelve Adityas. In the Zend Avesta Bhaga stands for prosperity. His other qualities are dignity, distinction, fame, glory, etc. All these indicate that the leader of the merchants' guild must have been prosperous, dignified, and should also have qualities like distinction, fame, glory, etc.

In the later Samhitas and Brahmnas the term Sresthi is often used to denote a wealthy merchant and lending of money with interest was the common commercial transaction as Sresthi was a special name of money-lenders at that time.

The growth of trade facilitated the growth of standards and measures of exchange. In course of time a metallic currency grew up and displaced barter. In the Brahmanas we meet with the Satanama, a piece of gold equivalent in weight to a 100 Krishmal. During the period of Grihya Sutras an extensive trade was carried on and trade and commerce were living activities of corporate life. The Vaisyas were primarily seen to be the commercial class. The rite of Panyasiddhi or success in trade, in which a portion of the particular article of trade was cut off and sacrificed with the words, "If, Oh God, we carry on trade to acquire new wealth by means of our (old) wealth, let Soma, Agni, Brihaspati and Indra bestow lustre thereon," was performed by them.

Form the point of view of economic history it was the age of guild enterprise and marked the transition from individual enterprise to that of corporate activity.

The growth of the town and town life, the development of commerce, the greater demand for manufactured articles, all these contributed to the growth and volume of industry. The artisans and traders organised guilds and further developed their corporations which aimed at securing better opportunities for the realisation of their ideals. Almost all the industries were organised into guilds. Men of the same trade or occupation bound themselves to each other by the formation of corporate organisations known as guilds. In ancient India the movement towards the guild organisation began towards the later part of the Vedic Age. It was during this period that the guilds came to play an important part in the various aspects of social life.

The recent discovery of the records of the settlement of some branches of the Aryan race in Syria and Sumeria worshipping some of the oldest gods of the Vedic pattern, the discovery of the presence of indigo in the clothes of some of the Egyptian mummies, the discovery of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and of the Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god Ur—all these point to the existence of commercial and cultural intercourse between India and some of the nations of antiquity (say 3rd millennium B.C.). The excavations at Mohenjo-Daro throw light on the probable Indo-Sumerian intercourse on the Indus Valley and confirm this race contact of the past. In the Satapatha and Taittiriya Brahmanas there is mention of the boatman, the oarsman and the poleman. This indicates that there was existence of trade with Babylon. On linguistic ground, Prof. Niyogi of the Banaras University thinks that the Panis were merchants from Phoenicia and with that country there was regular commercial intercourse at that time.

The economic history of the Heroic Age throws much light on the mercantile organisation in ancient India. The chief characteristics of the age were: (1) the rise of town life, (2) the growth of crafts and the organisation of the craftsmen into guilds and (3) the development of trade, both internal and external. As a result of these developments, political, mercantile and crafts guilds were organised. In the Ramayana we find words like *naigama* which means merchants in Sanskrit. According to Jayaswal, Naigama means "the association of the city merchants." They were highly organised and occupied an important position in the economic and political life of the city. Moreover, in the Ramayana we find that Ramachandra was welcomed by the head of a merchant guild on his entry to the city. This indicates that the chief of the merchant guilds played an important part in the political and social life of the city. His position was something like that of a modern Sheriff.

The Mahabharata throws much light on the organisation of merchants. In the Aranya Parva (Book III) we find reference of caravan-traders and their organisation (Sartha). In the forest Damayanti met a band of merchants (maha-sartha) proceeding towards the kingdom of Chedi. Sartha means a band of merchants and maha-sartha a very large band of merchants. A maha-sartha consisted of the chief merchant, fellow merchants, elephants, horses, chariots, attendants, etc. Sarthavaha was the leader of the Sartha (*sarthasya neta*) and he was the Chief Executive (President) of the Sartha (*sarthasya mahata prabhu sarthavaha*) (M.B. III.61.120).

The merchant had a wandering habit. The travel and journey of the merchants in an organised way is the further development of the adventurous Vedic merchants. This continued even up to the Maurya age when the merchants' guilds had their own assembly halls.

HOW CORONATION SERVICE LINKS UP WHOLE OF BRITISH HISTORY

By LESLIE G. PINE,

Editor, "Burke's Peerage," London

THE Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II links up the whole of British history. She will be crowned in London's Westminster Abbey, which was built by Edward the Confessor nine centuries ago; and she will be the 39th sovereign to be crowned there since William the Conqueror in 1066. Both Edward and William were Her Majesty's ancestors, and long before the time of either of them the Queen's lineage extends into the dim centuries of the early Christian era.

Edward the Confessor was the successor of Egbert, King of Wessex, who in 829 became the acknowledged overlord of the other kings in Britain. Egbert's claim to rule depended upon his being of the royal house of the West Saxons, descended from Woden a great chief who ruled the ancestors of the Angles and Saxons when they were in their original continental homes in the 3rd century A.D. Thus the ancestry of Queen Elizabeth II can be traced for well over a millennium and a half; for the Kingdom of Wessex became in time the Kingdom of England and this in turn expanded into the United Kingdom, the Empire and the Commonwealth.

ACT OF RECOGNITION

Edward the Confessor was succeeded by Harold, who was akin through his mother to King Canute. Harold was elected by the Witan or Great Council, and this feature in the history of Britain's monarchy is preserved in the Act of Recognition. This takes place in the Abbey at each Coronation, before the beginning of the actual service when the Archbishop of Canterbury turns to the huge congregation and presents to them their undoubted sovereign Queen Elizabeth II and asks them if they are ready to do their homage to her. The great shout of "God Save Queen Elizabeth" which is the response, is, as it were, the historic echo of the shout of the early Saxon tribesmen as their King was lifted high for all to see.

We know that Willam the Conqueror was crowned in Westminster Abbey. At his Coronation there was a fight between his Norman and his Saxon subjects, and buildings near the Abbey were set on fire. Nevertheless Westminster Abbey was established as the Coronation place for all future kings. When the boy king Henry III was crowned in Gloucester Cathedral because the French controlled Westminster he had to be crowned anew in the Abbey on its liberation.

Edward I, son of Henry III, was the first sovereign to bear an English name after the Conquest; the old Saxon line had been united with the Plantagenet blood a century earlier. When the Plantagenets were replaced by the Tudors, under Henry VII, the blood of the ancient princes of Wales back to King Rhodri Mawr (844-878) was united with the English line in the children of Henry VII. Again, the Tudors intermarried with the Stuarts of Scotland and so James VI of Scotland succeeded his cousin Elizabeth I as James I of England. Through the Stuart line alliance was reached also with the Irish Princely lines back to Brian Boru, King of Ireland, who was slain at the Battle of Clontarf in 1014.

ANCIENT RITUAL AND CEREMONIES

Thus the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II is the hallowing of one who sums up all the royal inheritance of Britain. Little wonder that the Coronation contains ancient ritual and ceremonies. The service goes back to the time of Egbert, and the great Officers of State hold positions dating to the Norman Conquest. The Earl Marshal who orders the Coronation arrangements is the Duke of Norfolk, and the Office has been hereditary in his family since 1677. The Lord Great Chamberlain, the Marquess of Cholmondeley, represents the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, the last (and 20th) of whom died in 1702. The Archbishop of Canterbury's right to crown the sovereign was last confirmed 700 years ago.

Captain Dymoke who will bear the Royal Standard of England in the Coronation Procession is the Queen's Hereditary Champion. Formerly his forbears used to ride into the Coronation Banquet clad in armour and defy any who dared challenge the Sovereign's title.

The Royal Standard of Scotland is borne by Viscount Dudhope whose ancestor bore it at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Such is the heritage of Britain, which will be present as in a living tableau at the Coronation.*

---

* There is now considerable interest in the ensuing coronation ceremony of the British Queen. We are indebted to the British Information Services for supplying us with authoritative material contained in this article on the Royal lineage of Britain.—ED., *M.R.*

A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

IV

In April 1920, began the adventurous career of a very interesting Quarterly journal edited by Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya (sister of Sarojini Naidu) under the significant caption of *Shama'a* which is a Persian word for light (published from Aghore Mandir, Santhome, Madras). As suggested in the editorial in the first issue, "*Shama'a* heralds the dawn of a new era in art, literature and philosophy; it will, as far as possible, survey the trend of modern thoughts and study the contemporary developments in these subjects; it will attempt to serve as a suitable vehicle for the creative expression in prose, poetry, drama, painting, sculpture and music of both East and West. Translations from rare and valuable works in the various vernaculars of India will be published with a view to popularizing them among the English-knowing public." This indeed was an ambitious programme. Let us see how far the editorial view was fulfilled to cover the triple expression in Art, Literature and Philosophy. For the last section the following articles were published in the first year: (1) "Krishna—the Time and the Man" by the great savant philosopher of Benares, Dr. Bhagwan Das,—a series of four articles which deserve to be reprinted and republished, (2) "The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore" by Sarvapalli Radhakishnan, criticized by J. B. Raja with a rejoinder by Prof. Suryanarayanan, (3) "The Last Journey of Lin-Lang" by F. H. Davis—a profound and picturesque parable describing the Chinese poet's encounter with the Eight Immortals of Chinese Heaven: "When you turned a goldfish into a lady's slipper, the sole was missing. The soul is also missing in you, and so we give you a new name—Shih Ch'inghus (stone from Heaven). To this one of the Eight Immortals replied: Perceiving that our exquisite language and our exalted courtesy are wasted upon you, let us sum up our meaning in three blow-like words: "Go to Hell." And Lin-lang went to Hell exceedingly swiftly." Literature is represented by several articles of which the outstanding ones are: (1) "The Future of Literature in India" by Satyavrata Mookerjee, (2 "Symbol and Metaphor in Art" by James H. Cousins, (3) "Love Poetry of the Punjab" by Bawa Budh Singh and a remarkable travelogue by Sir John Woodroffe, "White and Gold," describing a thrilling visit to the Nigo and Gosho Palaces from Maruyama. The emphasis of the editor was on topics of Art and several articles by an English critic, Rupert Lee and by B. A. Ross, commenting on the many manifestations of *Art in Europe: "The Victorian Age* produced a morass of sugary comfort and amiableness indulged in by men so much that they became guys of sentiment against this sentimentality. So that the brutal tap was turned on, and for fifty years it will be the thing to be brutal and emotional."

Art is represented by several articles, the outstanding ones being the "Art of the People" by Radha Kamal Mookerjee and the "Work of J. D. Fergusson" by the famous English critic, Charles Marriott. The editor treed to high-light Art by providing a distinguished masterpiece as a frontispiece in every number—"Hermes" (Athens), "Benzaitan" by the 17th century Japanese master Yukinopu of the Kano School, and a beautiful colour plate of Fergusson's "Rose Rythm," an outstanding masterpiece of the English Mordernistic School in which the distinction between Eastern and Western Art is sought to be obliterated.

In the second volume (1921), Art is high-lighted by Aurobindo Ghose's famous dissertation on the Netional Value of Art, and a series of reproductions of painting and sculpture: "The Offering" by Andree Karpels, a colour plate of a Moghul miniature "Princesses Playing Polo" and a photogravure print of "Shiva and Parvati," a Nepalese copper-gilt image with a descriptive article by O. C. Gangoly.

In the third volume (1922), Art is covered by four remarkable articles of permanent value. Sri Aurobindo Ghoses' famous essay on the Revival of Indian Art, "Modern Movements in Japanese Painting," by James H. Cousins, "Toys" by Stella Kramrisch and "The Tantric Basis of Indian Art" by N. K. Dewal. The reproductions of masterpieces are outstanding items, providing frontispieces for the four numbers. The first is a fine linear copy of the famous piece in the Imperial Museum, Tokyo: "Three Wine-Tasters" (Sakyamuni, Confucius and Laotze).

Lowering over a jar of wine, which is "Life," Sakyamuni tasted it and declared it bitter, Confucius said it was sour, Laotze declared it sweet. The second frontispiece is a fine copy of a Moghul miniature (Collection of Maharani of Vizianagram), representing two Greek philosopners, Aristhoo and Hakeem (Aristotle and Plato). The third frontispiece was another remarkable Moghul miniature of a "Saint" from the same collection. The fourth one was borrowed from the same collection, illustrating "Jogiya Ragini," a duplicate of the same in the Boston Museum and the Calcutta Art Gallery.

The fourth volume (1924) is rather weak in

contributions on Art : (1) "The Art of Ramprasad" (the last representative of the Moghul School at Benares) by N. C. Mehta and (2) "Comments" by O. C. Gangoly on two remarkable examples of Moghul miniatures, (a) Jahangir's Embassy to Shah Abbas and (b) Portrait of Munawwin from the Rothenstein Collection. The frontispieces are provided by two mediocre examples of the copper-gilt Buddhist Images, a reproduction of "Shiva" by Ram Prasad, the finest reproduction being the famous Gupta masterpiece of "Kartikeya" (Bharat Kala Parisad) annotated by N. C. Mehta.

In the seventh volume (1927), the contributions of Art are represented by (1) "The New Art and the Kinema" by W. G. Raffe, (2) "The Achievement of Prince Spotoku" by W. G. B. Murdoch, (3) "The Modern Theatre and Histrionic Art, and (4) "The Caves of India" by Dr. K. N. Sitaram. The frontispieces are rather poor and archaic : "Mahisasuramardini of the Magadha School" (?) with comments by N. C. Mehta, A late Tibetan Banner, of mediocre merits, and the famous brozne tryp tych of Yakushih Nyorai, The Buddhist Aesculapiu by Tori Bushi in the Horuiji Temple, Nara.

The last volume (1928) certainly reveals signs of anaemia with articles on the Art and the Camera by W. G. Raffe, "A Prince of Decorators" (Ogata Korin) by W. G. B. Murdoch, and "Chera Patronage of Arts and Letters" by A. Govinda Wariyar.

The frontispieces are represented by a collection of Jain Bronzes from a Khalapur Temple, and a reproduction of Dr. P. Ray Chowdhury's "Lotus Pond" in the Treasurywalla Collection.

It is apparent in this summary survey of the ambitious venture of Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya and her brilliant editing of *Shama'a* that she failed to fulfil her ambition to build up a live Journal of Art, embracing both the Eastern and Western phases, for want of adequate readers and subscribers to provide moral and material support to a laudable effort, foredoomed to failure owing to the small number of educated persons in India with any manner of interest in Art. To what is this malady due ? We shall endeavour to answer the query in subsequent sections of our survey.

To be continued

———:O:———

PSYCHOLOGY IN INDUSTRY

By SANTASIL BISWAS

WUNTD is the father of modern psychology. He snatched away psychology from the domain of Philosophy and gave psychology a start of progress on experimental status in his laboratory at Leipzig in the year 1879. It is a red-letter day in the history of modern experimental psychology. The scope of psychology has widened further and further. It has extended to newer and larger fields of application, such as education, medicine, law and industry.

Industrial psychology is nearly thirty years old, not more. But within this short time it has travelled a great distance. It is now full of possibilities suggesting new solutions. The aim of industrial psychology may be said to be in short, "Minimum labour maximum output," *i.e.*, effective work in place of hard work.

Modern industry implies three factors : Capital (including Machinery), Organisation, and Labour. However great may be the part played by machinery in industry labour, *i.e.*, the man behind the machine remains and will remain for ever an important factor. Industrial psychology is concerned with this human factor in industry.

Industry, as we broadly define it, means and includes factory, office, workshop, institutions, occupations and professions wherever man is concerned with some job. Industrial psychology deals with this human aspect in relation to job.

The main problem *of industry* at the present day *is industrial labour unrest which involves* strike, labour-turnover, absentism, etc. Fisher and Hanna found on research that millions of dollars were wasted in the year 1931 only on account of labour-turnover in U.S.A.

There are many psychological reasons behind these labour-situations. One thing is maladjustment, *i.e.*, 'misfit' in industry. Modern psychology can render definite help towards the solution of the problem by means of vocational guidance and vocational selection. How are these done by the psychologists ?

Psychologists have devised many tests which have collectively proved to be the accurate measuring rod of mental qualities, traits and other psychological requirements found out by job-analysis of any particular work. Job-analysis is a very important thing. There are several techniques of job-analysis, *viz.*, individual psychographic method. questionnaire method, job-analysis by test, job-analysis by activity and job-psychographic method. The last is the best method. By this method the psychological traits and requirements are arranged in a profile called 'job-profile' in such a way that at a glance even a layman can understand what are wanted.

Vocational selection is not a difficult task to a psychologist. He arranges a battery of tests accordingly for recruits. An example will make all these more clear. Say, a psychologist is to select some motor-drivers. On job-analysis he finds that the following are mainly required. How they are to be assessed is also indicated below :

(*a*) High concrete intelligence (*i.e.*, intelligence required to deal effectively in concrete situations of life) is to be assessed by performance tests, *e.g.*, Pass-along, Dearborn-formboard tests, etc.

(*b*) Medium abstract intelligence is to be assessed by the application of Form M or L of Terman-Merill test (verbal).

(*c*) Steadiness is to be assessed by the 'dotting' test.

(*d*) Quick perception and reaction time is to be assessed by Heap's Chronoscope, an apparatus by means of which even .001th part of a second for reaction can be recorded.

(*e*) Another important thing to be detected is whether the person who is to be selected is 'accident-prone.' Accident-proneness denotes an unconscious wish to be involved in accidents. A very large number of people suffer from A. P. which is the result of maladujsted Aedipus complex (Freudian theory). If these accident-prone people become drivers, they are found out to be very rash and reckless drivers who do not consciously care a whit for dangers, because they entertain in their unconscious mind an urge for some accidents to happen. This A.P. or accident-proneness can, to some extent, be detected by the psychologist by behaviouristic study and by the application of some tests, such as word-association test, etc.

'Vocational guidance' is just the opposite. It is fitting the job to the man. If every one in society could have been given vocational guidance then the necessity of vocational selection would not have remained but unfortunately that is not possible. In some parts of U.S.A. and U.K. vocational guidance has been introduced for all at the primary-school-leaving age.

Environmental conditions, physical and mental, have also been responsible for trouble in workers. Physical environment includes illumination, air-movement, sound, etc. Proper adjustments are very necessary to keep the worker physically and mentally all right.

There should be optimum light inside the factory or the office, because light, both too high and low, have bad effects not only on the worker's physical condition directly producing eye strain but also on his mental condition resulting in tiredness and irritation. But unfortunately in most of the industrial places this aspect is neglected totally. Air-movement should also be adjusted properly because the stagnant air in the room damages the mucous linings of the lungs and facilitates the breeding ground of bacteria. Workers become fatigued more rapidly bringing in all its necessary mental effects, *e.g.*, increase of fault, absent-mindness, etc. Noise too has a great nervous strain on the workers specially doing mental work. Though the habit to work under noisy conditions become adjusted yet it does not altogether remove the distracting effect on the mind.

Though all these things are common sense still *we neglect them. But psychology* advises not to neglect *these environmental conditions*, because these factors have a direct effect as well as an accumulated effect upon the minds of the workers, greater troubles such as labour-turnover, absentism, etc., following in its wake.

Mental environment implies human relationship. Factories, offices, firms and technical organisations should be sympathetic to workers and be humanly organised. At Howthorne Plant of Western Electric Co., Chicago, from 1927-32 investigations were made on the causes of unrest among labourers. Over 20,000 workers were interviewed and it was found that the unsympathetic behaviour of the bosses or the authority was at the root of all the troubles. How a factory is to be humanly organised requires psychological knowledge and experience. Mere stereotype imitation does not become fruitful. Something on this point needs elaboration.

First of all we should have a clear knowledge of what the workers want from their Company. Some of the chief wants may be enumerated as follows: (1) Good pay, (2) Security of job, (3) Good behaviour, (4) Cheap ration, (5) Sympathetic and patient hearing of their grievances, (6) Comfortable working conditions, (7) Good supervision.

On the other hand, nepotism, snobbery on the part of the superiors as well as obstacles to production, poor routine, stool shortage, defective machinery, inadequate supply of materials, frequent changes of work, congested working space, etc., are resented by the workers. And these cause an wastage in which the potential energy is lost.

One thing which encourages labour towards output is the identification with the firm. The identification could be brought about by the suggestions given below:

(*i*) Display or exhibition of the workers' own products.

(*ii*) Organising garden parties and excursion parties where the workers get some scope to mix freely and on equal terms with their seniors as well as their juniors (in status).

(*iii*) Publication of magazines both from the side of the workers and the authority of the concern which will help to express and understand the view-points of each camp and of each other.

(*iv*) Declaration of prizes for better suggestion for improvement of products, etc.

The primary cause of industrial unrest is the feeling of inferiority grown in the conscious or unconscious minds of workers due to the lack of identification with the firm. With the growth of the conscious feeling among the workers the necessity of industrial relation department comes in.

Fatigue is another problem of industrial psychology. Fatigue may be both physical and mental. It is the natural outcome of continued work. The physiological cause of fatigue is the deposit of lactic acid in the muscles when the muscles work for a certain length of time. But the physical fatigue affects the mental faculty too. Fatigue causes loss of attention and

steadiness, increases faults and increases accident-liability. The only remedy of fatigue is rest. It requires experience to determine how suitable rest-pauses are to be arranged. There are variations in individuals regarding susceptibility to fatigue. The capacity to resist fatiguability can be measured in the laboratory by an apparatus called Ergo-graph. Thus it has been possible to test a man's working capacity beforehand. The remedy for mental fatigue and boredom is rest and change of work. Change may be called the sauce of work as variety is the sauce of life.

The study and scaling of labour-attitude is a very important matter and industrial psychology renders us this help. Psychologists have devised some standardised sets of questionnaire as well as some techniques for this purpose. In U.S.A. extensive and successful work has been done by D. Houser and R. B. Hersey.

This is an industrial age. 'Accident—how to prevent it' has been a burning question of the day. The problem of "accident-proneness" has already been discussed. I shall now deal with accident-liability briefly. Frequency of accidents can be minimised by the following physical and psychological means.

(1) *Protected machinery*: This is an important step.

(2) *Propaganda*: "Safety first" propaganda with all available psychological techniques should be taken recourse to in order to touch at the very root of the people's mind and create proper alertness therein. This is very valuable for preventing accidents.

Apart from this a person is often faced with a situation either in a factory or outside it, where a moment's decision may save a great disaster. A psychologist will always select the most alert and quickly decisive persons by means of psychological tests, to act under dangerous situations demanding such types.

Incentives to work are required for the betterment of products in quality as well as quantity. But unfortunately there is no single incentive which can appeal to all persons at all times. The age, sex and type of the worker and the nature of the job have to be considered. The incentive must be in proper form. Man does not always work for money alone. There are other considerations, such as sentiment, passion, opportunity for companionship (due to herd instinct), sympathy, love, fear, anger, competition, fellow-feeling, a chance to express oneself and opportunity to earn leisure after work, etc.

Researches have been made by the Applied Section of Psychology of the Calcutta University; it has been found on research in U.S.A. and also in our country that the demand for "higher wages" is not the main thing that is at the bottom of labour strikes and labour unrest in all cases, though apparently, judging by slogans, it seems to be so.

Availing psychological knowledge and techniques, if proper valuable incentives could be given to workers, the condition of labour will improve. It will help employers and employees alike by increasing the output as well as by diminishing labour tension.

Advertisement, or "selling in print" as it is defined by Daniel Starch, and propaganda are very important weapons in the hands of persons connected with modern industry and commerce. The aim of advertisement or propaganda is to put things in such a way as to touch the mind of the customer so that the customer will unconsciously think of the articles advertised at the time of purchase. No doubt it is the psychological thing that the advertisement is to serve. Advertisement should be made in such a way and such techniques should be adopted as to associate the conscious need of the customer with the commodities and also to secure in him conviction and secondary desire stimulating action on his part. For these industrial psychology can render great practical help.

I have just touched upon merely a few aspects of industrial psychology, not all. Industrial psychology is a progressive science. The more it will advance the more it will be applied in actual situation and in practice.

———:O:———

A COUPLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

By G. M. SHAH, M.A., LL.B.

1

Citizenship

Birth is now one of the universal criteria on which citizenship has come to rest; citizenship, to express otherwise, is a *birth-right*. Only adults cannot claim citizenship; babies born as well as bred are likewise entitled to citizenship that grants them civic rights like those to proper up-bringing and education.

The present Constitution of India does tacitly recognise brith as one of the criteria of citizenship of the whole of India, other such criteria being parentage and *residence*. *Article 5 of the* Constitution provides that any person who is domiciled in India and who, what is more, possesses either of the following qualifications, *viz.*,

(1) he or either of his parents was born in India, or

(2) he was ordinarily resident of India for not less than five years immediately preceding the commencement of the Constitution, is a citizen of India *at such commencement.*

No doubt, under Article 10 of the Constitution, every person who is a citizen under the above provision continues to be such citizen, subject to the provisions of any law that may be made by Parliament; the above provision however does not qualify every person who

born on or after the date of the commencement of the Constitution as a citizen. The effect of the Article 5 is then mainly retrospective; children born on or after the 26th January, 1950, having no immediate domicile in India acquire no citizenship.

The remark of Shri Mehboob Ali Beg while moving the amendments to the proposed citizenship articles during the discussion in the Constituent Assembly that they are not exhaustive and that some provision should be made to cover cases that might arise during the period between the commencement of the Constitution and the enactment of legislation on citizenship by Parliament may well be recalled to mind in the current context. Article 11 of the Constitution has hence laid down, in general, that Parliament will be entitled to make any provision with respect to the acquisition and termination of citizenship and all other matters relating to citizenship, which is the seventeenth matter in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. No provision however is made in this regard either in Part XXI (Temporary and Transitional Provisions) of the Constitution or by the Parliament hitherto. Very recently the Citizenship Bill is said to be placed before the Cabinet; passage of it however does not seem to be due in the current session of Parliament. Such kind of legislation for the persons born in India on or after the 26th January, 1950 remains then overdue.

2

NUMBERS

Article 343 (1) of our Constitution lays down as under :

> "The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari Script.
>
> The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Unian shall be the international form of Indian numerals."

There was much heated controversy before the issue of the Union language was settled, say, compromised. Protagonists of English fought a very tough battle before Hindi had the constitutional recognition as "the official language of the Union"; some sort of pacification for them was considered expedient by Parliamentarians of a compromising nature. Munshi-Ayyangar Formula was an outcome. The pacification, unfortunately, not only cost us much time and money, but eventually led us to a curious, unpracticable, rash and awkward compromise; the most unbefitting part of it is the constitutional form of numerals.

"The international form of Indian numerals" has a long evolutionary history—too long to be accommodated at the present occasion. Suffice it to say that it is now English and no more "Indian." Deadlock is turned into a wedlock of "Internationally India numerology" and "Devanagari script of Hindi." How this hackneyed mixture looks will be apparent from some recent publications of Deccan Hindustani Prachar Sabha, which has most readily honoured this part of the Constitution! Even an Indian well-versed in Devanagari-Hindi which is constitutionally sought to be the "lingua Indica" stops at every moment the numbers prop up before his eyes, as, though being nationally Indian, he is not usually aware of the internationally Indian numerals!

Impracticability is most evident in speaking the official language which includes numbers. There may be a constitutional form of writing the numbers—that is nothing but English ; there is no constitutional form of pronouncing them. How should we pronounce when some number is there, say "25" (this is the international form of Indian numbers, as adopted by our constitutionalists !) —"twenty-five" or "Pachis" ? Isn't it awkward both ways—I mean, the Hindi pronunciation of a number when it is in internationally Indian form, or the internationally Indian pronunciation (?) of a number when the entire language is Hindi ?

This medley is meaningless. Clauses (2) and (3) of Article 343, inter alia, read as under :

> "(2). . . . Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order, authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union."
>
> "(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of
>
> (a) the English language, or
>
> (b) the Devanagari form of numerals,
>
> for such purposes as may be specified in the law."

It is still wise and befitting for Indians to request their President and Parliament to legalise, not after the period of fifteen years but as immediately as possible, the use of Devanagari form of numerals, not in addition to the international form of numerals but instead of it and not only "for any of the official purposes of the Union" or "for such purposes as may be specified in the law," but for all purposes. We ought not to speculate on, and await, any recommendation in this regard for the Commission and Committee of Parliament, which are to be constituted at the expiration of five or ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, as provided in Article 344 (1) and (2) (d).

ANCIENT HOUSE-PLANNING

By Dr. Y. D. SHARMA

The discovery of Kautilya's Arthashastra in 1905 evoked world-wide interest for many reasons. For the first and, in fact, for all time it gave conclusive proof that the achievements of India's ancient savants were not restricted to the speculative domain of philosophy and metaphysics. For the author of the Arthashastra, the so-called Indian Machiavelli, was without doubt a statesman of no mean merit. He was an idealist to some extent, as most thinkers are, nevertheless he was a practical man with a rare insight into the affairs of men; and what is most significant, he was not wanting in a secular approach to the problems of actual living.

Among the best illustrations of his practical wisdom and legal acumen is the part of his work that deals with Civil Law, especially the section relating to the building of houses—not the building of temples, palaces, fortresses or secretarial offices, which are also described, but the construction of dwelling houses of averge citizens.

The Dharmasutras consisting of aphorisms on law and custom which preceded our author, do not say a word on this subject. The Smriti codes, which followed him, contain only a few haphazard and scattered notions. This indifferent attitude of the contemporary writers to what must be regarded as an important civic consideration brings out the Arthashastra in its proper perspective.

Considerate neighbourliness is apparently the first and the last principle of Kautilya's code. A drain or a pit for dirty water discharged from the interior of a house was never allowed to be built within less than three feet of the neighbour's wall. Fire-places, water-stands, hand-mills or husking mortars could, if necessary, be installed nearer, but even they were to be kept clear of a neighbouring house by at least a foot. No construction of a litter-pit, drain, staircase, ladder or privy, was permitted to interfere with the public right of way, except in a temporary emergency, when, for instance, a privy could be put up for a woman in confinement or a drain laid to carry off the water during a ceremony or festive occasion.

A public path of at least about four feet was always left between any two buildings, although the eaves of two projecting structures could sometimes be allowed to overlap. At Taxila in the city of Sirkap and at Sisupalgarh in Orissa large blocks of dwellings are, in fact, noticed to be separated one from the other by narrow lanes. In order possibly to guard privacy, no doors or windows were allowed to face those of an opposite house, unless between the two houses intervened a royal highway or main thoroughfare.

The main entrance of a house obviously opened on to the street, but at the time of repairs a small side-door could also be opened into a lane.

A neighbouring house was never allowed to suffer damage from rain water from an opposite house. The roof of a structure was either covered with mats, so that the rain water slowly dripped down, or a parapet was built at the edges of the roof to collect the water and divert it through an opening to a harmless spot. A drain was always kept open while it rained, the consequences of closing a drain during the rain and releasing it afterwards being obviously annoying and harmful. Any damage to another person's house with water, urine or faeces was punished with a progressively increasing fine.

Whether Kautilya's code was really written about the third century B.C. may be a disputed question; it is evident, however, that the laws related therein are surprisingly progressive and enlightened. They partake in a measure of what would now be termed house-planning. Yet Kautilya's main object appears neither sanitation, nor generally the comfort and convenience of the citizen. His principal concern is with the removal of those causes that lead frequently to discord and friction and mitigate against neighbourly conduct. It is with that end in view that he conceded that the owners could build their houses as they liked provided they did so by mutual consent and avoided all that was undesirable and unpleasant.

Whatever may be Kautilya's aim, some of his laws are certainly in advance of many a modern municipal law and bye-law. The city-fathers of our present-day towns could take a leaf with advantage from this ancient manual. Even our own city of Calcutta would take on a cleaner appearance if damage to buildings with water, urine or faeces, as Kautilya put it, was strictly forbidden and actually stopped.

SURGERY IN SOUTH POLE

By P. K. BANERJEE, N. K. I. (Sweden)

It is a page torn from the saga of pioneering zeal and superhuman determination in the face of heavy odds, confronting the British-Norwegian-Swedish South Pole expedition.—*Translated* into English from the Swedish Monthly *Allt*.

I found him eight days later when I examined his eye ; but I could do nothing at that time since our post was three weeks' journey from Maudheim. When we returned to our headquarters on the 30th of May I found that the condition of his eye was very bad and so I at once got in touch with eye-specialist professor Sven Larsson of Lund over the radio for consultation. What I had apprehended during the course of my continued treatment of his eye now appeared to be confirmed. The condition of his right eye was found to have deteriorated to such an extent that the patient ran the risk of losing his left eye as well with total blindness as an unavoidable consequence. Only the removal of the injured eye could save the patient. After making a thorough consultation with Professor Larsson I finally decided to perform the operation within a week. It was a most tragic situation since I had never before performed such an operation and since nobody else in Maudheim had any experience in assisting at such an operation. I at once started making all the necessary preparations and I instructed only a few members of the expedition for not causing a feeling of nervousness in the camp. Photographer Stig Hallgren was given a thorough grounding in the art of applying anaesthetic and he started experimenting on me and others with giving vitamin injections. Geologist Fred Roots was selected for doing the job of a surgeon's assistant and he was given instructions in details as to how he should proceed with the job of handling different surgical instruments. Glaciologist Walter Schytt was initiated in the art of nursing and was also entrusted with the task of managing the instruments table. I took upon myself the task of making the necessary surgical instruments for performing the operation and I was successful in making an instrument from a thick steel wire which was filed, cleaned and finally fitted with a little handle, taken out of a dentist's instrument.

When everything was ready, Reece was informed that an operation was necessary and he gave his consent to it. We decided to go into action three days later. Sledge-driver Peter Melleby made an operation table from sledge boxes and an oxygen mask from weasel skin. Surgical towels were made from pieces of bed-sheets and linens which were previously throughly sterilised like surgical instruments. The job of checking the patient's blood pressure was given to telegraphist Egil Rogstad after he had been instructed how he should proceed with this job. Regular rehearsals were made as to how everybody should co-operate during the time of actual operation and how the whole process of sterilisation should be put through without the slightest hitch taking place anywhere. Everything was ready by the 21st of July and we had now at our disposal all that a *little hospital might require, except* that there were no *females to play the role of nurses.*

At about 2 o'clock I put on my gloves and proceeded with the task of sterilisation together with my assistants. Three-quarters of an hour later Reece made a bold entry into our chamber for lying down on the operation table and he broke the silence by bursting out with these few words with a spirit of resignation not unmixed with great fear : "Fellows, I am completely overcome with fear," Immediately after I began applying anaesthetic to him and when he had become completely unconscious, Hallgren took over from me so that I was now free to change my gloves for starting with the actual operation of his injured eye. Silently for a minute I went through all the details of such a risky operation with the utmost care, according to the very helpful instructions that I got over the radio from professor Sven Larsson of Lund. It was the most dramatic moment of my life and I began to wonder whether I would at all be successful in finding out the right spot for cutting off the optical nerves. Slowly but surely Hallgren had brought my patient into a deeper sleep for a complete anaesthesia.

Now with my operational knife I made my first cut through the pupil. Roots was by my side to assist me without betraying any feeling of nervousness. Schytt was there to pass on the necessary instruments without fumbling in the least; Roggstad kept on checking the patient's blood-pressure; meteorologist Goesta Liljequist kept on taking down notes as to the pulse-beat of the patient and Hallgren all the time kept himself busy regulating the application of the proper quantity of anaesthetic. A tense feeling of expectation not unmixed with fear had now reached its climax. Suddenly I found the first eye-muscle which I at once took out with my improvised instrument. Immediately afterwards I could cut out all the muscles of the eye. And the most dramatic moment came when I was looking for the optic-nerve. The only sound to break the grim silence reigning all around was the ticking of a camera in the background. After an hour's slow operation I could cut off the optic-nerve and then take out the entire eye-ball.

Now I started with the work of stitching the muscles and closing the wound with a membrane. After two hours and forty minutes of intense tension I got a feeling of some relief when the operation successfully ended, and we could then congratulate one another for mutual assistance rendered so thoroughly. But there still remained the question what would be the condition of the patient in the next few hours. Sudden increase in the patient's pulse-rate at night gave cause for anxiety. But the temperature could be reduced with an injection. On the following day to our great joy a tired but happy patient received us all by his bed-side. His left eye was now out of danger. After making a complete recovery he could once again participate in a new sledge-expedition, freed from all worries and anxieties and regaining his former form.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE GUPTA POLITY : *By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras. 1952. Pp. 427. Price Rs. 15,*

This work does credit to the author's industry and learning. But unfortunately it is not possible for us to agree either with his method of treatment or with his arguments and conclusions on many material points. He divides his work into seven chapters which are sub-divided into sections (sic). In the first chapter dealing with the historical sources the author mentions under the head of contemporary literature the dynastic lists of the Puranas, the Smritis of Vyasa, Harita, Pitamaha and Pulastya, Kamandaka's Nitisara, the Setubandhakavya, the Kaumudimahotsava, the Devichandraguptam and the Mudrarakshasa. Even admitting the author's literary chronology to be correct, it is difficult to understand the relevancy of these documents (other than the Nitisara) in a work limited as its title shows to the contemporary political institutions. From this standpoint the author's last chapter (Chap. VII) entitled Religion appears to be quite out of place. As for the Nitisara, the author's argument (pp. 14-15) for identifying its author with Sikharasvamin, the minister of Chandragupta II, are quite unconvincing. Nor do we think that the author has succeeded in disproving (pp. 19-39) the current view which ascribes Kalidasa to the Gupta Age, and pushing back his date to the first century B.C. 'in the last days of the Sunga rule.' Chapter II bearing the inappropriate title "Extent of the Empire," which deals with the political history of the period contains a number of rash statements not warranted by the facts. Thus the author (pp. 72-73) identifies Chandra of the Meharuli Pillar Inscription, Chandravarman of the Susunia Rock Inscription and even the king of the latter name in the Mandasor Inscription of the time of Naravarman, with Chandravarman of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Again he describes (p. 88) Chandragupta II's empire as comprising "the whole of Hindustan" (sic) and "reaching the farthest limits of the north-west up to Balkh." "With the foundation of the Gupta Empire," he says in another place (p. 106), "the Indian colonies (in 'Farther (sic) India and Insular India') transferred their allegiance to the Gupta emperors." Similar to the above are the author's statements in Chapter V bearing the title "Military Organisation," namely, that Samudragupta "conquered Kashmir and Afghanistan," but made no further advance "because the International law of the time as understood in Hindu India prevented him from marching towards the territories which were beyond the pale of Bharatavarsa" (p. 199), and that the Guptas "continued the policy of the Bharasivas and the Nagas in Farther India, namely, the establishment of a colonial empire" (p. 200). The author's estimate of Gupta imperialism does more credit to his patriotism than to his historical judgment. The Gupta empire, he says (pp. 92-94) in accordance with the ancient Hindu conception of empire (as illustrated by Rama's treatment of Sugriva after his victory over Vali) subordinated the dominating motive to the conception of universal welfare. Again he observes (pp. 95-97) that the methods of conquest of Samudragupta and his successors followed the concept of *digvijaya* which "is akin to the *dharmavijaya* of Kautilya and Asoka, and also of the Mahabharata" and which resulted in "a voluntary union of States, or a loose confederation where the liberty of the individual was not sacrificed, though he was a unit in the group."

The author's further judgments (p. 98) on the nature of the Gupta empire are expressed in the same romantic style. "The Gupta empire achieved what we cannot achieve even in the twentieth century. Through the institution of the caste economy and by the fixation of services, the Gupta empire ensured the working of economic democracy with political freedom . . . By nationalising industries and through a network of guilds and merchant organisations the State allowed every man to earn his bread . . . The Gupta monarch carried the people with him in his administration. The government of the country was run on democratic lines. . . . The Gupta empire had not the elements of the unhealthy nationalism of the nineteenth century. The Gupta India (sic) was not influenced by a narrow nationalism of this type but evolved a national spirit which led to a fundamental unity, political, religious and cultural."

In his chapters on the Central administration (Chs. III-IV) and in the chapter on military organisation (Ch. V) the author draws extensively upon Kamandaka's Nitisara on the basis of his wholly unconvincing argument that "the polity of the Guptas was based" upon it (p. 108), and again that it was "a Manual on politics and administration" prepared at the instance of Chandragupta II by his minister, Sikharasvamin (p. 190). Equally unconvincing are the author's arguments for characterising the Gupta imperial government as a constitutional monarchy (p. 112). The epithets applied to the Gupta emperors (and specially Samudragupta) he says (p. 114) "have nothing to do with the divine theory of kings as promulgated in some of our law-books . . . The highest sovereign of the State was the common law of the land, formulated by the chosen representatives of the people, the sages and seers of ancient India." Other checks and balances, the author continues, were imposed by the Royal Council which was "not merely an advisory body" but "an important administrative

organisation" to whose authority the king often bent his will (pp. 150-151), and the *sabha* which was "a popular assembly wherein sat the representatives of the people, citizens of the capital and of the rural parts" and which was "similar to the *Paura-Janapada* organisation" of the Maurya period (p. 151).

From the foregoing observations it will appear that the present work fails to give us a true picture of the political institutions of the imperial Guptas in some essential respects. This is not to deny that the author (pp. 152-189 and 228-278) has made useful studies of the details of the Central and Provincial administration of these rulers. Useful also for purpose of reference is the list of Gupta Inscriptions which the author has given us in an Appendix after the transcript and translation of Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. We have noticed a few misprints of which the most serious is *abrogated* for *arrogated* (p. 115). The paper, print and general get-up are satisfactory and there is a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OLD CALCUTTA CAMEOS: *By B. V. Roy, M.A. Distributor: Asoka Library, 15-5, Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. xiii+144. Price Rs. 4.*

Calcutta has grown from a cluster of petty pestilential hamlets into the foremost city in Asia. The story of this phenomenal growth is shot through with romance. Here, from the days of Mughal rule, the European people of different nationalities mingled with the native population drawn from different parts of India. Here they bargained with each other at the commercial counter, and jostled in the *nautch* parties. Here the Sahibs competed with the Indian noblemen in maintaining a *harem* for the "Hindoosthani female friend," enjoying the inebriating smoke of hookah, and taking joy rides in "Moyurpankhi" boats. Here the first Indian (possibly) Raja Ramlochan took the fancy of attiring himself in "buckskin breeches, hunting frock and jockey cap": here was the lullaby composed to make fun at the trumpery of Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley:

"Hathi par howdah, ghora par jeen
Jaldi bahar jata Sahib Warren Hastings."

The clarion-call for political liberation was sounded here, the movements for social and religious reform had their seed-bed as well in this city. Yet strangely enough, no readable account of this city has been written up to the present times.

The hand-book under review offers sketch of a few aspects of life of this city under such titles as (1) The Englishman and His Household, (2) Bengali Society: Its Manners and Customs, (3) Crimes and Punishments, (4) Plays and Playhouses, (5) English and Bengali Theatres, and so on. The author carefully gleans many interesting bits of information from contemporary writings; but owing to his limitations, the pages do not glow with life. For those who would like to get a bird's-eye view of old Calcutta, its fashions, and tastes, this small book would be suitable.

N. B. ROY

GOLDEN JUBILEE VOLUME: COTTON COLLEGE: GAUHATI.

The Cotton College, Gauhati, was formally opened on the 27th May, 1901. Since then it has had a chequered career. From a premier college in Assam under the Calcutta University, it has now become the *nucleus of the Gauhati University, the only university of Assam. This volume contains* a brief history of the *Cotton College together with* a running account of higher education during the nineteenth century as well as a few reminiscences and sketches of the teachers and students of the College. The history of higher education in Assam in the 19th century is closely linked up with that in Bengal. Brilliant students from Assam, such as Ananda Ram Barua, got themselves educated in Calcutta colleges and became prominent members of the society in after-life. Educated Bengalis went out to Assam as they did elsewhere, maybe as servants of the State. But they took prominent and active part in disseminating higher education and culture according to their light in different places. Some of them went there as teachers also. To speak disrespectfully of these sojourners, without mentioning the good things done by them, is, to say the least, disappointing. It is strange that the history of higher education in Assam does not contain even a single reference to the services rendered by the Bengalis during the last century. The article in question, of course, does not fail to include quotations from officials speaking ill of the Bengali race! The virus of provincialism even in the sphere of education is very much deplorable. The volume is illustrated.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

1. THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN CULTURE. *Pp. 76*
2. MORAL AND SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE. *Pp. 73.*

By Dr. B. L. Atreya, M.A., D.Litt. Published by International Standard Publications, Banaras 5, India. Price not mentioned.

Dr. Atreya is the Professor of Philosophy and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Indian Philosophy and Religion at Banaras Hindu University. He is the author of several outstanding works on Indian Philosophy and culture in English, Hindi and Sanskrit. As the author of monumental works on the Yogavasistha, a very voluminous Sanskrit scripture, he is well known all over India. As a Birla Visiting Professor he visited U.S.A. in 1948 and Japan in 1951 and delivered lectures in many places of those two foreign countries.

In the two booklets under review are collected some of his papers read at the Indian philosophical Congress, Indian Science Congress and similar learned conferences as well as contributed to the *Benaras Hindu University Journal, Illustrated Weekly* and other important magazines. The first booklet contains three essays on Indian Philosophy and Culture. One of them deals with the distinctive features of Indian Philosophy and was read at the tenth International Congress of Philosophy held in 1948 at Amsterdam and published in the Proceedings of the same Congress by North Holland Publishing Company of that city. Another essay is on the spiritual, moral and social aspects of Indian culture. It is approved and accepted for publication by the Unesco under its scheme of cultural inquiry. The second booklet contains seven essays on the foundations and ethics of peace.

The ten essays of Dr. Atreya contained in these two books are thought-provoking and well-written. During his tour round the world he met many educated people in Europe and America who are eager for a knowledge of Indian Philosophy and Culture. One college student of California wrote to the author that he believed strongly in the Indian ideals presented in the Gita, Upanishads and other Vedanta scriptures. This observation of an American student should be an eye-opener to those Indian youths who are restless for western ideals.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ANTHROPOLOGY—THE STUDY OF MAN : *S. C. Dube, M.A., Ph.D.*

Dr. Dube has specifically limited the scope of handbook to the use of general readers and rsity students. Within the brief space available, author has touched the main topics of physical cultural Anthropology and has also discussed on problems of field work. The general reader may ssured to have a comfortable passage through pages, for, the author maintains a simple, non- ical style in presentation. For the university nts, the manouvering of facts is inadequate to it a text book in the real sense of the term, it can very well supplement a standard text book *Boas, Krosber* or *Goldenweiser*) for subsidiary ng.

The chapter "Anthropology and Tribal Welfare" been well-written indicating the author's first- knowledge of the problems. Along with presen- of problems typical to India, Dr. Dube has to acquaint us with the measures in tribal ministration taken by the governments of U. S. British Africa.

In contrast, the chapter "Art in Primitive Society" clarity in classification of facts. The author has some examples of primitive art but has failed connect them properly in functional or evolu- ry link. Finally, I point out a mistake in definition e glossary :

Acculturation—A process in which two societies ct upon each other and the culture of one is letely changed under the influence of that of er."

This definition actually means "Assimilation," as, acculturation has been defined by Herskovits, n and Redfield as—"Acculturation comprehends phenomena which results when groups of duals having different cultures come into conti- first-hand contact with subsequent changes in original pattern of either or both groups." Here r complete change nor change in the pattern ly one party in the contact is implied.

Dr. Dube's definition of family as simply—"a ral kinship group"—is rather vague.

S. C. SINHA

GOSPEL OF THE DIRTY HAND : *By K. M. hi. Published by the Ministry of Information Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi. 84. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Munshi as Minister for Food and Agriculture ht a new life in his department by his untiring y and this publication contains 36 speeches he red between May 22, 1950 and March 21, 1952. ugh an idealist and a philosopher and a man of ure, Mr. Munshi proved himself no less a when he introduced *Vana Mahotsava* or Tree- ng Week for the whole of India. Any reader of pages will be struck by the optimism and siasm which they contain and the *Gospel of the Hand* will inspire him with a new outlook in rs of agriculture and food production in the ry.

KARL MARX AND VIVEKANANDA : *By Chandra Bhattacharyya. Published by the r, 133, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 106. Re. 1-8.*

This is an attempt to show that Karl Marx, the opher of dialectic materialism, was a spiritualist t like *Swami Vivekananda*—the Vedantist. In *of the best and sincere* efforts of the learned author, the way of his explanation will hardly be acceptable either to the students and interpreters of the Marxian or Vedanta philosophies. Of course, nobody will dispute the contention that these two great persons of history were sincere in their philosophic convictions, kind and sympathetic towards human misery and uncompromising in their efforts to ameliorate the conditions of human races irrespective of country, colour, race and religion. In the major portion of the book, the author has advocated the preachings of Vivekananda although in the first portion (p. 3) he describes himself as a convert to Marxism (since 14th March, 1952). If Vivekananda was a Marxist and Karl Marx a Vedantist or, leaving aside a jugglery of words, if both were one and the same in spirit, there would have been a new world, not of ideas but of actions as the author envisages. While we appreciate the author in his pious education, we are afraid he is not likely to find a sufficient number of supporters to his views.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

KABI-KATHA : *By Sudhir Chandra Kar. Suprakasan, 3 Circus Range, Calcutta 19, Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this interesting work, the author narrates his reminiscence about Rabindranath, whose close association he had the fortune to enjoy, first as a library assistant at Santiniketan and later as his private secretary. A good writer himself Sj. Kar has carefully revealed the strong yet delicate loving soul of Gurudeva through many apparently trivial incidents. This intimate story of the poet's daily life, though personal in respect of the experiences described, is sure to prove universal in its appeal.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

NISARGOPACHAR ASHRAM : *Published by Balkoba Bhave, Managing Trustee, Nisargopachar Gram Sudhar Trust, Urali Kanchan, Dist. Poona. Pp. 122. Price twelve annas.*

Nisargopachar Ashram is the name of the Nature Cure Centre started by Mahatma Gandhi at Urali Kanchan on the Solapur-Poona line, 17 miles from Poona, at the end of 1946. It was Gandhi's last pet child. He wanted to nurse it for four months in the year. He could not. He, however, kept himself in touch with it by post. Twenty such letters given in the book give the reader an idea of what he wanted the institution to be. Morarji Desai, president of the Trust, sets forth in a few able words Gandhiji's conception of Nature Cure, in his preface to the book, and says that the Ashram is conducted on those lines. An account of its reverses and achievements, as also its modest plan for the future, is given in restrained words by Balkoba Bhave. Chapters on Cow-keeping, Agriculture, Nutrition and Preparation of Food, may strike one extraneous. But they are not. For, Nature Cure is not 'selling cure' to the patient but teaching him the right way of living.

The hospital has two wings, Outdoor and Indoor. The indoor hospital has twenty beds, 14 for male and 6 for female patients. Three and a half years' experience has been encouraging. Almost all the patients treated got cured, the account claims. Treatment is confined to enema, fast, sun-bath, sitz-bath, hip-bath, mud-bath, hot-water fomentation, balanced diet. There is, of course, the reliance on Rama-nama. Cost of treatment is low—food charge plus Rs. 31 per mensem charged for bed, mosquito net, etc., supplied, and for water, fuel, etc., needed for treatment. Expenditure on physicians and attendants which come to

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

A choice collection from the eight volumes of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA which gives us a glimpse into various aspects of the Swami's teachings and their strength and sublimity which have deeply influenced the minds of people all over the world. This is a companion volume to the TEACHINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA (Pages 401, Price Rs. 5) and is excellent for presentation purposes.

New Enlarged Edition Pocket Size Pages 272 Price Rs. 3

MY LIFE AND MISSION

By SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

It gives in the Swami's own words a vivid picture of how his great heart bled for the suffering millions of India and his plan for the uplift of his motherland to the position of her pristine glory.

New Edition Pages 47 Price As. 10

SUBSCRIBE TO PRABUDDHA BHARATA

(ENGLISH MONTHLY)

Founded by Swami Vivekananda in 1896—Now in its 58th Year

Subscribers are enrolled throughout the year but with effect from January, April, July, or October. Relative back issues will be supplied.

Annual Subscription : India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5 ; Foreign 14 sh. ; U.S.A. $ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame. President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e. g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11. **Bagalamukhi Kavacha** :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4. **Mohini Kavacha** :—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14. **Nrisingha Kavacha** :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. **Saraswati Kavacha** :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9 **Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request**

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN" by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence : "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban", 50/2, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone : Central 4065 Consultation hours : 7-30 A.M. to 11 A.M. & 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105 Grey St., "Basanta Niwas" Cal. 5 9-30—10-30 A.M. Phone : B. B. 3695. **Central Branch Office** :—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone : Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.M.

LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

from Rs. 70 to Rs. 75 per mensem per bed are not charged from patients. For, that would make treatment prohibitive to middle class and poor patients. Rich patients seeking cure may lighten this burden by voluntarily paying the e expenses for themselves as well as for those who cannot afford to. The book deserves reading, and the institution encouraging support.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

GUJARATI

SORATHA BAVNI : *By Bhaktkavi Dulabhai Bhayabhai Kag. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1.*

Bavan means fifty-two and Bavani means a eulogy consisting of fifty-two stanzas. Dula Bava Kag is a household word in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch. His poems in the Charanic style have proved of immense delight and they give valuable information to his readers, rather hearers, for he is at his best, when he recites them himself, with apposite gestures. A Charan performs the functions of a court-poet to princes. This particular poem is written in praise of Shri Samaldas Gandhi, who rescued Junagad from passing into the hands of Pakistan and thus won a laurel to his crown, though a Bania and unused to functions where the sword gives the final decision and not the pen.

SWATANTRYA PRABHAT : *By Nathulal Dave, Principal, Gurukul, Songadh (Saurashtra). Printed at the Swatantrya Press, Rampur. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

Mr. Nathulal has a penchant for writing short poems. Fifteenth of August, 1947, being our Independence Day, inspired him to write verses, celebrating that happy day and Gandhiji's crown of achievement. A few other poems are also printed along with those connected with this day, all of them well-conceived.

(1) DAN DHARMA PANCHACHAR : *By Mansukhbhai Kirat Chand Mehta. Printed at the N. M. Printers Press, Ahmedabad, 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 200. Price Re. 1.*

(2) SHRIMAD RAJCHANDRANI JIVAN-REKHA: *By the same. Printed at the same. 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 196. Price Re. 1-4.*

Both these books are published by Dr. Bhagvandas, the son of the deceased author, who has left a name behind him as a noted writer on Jaina philosophy. The first book deals, as its title implies, with the merits of *Dan* (charity) and the five *Acharas—jnan, darshana, charitra, tapas and virya*. Their propriety is set out lucidly and clearly. It includes an analytical essay on Swami-vatsalya under the garb of which rich and elaborate caste dinners called Nokarashi Dinners are given in the present times. These Dinners are mere outward shells, he says, the core is different, *viz.*, love proving one the principles of fraternity in other words and that is forgotten. The second book contains the outlines of the life of Shreemat Raj Chandra, a noted Jaina philosopher and writer, the Guru of Mahatma Gandhiji. He died early in life after accomplishing much.

MANDAKINI : *By Dr. M. V. Suraiya. Printed at the Visnu Sadi Press, Bombay. 1949. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 10.*

Dr. Suraiya has a penchant for translating or rather rendering into Gujarati verse, noted English poems. He has had seven such to his credit till now : (1) Wordsworth's "We are Seven," (2) Goldsmith's "The Hermit," (3) Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village," (4) Grey's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," (5) Tennyson's "Enoch Arden," (6) Keat's "Isabella," and (7) Longfellow's "Evangeline." He has reprinted them all in a collected form in this book and called it *Mandakini*, the celestial river, brought down on earth by King Bhagirath to wash out the sins of his ancestors. As is usual with all publications of Dr. Suraiya, a Muslim knowing so much about Hindu life and philosophy; a bevy of young ladies—whose photographs adorn the publication—have contributed their opinions and appreciations which figure in the work, with a very well-written introduction by Prof. Dr. Bipin Jhaveri, a well-known rising Gujarati writer.

GANDHI GITA : *By Chandulal Becharlal Patel. Printed at the Bhagwat Singhji Electric Press, Gondal. 1949. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 124. Price not mentioned.*

The composer was the Director of State education in Gondal State before its integration with the unit of Saurashtra State. His father had great love for Gita and he has inherited it and the result is this small treatise in verse, published by Shrimati Savitri Chandulal Patel, of Gita Bhuvan, Gondal. Gandhiji's beneficent activities have been divided into 18 sections, in imitation of those in the Bhagvad Gita and the dialogues are held between Gandhiji, Jawaharlal, Rabindranath, Charles Andrews, Horace Alexander and various other well-known leaders in thought and action. In one place, Gandhiji describes himself like this :

"I am a worshipper of Truth, Ahimsa is my pledge,
I desire Peace and Love everywhere,
I consider that Salvation lies in Brahmacharya (celibacy)."

Mr. Patel has accomplished his task well.

DHARATINAN CHHORU : *Published by the Navchetan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949 Cloth-bound. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is an unusual composition. It is a novel, the main object of which is to accentuate the sense of service and sacrifice amongst our countrymen. Seven different writers, Krishnaprasad Bhatt, Kusum, Shivani Sundaram, Mukund P. Shah, Bhagilal C. Shah and Palash have each contributed to the weaving of this web of a story, in such a way that they have been able to put forth a harmonious whole and not a conglomeration of differing ideals or ideas. It is commendable for this reason at least. The title means Children of the Earth.

K. M. J.

DIWADI : *By Ramanlal Basanlal Desai, M.A. Published by Messrs. R. R. Seth and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Princess Street, Kitab Bag, Bombay 2, October 1951. Price Rs. 5.*

Sri Desai, the well-known litterateur of Gujarat, has in this volume presented to the readers 21 short stories the first of which has stamped its name on the collection. This volume is the fifth of his collected short stories. The stories are more or less social, and the last which is named "Why did I not marry again" relates to a widower being restrained from contracting second marriage by the spirit of the dead wife through the voice of a bird or through the dreams. The stories show a simplicity of style and construction and show the author's retention of his usual skill even when he has retired from active government service. The readers will welcome the volume for its sympathetic treatment of human character and a certain blend of humour and pathos.

P. R. Sen

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Sister Nivedita

Swami Yatiswarananda writes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

Sister Nivedita was indeed the choicest flower of womanhood which Swami Vivekananda brought from the West and offered at the feet of his Divine Master, the Holy Mother and Mother India. I did not have the opportunity of knowing the Sister personally but had the good fortune of seeing her twice and getting two indelible pictures on my mind. In 1906 many of us young men heard her roaring like a lioness and giving a fiery speech calling us all to national service. The other picture I got was in the Udbodhan office in 1911 when she came to meet the Holy mother to whom she was a 'Khoki' —a dear little daughter. The fiery lioness was like a quiet lamb : in place of the dynamic personality, we saw a quiet soul radiating purity, sincerity and devotion which she possessed abundantly.

Later I had the opportunity of learning about her from the monastic disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, from M., from Miss Macleod and others who knew her and also from her remarkable books, particularly *The Master As I Saw Him*. From all these sources I came to understand that Ramakrishna-Vivekananda came for the whole world. That is the reason why the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement started from the very beginning as a world movement encompassing both the East and the West, which undoubtedly are parts of a greater whole. It was not due to an accident but through the Divine will that Swami Vivekananda went to America and delivered his universal message of Vedanta at Chicago, U.S.A. in 1893 only 7 years after the passing of Sri Ramakrishna. It was the Divine will again that took him to England in 1895 as well as in 1896 and brought him into contact with Miss Margaret Noble, a bright educationist and an intrepid seeker after Truth who later became his spiritual daughter and received from him the name Nivedita —the Dedicated.

Most fascinating is the story of the life of Nivedita.

Miss Margaret Noble that was the name of the Sister before she took the vow of life-long Brahmacharya and Service from her Master was dedicated to God even before she was born. Her mother a lady of great devotion fell seriously ill before the birth of this her first daughter in 1867 and prayed to the Lord to spare her for the sake of the child whom she dedicated to His service. As later events came to show, by the will of Providence the girl was to live a life of consecration devoted to the service of God and His children.

Little Margaret grew into a girl of rare personality and rarer intellectual powers. She came to evince a great interest in education, underwent training as a teacher in England and started a school of her own in 1892 with a view to realise her ideals of education. She was one of the most active and enthusiastic lady educationists, interested in 'the newer applications' of educational theories, when she came under the transforming influence of Swami Vivekananda during his first visit to London in 1895.

Miss Noble was an earnest seeker after Truth, yearning for the deeper and universal truths of religion, bold enquirer and a deep thinker. She possessed a keen and critical mind that could account a truth only after a thorough test and analysis. Many were the new striking ideas she got from the Swami : (i) Body and mind predominated by the self—the spirit in man. (ii) The Swami stressed not faith but experience of truth—'It is well to be born in a church but bad to die there.' (iii) Man progresses not from error to truth but from truth to truth—from lower truths to higher truths. She disputed some of the assertions of the Swami, raising controversies. The 'Hindu Yogi' instead of feeling offended was glad at heart on the discovery of the superior stuff she was made of. Later on he said : 'Let none regret that they were difficult to convince. I fought my Master for six years with the result that I know every inch of the way.' Miss Noble resisted her Master only to be conquered by him heart and soul, and before the Swami left England she began to address him as 'Master.' The remarkable breadth of his religious culture and the irresistible charm of his personality came as a great revelation to her. Her scepticism yielded place to a great faith in her Master.

The Swami visited England for the second time in 1896. Miss Noble now got the opportunity to hear and know him more intimately. She recognized the heroic fibre of the Swami and his great love for his motherland and desired to make herself the sevrant of his love for his people.

The Master, Swami Vivekananda, discovered the rare worth of the disciple.

He had plans for bringing about the regeneration of Indian women, through proper education. As the Swami said later :

"We want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind increased, the intellect expanded, and by which one can stand on one's own feet. History and the Puranas, housekeeping and arts, the duties of home-life and principles that make for the development of character have to be taught with the help of modern science. . . . The noble qualities of Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Lilavati, Khana

and Mira should be brought home to their minds and they should be inspired to mould their own lives in the light of these . . . . Then only there will be the reappearance of such ideal characters as Sita, Savitri and Gargi."

With the help of whom was he to inaugurate the women's movement? One day he told Miss Noble, "I have plans for the women of my country in which you, I think, could be of great help to me." She knew now that she heard a call which would change her life. She decided to go to India and readily got the permission of her mother, who had dedicated her to the service of God even before her birth.

The Swami wrote to his disciple about all the difficulties she would have to face in India but she remained undaunted. Seeing that she was determined to come, he wrote to her later on :

"Let me tell you frankly that I am now convinced that you have a great future in the work of India. What was wanted, was not a man but a woman, a real lioness, to work for Indians, women especially . . . India cannot yet produce great women, she must borrow them from other nations. Your education, sincertiy, purity, immense love, determination and above all the Celtic blood make you just the woman wanted."

Miss. Noble landed at Calcutta in January 1899. Her training began soon after her arrival in India and during the next birthday of Sri Ramakrishna she was initiated into Brahmacharya and was given the name Nivedita by which she became known all the world over. At the beginning of her coming to India, she joined the brothers of the Ramakrishna Order in conducting plague relief work in Calcutta and rendered services which endeared her to the people. A party of American friends and students of Swami Vivekananda arrived from America. The Swami took Nivedita on an extensive tour along with them for giving her a deep insight into Indian thought and culture and also a personal training for the work he wanted her to undertake for the women of India.

Nivedita had now to pass through a terrific conflict of ideals. She was in constant clash with her Master who wanted to give her a new mould by destroying her self-sufficiency and preconceived notions. This period of training made her feel most unhappy but still she never thought of retracting her proferred services.

The Swami too had accepted her wholeheartedly and wrote to her before she came to India :

"I will stand by you unto death, whether you work or not for India, whether you give up Vedanta or remain in it."

Her suffering was the travail of a new birth and happily it ended soon. One day the Master said : 'Let us begin a new life.' He wholeheartedly blessed his 'most rebellious' disciple. It was a moment of wonderful sweetness. As predicted by Sri Ramakrishna, the touch of the Swami brought a new knowledge and awakening to the disciple. By destroying the personal relation, he bestowed on her the impersonal vision.

After her most profitable travels Nivedita returned to Calcutta in November 1899 and started a girls' school for gaining experience. She lived with the Holy Mother and her community of holy women. They exerted a great influence on her life and thought revealing to her the intensity and extensity of Indian spiritual culture and the ideal *and glory of Indian* womanhood.

The Swami was thus able to make a place for her in orthodox Hindu society. She was now to live the life of a Brahmin Brahmacharini.

Not by remaining as a foreigner but by identifying herself with the life and thought of the Indians could she work for the welfare of Indian womanhood. During their voyage to England in 1899, the Swami made the ideal very clear to her :

"You have to set yourself to Hinduise your thoughts, your needs, your conceptions and your habits. Your life, internal and external, has to become all that an orthodox Hindu Brahmacharini ought to be. The method will come to you if only you desire it sufficiently."

Nivedita's close touch with the great personality of her Master during the voyage and stay with American friends in America and Europe enabled her to understand his wonderful mind and personality and also the depths of Hindu religion and culture. Before leaving Europe the Swami called her and blessed her most heartily :

"Go forth into the world, and there, if I made you, be destroyed! If Mother made you, live!"

Nivedita came back to India at the beginning of 1902 as if to receive the final benediction of her Master who passed away in July of the same year. She now resumed her school work and was cordially accepted by the people she came to serve. She was helped in her educational work by an American fellow-disciple, Sister Christine, who really shared the greater portion of her school burden. The two Sisters tried their best to create there an ideal Indian environment and drew not only little girls up to the marriageable age but also a large number of married women and widows. The students were helped to imbibe the highest Indian ideals, tradition and customs along with their general education. The great educational experiment of which the golden jubilee was celebrated recently proved to be eminently successful. But it was unfortunate that while many admired the institution, few came forward to support it financially. Nivedita the Tapasvini had to make the greatest sacrifices for the school. She had to live in a small house without comforts and had often to deny herself even the barest necessities of life. She buried herself mostly in her literary work undertaken for the maintenance of the school. The life of privation brought her a serious illness in 1905. She recovered from it but later got an attack of malaria when she visited the flood and famine stricken area in East Bengal in 1906. Her magnificent health broke down and could not be regained thereafter.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches : College Sq., Cal. Bankura.

Chairman : JAGANNATH KOLAY M.P.

Sister Nivedita lived an intenseley active life. Besides attending to her school and literary works, she used to give addresses to various audiences in Calcutta and elsewhere, spreading the dynamic message of her Master and laying bare before all the glory of Indian religion and culture, history and art. Besides these, she became a centre of great personal influence by the high ideals of her deep religious culture and spiritual nationalism, intense sympathy and selfless service.

Sister Nivedita inspired many leaders of political thought, men of letters, scientists, artists, journalists, teachers and students alike.

Nivedita spent the last three years of her life in England and America, and returned to India during the first half of 1911. But she came back only to pass away in October of the same year in the lap of her adopted motherland for whose service she had offered her body, heart and soul.

"The boat is sinking but I shall see the Sun rise," saying these words her soul went to the abode of light and immortality.

It was a blessing that the Sister chose to be a writer rather than a speaker. In her immortal works she revealed the greatness of the spiritual and cultural heritage of India with a unique sympathy, introspection and power. Are we the children of Mother India proving to be true to the great ideal the Sister lived for, worked for and died for? Our young men and women should study the illuminating works of the Sister, imbibe her ideas, mould their life and character and try to bring in a new order in the country.

It was the most earnest desire of Swami Vivekananda to inaugurate a movement for the regeneration of Indian womanhood and to carry on this great work he wished to see our women imbibing the ideals of Sita, Savitri and Maitreyi. He also wanted cultured and fearless Brahmacharinis who would lead a life of perfect chastity and spirituality, renunciation and service.

"The celibate nuns," said the Swami, "will be teachers and through such devout preachers of character there will be the real spread of female education in the country."

It was a pity that the Swami could not find among the daughters of India a single soul to embody the ideal which the Swami had in view but he was fortunte in discovering in a noble daughter of the West the potentiality of a Gargi, one who was to realise the ideal of a life-long Brahmacharini, as he dreamt of, and also to interpret Hindu culture for the benefit of others. Her the Swami trained with infinite patience and affection, her the Swami held as an ideal of a new type of womanhood—an ideal he embodies in his blessings to the spiritual daughter of his :

"The Mother's heart, the hero's will,
The sweetness of the southern breeze,
The sacred charm and strength that dwell
On Aryan altars, flaming, free ;
All these be yours, and many more
No ancient sage could dream before--
Be thou to India's future son
The mistress, servant, friend in one."

May the women of India lovingly treasure and cherish the noble ideal, and prove by their life, thought and action that a regenerated womanhood does always stand for a regenerated nation and for a regenerated world.

The crest which adorns the literature, forms and advertisements of the Hindusthan since its inception has a story behind it. The map of India in outline serves as the background of the romantic history of India's struggle for economic freedom—and the Hindusthan can rightly claim that it has done all the pioneering works with an outlook of national service. It is Indian in ideal and outlook, Indian in capital and management—it is cent per cent Indian in everything so to speak. The crest therefore serves to throw into relief the patriotic endeavour of the great men of the time to bring economic salvation to our nationals.

The crest is the symbol of economic security, protection and peace and is significantly tied up with the life of our nationals.

HINDUSTHAN

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LTD.,

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS,

4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA-13

Literature and Freedom

R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

When peace came to Europe the first impulse was to cry "Never again!" Gazing through the drifting smoke at the debris of splended cities it is not surprising that sensitive observers felt the need for affirming human solidarity and protesting against the senseless cruelty of war. Hiroshima was denounced as an evidence of barbarous atavism unworthy of civilized man. An American investigator, intent on serving his fellows, caught the spirit of the time in the title of his book, *One World*. For a moment it looked as though humanity was willing to accept the view that we must all make the best of living together in this world we share, irrespective of differences of colour, creed and social opinions.

This seemed a wise decision for a war-torn, ragged, limping world to make. There was so much to do in the way of rebuilding and rehabilitation. The sick and the wounded, the displaced persons, the thousands of orphans, required attention.

Suddenly all this was changed. Instead of one world, we were confronted with two worlds in perpetual conflict. The cold war is merely a time of preparation for hot warfare, with its programme of annihilation— invasion, napalm bombs, the atom bomb and all those other ways of mass killing which the clever scientists are perfecting in secret, with no expense spared.

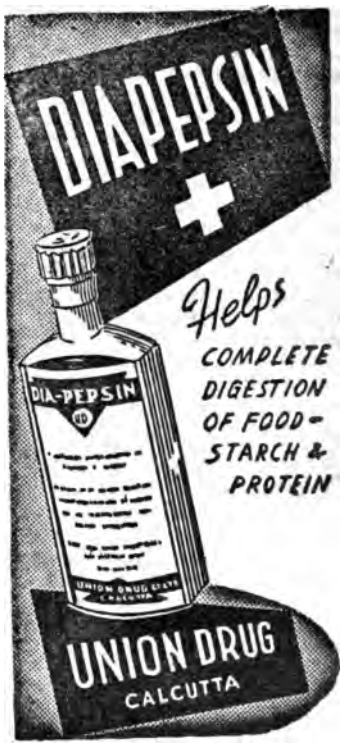
If the world chooses to follow the path of destruction rather than the path of creative adventure it must be because the makers of public opinion have recommended that course. Writers cannot evade their responsibility in this matter. It is true, of course, that there has never been a lack of pens to serve ignoble causes. Nazi Germany had its full quota of professors and pundits ready to advocate and justify its worst excesses, its racial domination and its brutal tyranny. Before the Hitler malady overtook Germany one could meet bands of young people—youths and girls wandering along the mountain paths, picnicking in the woods, strumming guitars and singing of the glories of nature and peace. This *Wandervogel* movement had its thousands of adherents and, had it been allowed to develop freely, might have made Germany a land of democracy and peace. After the Second World War, too, the feeling for disarmament was widespread in the land. This was encouraged to begin with, but now the militarists have insisted that the Germans take their place in the ranks of those who stand for a division of the world on lines of war and hatred.

In times of social tension—such as our own —the forces of repression are active.

It was so in the years following the Napoleonic Wars when the world was shaken by the storms of the French Revolution. In Britain there were countless victims of the laws against a free press and free speech. Yet the influence of the French Revolution spread, for repression can never prevent the advance of a social movement born of the needs of the time.

The parallel between this earlier after-war period and our own times is very close. But America's role in them has been quite different. The newly established United States gave an impetus to the revolutionary movement in France and helped to clear away those remnants of feudalism which still cluttered the stage in Europe. Today America takes the lead in resisting any influence that comes either directly from the mighty upheaval in Russia or—like the various national movements in Asia—takes its rise out of similar forces in a changing world. The spectacle of America vainly trying to sweep back the tide with a broom has its comic side but when there is an atom bomb tied to the broom it ceases to be funny.

Panic repression has been the key-note of recent years. Men and women whose only crime is that they have been sensitive to suffering and social injustice, have been hauled up before blatant committees for investigation of their beliefs. Mr. Truman himself has suggested that people might be afraid to put their names to the Declaration of Independence—the foundation document of the States—for fear of imprisonment or loss of employment. And this rule of terror has been carried out in the name of "Free Society."



This wave of repression is particularly harmful to writers who, to do their best work, need scope for the exercise of a free creative spirit.

American writers of an earlier age, such as Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman, would almost certainly have come into conflict with the present organs of repression. One wonders whether men like Theodore Dreiser, Jack London and Sinclair Lewis might not find themselves in gaol if they penned their biting social criticisms in our era. From the standpoint of intellectual freedom the world has taken a step backward. When men are imprisoned or victimized for their social opinions, the whole of the intellectual life of the time is poisoned, for honest, fearless criticism becomes impossible.

This situation will confront the International Conference of the P.E.N. representing the writers of many lands when, in 1953, it meets in Dublin. Will this Conference stand for the free spirit of literature not only in the East but in the West as well, where its voice should be more effective? Meeting in Dublin, the capital of a country not officially linked with the United Nations, the conferene should speak with the greater freedom. One hopes that the responsible spokesmen of literature will not run away from the issue by merely mouthing partisan platitudes about the "Free Society" of the West, for all writers worthy of their pens know very well that the "free world" of which they speak does not exist except as an aspiration in the minds and honest men.

A Chinese woman, Dr. Han Suyin, who received her medical training in London and has friends in the East and the West, has said with fitting dignity what she feels is true about the "intellectuals" of her race who have ben condemned for staying in China instead of joining the trek to Hong Kong or Formosa. In her book *A Many-Splendoured Thing* she writes:

"They remained to serve their people. They believed beyond political ends, beyond wars and balances of power. They did not join their voices to the small indiganant chorus of those who pollute the word of freedom with hope for a third world war to re-establish an order dead long age."

Freedom is indeed a jewel beyond price but to invoke it as a social bludgeon to increase the strife in the world does not help the cause of literature or of truth.

If one can speak of the spirit of literature and the phrase still has a meaning it is the task and privilege of writers to lift the lamp of understanding high so that its beams may light the whole path of human endeavour. Toleration, a sense of human solidarity, a respect for the opinions of others however widely these differ from our own—this is the true spirit of literature.

Our great heritage of literature, of art and of drama, is valuable because it is an expression of the human spirit. If there is no belief in that expression, there is no reason to treasure the books, plays and pictures that have come down to us through the ages. The intellectual integrity of the writer is not only essential for his own work; it is essential also for the health of society. Unless the writer guards his independence he will not be allowed to emphasize the oneness of the world, the need for friendship between East and West. On both sides of the Iron Curtain that hangs across the world there is fear, suspicion and ignorance which can be exploited by vulgar vested interest that profit by war. Not by becoming partisans can writers best serve their cause but rather by drawing together all those who want to build the free society of the future which will extend its boundaries to include the East and the West.

OUTSTANDING
PRODUCTS OF
HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.
OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, iching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injuriour, depressing or habit-forming druge. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. NOVUM SIMPLEX, Rs. 12-8. NOVUM FORTE, Rs. 50; NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".
EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
81/283, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. 'Phone: 242973

Britain's National Dailies

William Clark observes in *The Indian Review*:

As a journalist, I believe that most people do not turn to newspapers primarily for news but for comment and for entertainment, and to see how their familiar paper treats the news. That is why there is plenty of room for the ten national papers which are all equally available in every corner of Britain.

The importance of this comment and play of the news is reflected in the regular review of the Press on the BBC's Overseas Service which deals mostly with the comment of the newspapers, or the way in which they treat the news. Who decides this? Who is responsible for the attitude of the Press? What does it mean when foreign journalists in London cable home that "public opinion as reflected in the Press" takes this or that view? Is there any relation between public opinion and Press opinion?

Perhaps it would be best if I tried to answer these questions by taking up the papers one by one, as I do each morning. I normally begin the day with *The Times*. This is the oldest London paper, the most famous, and, I believe, by far the most influential. Yet its circulation is only a little more than a quarter of a million in a field where there are papers with circulations of four million. But *The Times* is the national paper of record: it attempts to give a thorough survey of all the news, giving weight to those items that are of serious national importance. People read *The Times* because they want the news fully reported, and as a result of this high-level readership the editorials in *The Times* can carry great weight. Often the editorials are explanatory rather than giving a lead, but when *The Times* decides to be really definite it can exert the greatest influence. Who decides that?

In fact one must say it is almost entirely the Editor and his numerous able and expert assistants. The power behind the Editor's chair is the chief proprietors, the two men who actually own the property of *The Times*. They are Colonel John Astor, who bought the control in 1922 from the estate of the late Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. John Walter, whose great-great-granfather founded *The Times*.

These two men, with the directors of *The Times* Publishing Company, are responsible for appointing the Editor, a very important decision indeed but in practice they do not interfere with him once he is appointed. The ownership of *The Times* in a financial sense is separated from the editorial control by custom, and in fact a special arrangement has been made to try to ensure that the financial control will never pass into hands which will use *The Times* as an instrument of personal policy.

Outspoken and Liberal

The second paper I pick up is the *Manchester Guardian*, and you may very well ask why I include a "provincial paper?" But the "M. G." as it is familiarly known, undoubtedly ranks as one of the national papers. I read it for two reasons; it has a small but brilliant foreign staff, and it is famous for its outspoken and liberal editorials—I mean liberal in a broader sense than the Liberal Party, though the *Guardian* is generally regarded as pro-Liberal Party. Who controls the editorials of the "M. G."?

Again the answer is the Editor, because the financial control and ownership of the paper has been placed in a trust, which appoints the Editor but then leaves him free to run the paper. I say "leaves him free," but it would be unreal to pretend that an Editor is really free to make just what he likes of the paper. A great paper like the *Guardian* has a tradition which it cannot ignore if it was suddenly to change its entire policy or to put on a new character it might very easily lose the respect and ultimately the support of its readers.

The third "quality" paper—that is, papers designed to suit the more serious-minded—is the *Daily Telegraph*, which has a circulation of about a million. This paper is owned by Lord Camrose, a brother of Lord Kemsley who owns a chain of provincial dailies, and Lord Camrose also has the title of Editor-in-Chief. As owner he is a majority stockholder in a joint stock company and so he can control the financial actions which lie behind newspaper production. As Editor-in-Chief he can, and does, control the policy of the paper.

On the whole the policy of the *Daily Telegraph* is fairly predictable: politically it favours the Conservative Party, and in foreign affairs favours a strong Britain in close association with the United States. That basic policy is personally laid down by the Editor-in-Chief, but the Editor who looks after the paper day after day can, of course, exercise control within limits. So in this case we have an example of the financial owner being also the editorial controller of the comment and the tone of his paper.

Family Properties

A fairly similar case is the *Daily Mail*. This is also a paper with rightwing tendencies but it is more designed for the man in the street, it is more "popular" than the *Daily Telegraph*, it costs less, and it has a circulation of about two million. In fact the *Daily Mail* was the pioneer of all popular journalism at the turn of the century, when it was built up by Alfred Harmsworth, who later became Lord Northcliffe.

It is still owned by the Harmsworth family to-day, and that perhaps illustrates rather well a feature of the British newspaper world. Many newspapers are family properties: *The Times*, as I mentioned, has been partly in the hands of the Walter family since its foundation in the eighteenth century; the *Manchester Guardian* has been closely associated in ownership with the Scott family; the *Daily Mail* is a Harmsworth property.

Lord Rothermere controls the financial side of the *Daily Mail* and its associated papers, the *Evening News* and *Sunday Dispatch*. But Lord Rothermere also has considerable editorial control of his papers. He told the Press Commission in 1947 that the policy pursued by his London papers was entirely in his hands. He has an office in the newspaper building and he talks to the Editor of the *Daily Mail* almost every day; he talks to the Editor of the *Evening News* and the *Sunday Dispatch* at least once a week, and whenever a matter of importance comes up.

What that means in fact is that ultimately the policy and editorial line of the *Daily Mail*—and the other papers—depends on Lord Rothermere, but he receives advice, which must count very highly, from his Editor, and other members of his staff.

History of the Indian Association

By Iogesh Chandra Bagal

Indispensable for the history of India's Freedom movement. Highly spoken of by Scholars and the Press. Price Rs. 7 8. Foreign Rs. 10

Some Aspects of the Constitution of India As 10

By Professor D. N. Banerjea.

Head of the Dept. of Politics, Calcutta University.

To be had of—

The Indian Association, 62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12 and Das-Gupta & Co., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta-12

widely appreciated in home & abroad..

April 13. 1953

Gentlemen.
Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars ($5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you,

Yours very truly,
Mrs. A. W. Hunter
3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington.
U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM, and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.
CALCUTTA-29.

One-Man Control

Perhaps the paper which is most completely controlled by one man is the *Daily Express*, which is "owned" by Lord Beaverbrook in the sense that he has the controlling interest in the shares of the company. Lord Beaverbrook is not the managing director of his company (as Lord Rothermere is of his); he is not a director at all; he is not Editor-in-Chief (as Lord Camrose is of the *Daily Telegraph*); in fact, he has never had an office in that big glass building in Fleet Street that houses the *Daily Express*. He has very little formal connection with the paper. Yet the chairman of the company once summed it up by saying "undoubtedly Lord Beaverbrook is the paper." This shows, I think, what is true of all newspapers: that you cannot tell who runs it by looking at its financial statements or at its editorial board.

Because Lord Beaverbrook's control is so personal it is hard to give an exact description of the policy of his papers: it is definitely anti-Socialist; it is less definitely pro-Conservative, since it holds that those Tory M.P.s who do not favour Empire trade are heretics.

It is a good deal easier to know the policy of the *Daily Herald*. It is laid down in the articles of association of the Daily Herald Company, that the policy of the paper shall be that directed by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress.

The ownership of the *Herald* is a complicated business. But briefly I would say that for all policy purposes the control is in Labour Party hands; for all business purposes it is in the hands of Odhams Press. But as the directors cannot edit a newspaper, and as the *Daily Herald* produces a fairly independent paper because its editor is given considerable latitude. For instance, recently it strongly attacked Aneurin Bevan, which shows that it can be independent even of pressure by the party executive. But the *Herald* is the organ of the Labour Party, and it is tied to that point of view.

One of the papers I always glance at with interest it the *Daily Worker*. It gives me simply and without fuss the Communist Party line. It does not waver, it does not doubt, though it sometimes is a day or two late in making the sharp turns demanded of loyal party members. The *Worker* is owned by a co-operative society called the Peoples' Printing Society. Policy is laid down by the Communist Party.

At the other pole, I would put the *News Chronicle*, which is a Liberal Party paper, but because of the smallness of that Parliamentary party it maintains a very detached attitude to most party politics. The ownership of this paper is again really vested in a family, the Quaker Cadbury family, but they have made a trust out of their ownership, and financial control seems to be exerted by the Cadburys' nominee, Lord Layton.

I am now left at the bottom of my pile with the two picture papers, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Sketch*. The *Mirror* is a very popular paper with a circulation of about four million, and a slightly left-of-centre viewpoint. It is owned by a public company, and it is very hard to know where the financial control is really centred: I believe the control of the *Daily Mirror* is exerted mainly from the editorial office. Finally, the *Daily Sketch*, which has changed hands in the last month: it has been sold by Kemsley newspapers and bought by the *Daily Mail* company. It is too early to say what its policy will settle down to, but it seems possible it will be a slightly right-of-centre version of the *Daily Mirror*.

As I finish my last paper each morning, what I often reflect is that in Britain the reader has a very free and very wide choice. No one need be bored or ill-informed.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Civil Disobedience in South Africa

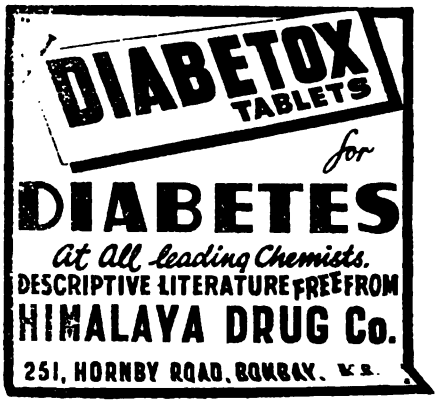
John Hatch, author of *Dilemma in South Africa* and Professor of history in the University of Glasgow and an authority on South African affairs, writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, March, 1953 :

During the six months between the end of June 1952, and the end of the year, 8055 Africans, Indians and Coloureds (people of mixed descent) were imprisoned in the Union of South Africa for deliberately breaking laws. During this period a well-organized campaign for the deliberate breach of law was conducted by an action committee set up by the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress, and it has been announced that this campaign is to be continued and intensified during 1953. Meanwhile the South African Nationalist Government, under Dr. Malan, has announced that it intends to introduce new legislation early in 1953 to take drastic powers to suppress the movement. At the same time, during the last few weeks of 1952, two new features of the situation appeared, when first widespread rioting developed in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, and then a handful of Europeans, led by Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General of the Union, took part in the law-breaking campaign.

The background to this unhappy prospect for South Africa in 1953 is the complicated racial composition of its population and the psychology of its different racial groups. The racial situation in South Africa has sometimes been compared with that of the United States of America. The comparison is, however, quite false, for whereas the American Negro is in a minority of less than one to ten, the Non-Europeans of South Africa constitute four-fifths of the total population of the country. Out of a population of 12½ million, only slightly more than 2½ millions are whites. Yet it is this small white minority which controls every aspect of the political, social and economic life of the nation. Parliament, for instance, is composed of an upper house, the Senate, and a lower house, the House of Assembly. Both Houses admit only white representatives. In the former, out of 48 Senators four only are indirectly elected by the 8½ million African inhabitants, whilst of the 150 Members of the lower house, only three are elected by Africans who live in the Cape Province. The remaining forty-four Senators and 156 Members of the House of Assembly represent the white citizens plus an electorate of less than 50,000 Cape Coloureds (whom the Government, incidentally, has been trying to remove from the common roll for the past two years.) In social life, complete segregation of the races is enforced by the white community and, of course, social facilities for the Non-Europeans are greatly inferior to those provided for whites. In every aspect of the entertainment world, in public transport vehicles, in the post offices and telephone booths, in residential areas, in all societies and groups, in restaurants and hotels, even in churches and on the beaches, on park benches and station seats, strict segregation is enforced. A whole complexity of laws prevents the Non-Europeans from *becoming skilled workers, whilst* the barriers to the professions *are very high and* usually salaries are much lower, and trade union organization of the African is not recognized by law.

This national policy of segregation, with the inferior role allotted to the Non-European, has developed from the historical influences of the past three hundred years, since Dutchmen first settled at the Cape. Gradually they developed an insularity of character which became ever more deeply imbued with the conviction that the white skin was a badge of inherent superiority and that racial purity was their divine responsibility. The fact that many of them had colored ancestors from the early days of racial mixture was and is ignored and, if anything, the knowledge of it promotes an even greater racialist fanaticism. It was largely the abhorrence with which they viewed the possibility of being treated on the basis of equality with the non-white peoples that led the Boers in the 1830s to retreat from British rule and found their own new states of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on constitutions based upon the declared principle of "No equality in Church or State." Since the Union of 1910, which linked these two former Boer Republics with the British Cape Colony and Natal in a united South Africa, this deeply ingrained color prejudice of the Boers, or *Afrikaners*, has gradually but steadily infiltrated amongst the British descendants and the other white settlers until today, with hardly any exceptions, the whole white community supports the principle of permanent white superiority and supremacy.

This feeling has also been greatly aggravated by the fact that throughout this century South Africa has gradually been undergoing the process of an industrial revolution. As a consequence, an increasing stream of Non-Europeans have been leaving the countryside for the towns to provide the basis of a national labor force. This process has been greatly accelerated over the last fifteen years, and between 1936 and 1951 the total population of Non-Europeans in the four largest cities rose from 613,783 to 1,307,095, more than doubling, whilst the average population increase of the nation was only two per cent per annum. One of the inevitable



consequences of this process has been that an increasing number of Non-Europeans have secured educational opportunities as well as economic and political consciousness, which has greatly aggravated the fear of the whites that their privileged position will be undermined. As a small minority, not only in their country, but in a continent with nearly 200 million Africans, this fear has led to increasingly desperate measures to preserve their position of supremacy.

During this period since 1910, whilst the color fanaticism of the Boers has been steadily spreading thorughout the nation, the attitude of the Non-Europeans has undergone a corresponding change. From the middle of last century up to the time of Union the Non-Europeans could be broadly divided into two sections. In the two northern Boer Republics and in Natal they had very largely been forced to accept a position of complete servitude to the white masters. In the Cape they increasingly enjoyed a degree of partnership with the white man in which, although the Non-European was very much of a junior partner, there was some opportunity for him to develop in civilization and thus to gain the respect and even the friendship of the whites. In politics, for instance, no discrimination on grounds of color was permitted in the Cape.

Since 1910, however, the whole trend of South African policy has been to enforce ever more rigid color bars and progressively to diminish the rights of citizenship of the Non-Europeans. As a consequence, and in view of their increasing political and economic consciousness, the Non-Europeans have been steadily forced into a struggle with the white community. In the sphere of organization they began from extreme weakness, for, without capital or the means of gathering it, hindered on all sides by restrictive legislation which was entirely controlled by the whites, with very little experience of organization and with vast distances separating the main urban centers, the Non-Europeans have hardly been equipped to combat the resources of modern state power. On the other hand, they have been assisted by the basic facts of South African national life. In spite of the constant and feverish attempts of successive South African governments to impose a pattern of segregation upon the nation, South African national economy has constantly demanded further supplies of cheap industrial labour, and the consequent increasing social grouping of Non-Europeans in the towns has aided their self-consciousness and opportunity for organization. At the same time, through the appalling housing, health, and social conditions of the Non-European urban locations, through urban discrimination, further fuel has been added to the smoldering fires of discontent.

Various methods of protest have been attempted. Strikes, the burning of passes, nonpayment of taxes, squatters' movements, and rioting have from time to time given warning of the spreading poison below the social surface. Attempts at trade union organization, various political movements, and organized demonstrations have shown an increasing development of organizational experience.

Yet protest has been largely ineffective and the weak basic foundations noted above, together with suspicions and jealousy between different tribes and between Africans, Coloureds and Indians, has prevented any considerable success attending such movements. Meanwhile, developing capitalism and increasing discrimination has tightened the economic stranglehold of the white community, whilst legislation has steadily decreased the political influence of the Non-Europeans. It has been the major effect of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government since 1948 to accelerate all these processes leading towards heightened racial tension and to drive all sections of the Non-European community to neglect their mutual suspicions and conflicts in order to recognize their common

Distinctive Jewellery
TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
TELEGRAM 'BRILLIANTS
M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM
BRANCH- HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159 1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

hostility towards the whites and the necessity to combine in one common struggle. The Nationalist Government has not basically altered the traditional principles of South African white policy, but it has stated them in more uncompromising language and used more drastic and spectacular action than ever before. Its Mixed Marriages Act made illegal any marriage between European and Non-European, whilst its amendment to the Immorality Act made any sexual union between European and Non-European a criminal offense. The Group Areas Act is designed to force Non-Europeans into strictly segregated residental and business areas, whilst the Population Registration Act codified the racial origins of every inhabitant of the Union. The Suppression of Communism Act gave the government powers to remove any of its opponents from public life, to suppress organizations and newspapers, on the grounds of aiming "at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and Non-European races of the Union." Finally, in the Separate Representation of Voters Act, an attempt was made by the government to remove the last of the Non-European voters who had survived on the common electoral roll from the days of Cape liberalism, and to separate permanently those 50,000 Cape Coloured voters from the European electorate. This Act has temporarily been held up by the decision of the Appeal Court. That is to be made an issue of confidence in the government at the general election to be held in April of this year. At the same time, by a multitude of new regulations and a more rigid enforcement and interpretation of former rules, the Nationalists have attempted to enforce the principles of segregation in every aspect of national, local, and personal life.

The suppression of a minority by a majority in the state eventually leads to a social eruption, even if the consequence be martyrdom. In the final resort men will sacrifice their lives for self-respect and personal liberty. But in South Africa it is a majority who have been subjected to tyranny. For every white man there are five non-whites, and, though all the forces of the state are held in the hands of the Europeans, such subjection cannot permanently be maintained without conflict. This is particularly so in a world in which the Non-European peoples are becoming increasingly conscious of their national and human aspiration and taking an ever greater part in national and international life.

Since 1948, therefore, a new phase of struggle has developed amongst the Non-Europeans in South Africa. The old weaknesses still remain, but lessons have been learned from the experiences of the past. Above all, the different Non-European communities have been forced to learn by hard experience that only by dropping their differences and waging a concerted struggle can they hope for any success.

One weapon only lies in the hand of the Non-European community. Debarred from any opportunity of securing constitutional redress, with all capital, legislation, and the means of force in the hands of the whites, the Non-Europeans have only the value of their labor to use in the struggle. The white community constantly impresses upon the world the argument that they have built up in South Africa a foundation of white civilization which has brought to that country the benefits and comforts of western society. Yet that civilization has been built as much by non-white labor powers as by white initiative and capital, and it can only exist so long as that non-white labor force is willing to continue its operation.

The main aim of the Non-European leaders over the last few years has been to expose this fact to the mass of the non-white population. In June 1950 a first national attempt was made on these lines by the organization of a *one-day national political strike* as a means of protesting against discriminatory legislation. The strike was by no means one hundred per cent successful, but its main effect was to demonstrate to hundreds of thousands of Non-Europeans the importance of their place in South African society. A similar attempt was made in 1951, and, immediately following it, a joint committee was set up by the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress to organize a more serious attempt to protest against the whole discriminatory structure of South African life and to demand that the Non-European should be recognized as a full and equal South African citizen. The fact that it was possible for the main organizations of the Africans and the Indians to come together in this joint enterprise was in itself a most significant demonstration that the two sections of the Non-European community which had been most hostile to each other were now realizing the common object of their immedi[illegible]ims.

The [illegible]ade by this joint committee were fully approv[illegible]y the annual conferences of the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress held at the end of 1951 and the beginning of 1952 respectively. It was now clear that the African Congress had quite changed its character. It had been mainly an organization which passed resolutions, organized deputations, and held personal consultations with the authorities. A change had come at the conference at the end of 1949 when Dr. J. S. Moroka replaced Dr. Xuma as President-General. Dr. Moroka is a medical doctor from Thaba Nchu in the Orange Free State and quite conservative in his political outlook. His ancestors actually received land from the Voortrekens in gratitude for their help. Yet he realized that the only method of combating the policy of the Nationalists was to lead an active organization and to associate with the organizations of the other Non-Europeans. The Indians have for long been the most experienced in organization and have shown the greatest initiative in tactics and, led, by Dr. Dadoo in the Transvaal and Dr. Naicker in Natal, were trying to develop a strong and active Non-European organization.

The plan laid down by the two Congresses was seen effectively for the first time in February 1952 when a letter was sent to the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan demanding that all discriminatory legislation be repealed. The Prime Minister inevitably refused to entertain any such idea and warned the Congresses that the Government would use all the powers of the state to suppress their activities if the law was broken. Accordingly the second move in the campaign was made on April 6th, when mass meetings of Non-Europeans were called throughout the country on the very same day that the white community was celebrating the tercentenary of the landing of Jan van

T. B. IS NOT INCURABLE

An invention by

Rajvaidya Kaviraj Pranacharya

Dr. **PRABHAKAR CHATTERJEE**, M.A., D.Sc.,

JAKSHMARI

A Unique medicine for stopping continuous fever, cough, haemoptysis, hoarseness of voice, night sweat, aversion to food, diarrhoea, damages in the lungs and loss of weight by destroying the T. B. germs. It is much more effective than any medicine imported from abroad. Numerous patients have had a complete recovery. Full particulars with prescription on request.

172, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12, Phone: Avenue 4950

Riebeeck to found the first white settlement in South Africa. The process of organization continued until the campaign proper began on June 26th, now established as "Freedom Day" amongst the Non-Europeans, from its use as the day of general strike in the two previous years.

Many of those who have studied and observed African organization at first hand did not believe that this campaign could ever succeed in its primary objects for more than a few weeks. The aim of its organizers was to emulate the achievement of Mahatma Gandhi in India by organizing and controlling thousands of their people deliberately to break discriminatory laws, to court arrest, but to offer no shadow of resistance or violence. The leaders were obviously acting with common sense in this objective, for they recognized that their people had no defense against violence and would only suffer severely if it were provoked. Yet, though they might have sense on their side, they had set themselves a tremendous objective. Gandhi's achievement was immense, but he had the advantage of the tradition of oriental passivity. No such tradition existed amongst the Africans nor had they anything like the same experience of organization and tradition in discipline which had been enjoyed by their Indian predecessors.

In spite of these facts, the strength of organization and the maintenance of discipline since the campaign started on June 26th, has astounded the world. During that time, whilst over 8,000 resisters have been imprisoned and still more arrested, no violence at all was offered. It should be further remembered that the South African police force is accustomed to dealing quite brutally with its Non-European prisoners, and many charges have been made of ill-treatment accorded to these resisters in prison.

It has been clear from the start that a more efficient organization has been created here than has ever previously been known amongst the Non-Europeans of South Africa. Obviously working to a set plan, groups have gone into action in successive areas, occupying seats reserved for Europeans, using European counters in post offices or breaking the curfew and crossing prohibited frontiers, appearing in the streets without passes and entering locations without permits.

Meanwhile, the Government has become increasingly restive in the face of this threat to the privileged position of the white community. At first it tried to treat it lightly and imposed only mild sentences. Then it began to threaten the leaders and arrested a number of them, Drs. Moroka, Dadoo, and Naicker, under the Suppression of Communism Act. It is significant to note that in convicting them and sentencing them to nine months imprisonment, suspended for two years, the judge indicated that they were guilty of "Statutory Communism," which, he said, had nothing to do with "Communism as it is commonly known." At the same time, flogging sentences were imposed upon junior resisters, but still the movement gathered momentum, spreading from the Transvaal, the Cape and the Orange Free State.

In the midst of the campaign racial rioting occurred in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, but, though the government has tried hard to link it with the campaign of passive resistance, it has completely failed to do so and it is obvious that this violence has hampered rather than assisted the resistance movement. However, it gave the government the excuse of banning all unauthorized meetings in African areas, issuing orders to the police to fire at the leaders of any potential riots, and preparing new legislation making it a severe offence to *participate in organized defiance of law* and taking *powers to proclaim a state of emergency in any area where trouble is expected.*

In spite of this reign of terror which the Government is threatening, the movement has continued and, although suspended over Christmas, is to be intensified during 1953. A significant development of it has been the participation of a handful of Europeans who have thus given practical demonstration of the support which a tiny minority of the whites feel for the revolt against oppression conducted by the Non-Europeans. At the same time, at the end of 1952, Dr. Moroka was replaced as President-General of the African National Congress by Mr. Albert Luthuli, a chief from Natal who was dismissed by the government from his chieftaincy because of his support of the campaign. He announced to the conference that his policy would be "Never to resort to force, to invite more Europeans to volunteer and to allow nothing to stand in the way of my people's freedom."

It would be unrealistic to imagine that this campaign, or, indeed, anything which the Non-Europeans can do, is likely to lead to the establishment of their equal rights with Europeans, or to a prospect of the achievement of such an aim in the foreseeable future. Not only the Nationalist Government, but both the United Party and the Labor Party which form the opposition, have completely condemned the campaign and stand solidly on the principle of continued white supremacy. What the campaign is doing, however, is to cement the Non-European alliance, give it experience of struggle, and mature the self-consciousness of the Non-European people. At the same time, it is focussing overseas opinion, particularly amongst non-white peoples, upon conditions in South Africa, and is gaining the sympathetic support of Africans elsewhere on the continent. Such support, sympathy, and perhaps assistance, may well be of vital importance in the struggles which clearly lie ahead in this unhappy country where racial tensions have become so taut, for it must be obvious that now, in the second half of the twentieth century when a Dr. Bunche has won a Nobel Peace Prize and become Director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, when a Nehru leads nearly a fifth of the world's population in India, and a Kwame Nkrumah has become the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, the peoples with colored skins cannot and will no longer remain second class citizens of the world.

1954 ILO Session

1954 Ilo Session to Discuss Seven Items

The Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation has decided that seven items are to be included in the agenda of the ILO's general Conference in 1954.

The session will be held beginning June 2 at Geneva.

The "technical questions to be considered will be (1) penal sanctions for breaches of contracts of employment, (2) the conditions of migrant workers in underdeveloped countries, and (3) vocational rehabilitation of the disabled.

A discussion of holidays with pay, which is scheduled to begin at the 1953 session, will be taken up again in 1954 if the 1953 meeting decides to follow the usual "double discussion" procedure.

The Governing Body agreed that the ILO's technical assistance programme would be reviewed by the 1954 Conference on the basis of a report which the Governing Body will submit.

The session will also debate a report by Director-General David A. Morse, fix the ILO's annual budget, and examine the manner in which countries are fulfilling their obligations in regard to the ILO's Conventions and Recommendations. *ILO News.*

Printed and published by Nalinee Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

PERIOD. 11.99
V. 93

FOUNDED BY — RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

ANDOVER-HARVARD
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE MODERN REVIEW

AP
M6
V.93
1953
6

JUNE :: 1953

Sarvodaya and Marxism : *S. N. Agarwal*

Federalism in the New Constitution : *Iqbal Narain Srivastava*

Basic Education for Democracy : *Prabodh Chandra Goswami*

The U.N.O. : A Better League of Nations ? : *G. P. Srivastava*

On the Census of Pakistan : *Jatindra Mohan Datta*

The Food Problem : *P. C. Bansil*

The Position of Women in Medieval India : *Roma Chaudhuri*

A Rebel Magistrate of Bihar : *P. C. Roy Choudhury*

A Successful University Summer Session : *Alfred S. Schenkman*

Women in India's Freedom Movement *(illust.)* : *Jogesh C. Bagal*

Pre-historic Rock Pictures in Bellary *(illust.)* : *Richard Chinnathambi*

Merchants in Vedic and Heroic India : *Suresh Prasad Niyogi*

How Coronation Service Links up Whole of British History : *Leslie G. Pine*

A Summary Survey of Art Journals in India : *Kaundinya*

Psychology in Industry : *Santasil Biswas*

A Couple of Constitutional Issues : *G. M. Shah*

Ancient House-Planning : *Y. D. Sharma*

Surgery in South Pole : *P. K. Banerjee*

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
GENERAL LIBRARY

EDITOR:- KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

AUG 10 1953

PRABASI PRESS

is equipped with Modern Machinery, Lino and a wide variety of types

Can print BENGALI, SANSKRIT, ENGLISH, HINDI Books and Job Works.

●

PRABASI—the Bengali Monthly Magazine,
MODERN REVIEW—the English Monthly Magazine
&
VISHAL BHARAT—the Hindi Monthly Magazine
are printed here.

●

ARTISTIC COLOUR PRINTING A SPECIALITY

●

120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9

Phone : B. B. 3281

THE PRABASI OFFICE & PRESS

This Coupon
t Him
ou

Institute, 5, Delhi Gate,
ase send me full particulars
lser Mail Course in Practical
nd Mental Efficiency. Enclosed
as in stamps.
.....
ress .....
.....
Age..... Occupation.....

Can Make You a Master Writer
nd a Convincing Speaker!"

—GRENVILLE KLEISER, Famous Speech Specialist

s not a walk in life in which mastery of the nguage will not bring a rapid advancement, a me and wider influence, and make the road to oother and surer.

er your business or occupation, you need a of the English language to be successful. Whether teacher, a student, a manager, a journalist, a udge, a banker, a merchant, a salesman, a public a clerk, a command of English will bring you to nt and lack of it will be a drag on your upward u need good English in every relation of your will help you, as no other single thing can, to goal of your desires and achieve success.

the way to gain a new command of English in ks. Grenville Kleiser, the great expert of interme in teaching English, has discovered a new mastering this language. His Correspondence ables you to become a Master of English by the tem of study and in the shortest time possible. you by post in your spare moments at home.

Enlarge Your Vocabulary by Thousands of Words;
Use the Right Word in the Right Place;
Correct all Errors of Grammar, Idiom and Diction;
Develop Originality of Style and Expression;
Write Tactful and Forceful Letters, Essays, Advertisements, Articles, Stories, Speeches, Memorials, Etc.;
Become an Engaging Conversationist and Be Popular in Good Society;
Increase Your Power of Persuasion;

Be a Person of Culture, Power, and Influence;
Earn More Money, Get Better Position & Achieve Greater Success.

Enthusiastic endorsements of this remarkable Course have been written by eminent masters of English. All lines of business, all trades, all professions, arts and sciences are represented among Mr. Kleiser's students who number more than 100,000 all over the world.

Send for Free Confidential Information.

bsolutely no uncertainty—no guesswork—about Mr. Kleiser's methods. He has had years of experience in some ing educational institutions, and is generally recognised as the foremost teacher of English by post. His Course is rk. In it he has put the ripe fruits of his vast experience. It is for every ambitious man and woman who would use language for all one is worth in business and social life. For full information, send us the coupon above or TO-DAY enclosing two annas in stamps.

TUTORIAL INSTITUTE **TUTORIAL BUILDINGS, 5, DELHI GATE, DELHI**

RAMTIRTH BRAHMI OIL

HAIR & BRAIN TONIC

(SPECIAL NO. 1)

- Stops falling hair,
- Increases growth of hair,
- Turns grey hair into natural black
- Removes dandruff and baldness
- Induces sound sleep
- Greatly increases memory

PRICE : BIG BOTTLE—Rs. 3/8/-, SMALL BOTTLE—Rs. 2/-
SOLD EVERYWHERE

"Send M. O. for Rs. 5/7/- for Big Bottle & Rs. 3/9/- for Small Bottle (including Postage & Packing charges as no V. P. is sent."

YOGIC classes are regularly conducted from 7-30 A.M. to 9-30 A.M. & 6 to 7-30 P.M. at following address. (Sundays closed.)

Shri Ramtirth Yogashram

"DADAR (Central Rly)"

Gram : "PRANAYAM" BOMBAY NO. 14. Tel. :—62899

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs.	as.
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (*No. 1, to 9 out of Stock*) each No. at Rs. 4	32	0
History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji (Each)	25	0
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu	12	0
Dynasties of Mediæval Orissa— Pt. Binayak Misra	5	0
Prayag or Allahabad—(*Illustrated*)	3	0
The Knight Errant (*Novel*)—Sita Devi	2	8
The Garden Creeper (*Illust. Novel*)— Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	8
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	0
Plantation Labour in India—Dr. R. K. Das	3	8
India And A New Civilization— ditto	4	0
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (*Illust.*)—P. N. Roy	4	8
Story of Satara (*Illust. History*) —Major B. D. Basu	10	0
My Sojourn in England— ditto	2	0
History of the British Occupation in India —[*An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.*]—N. Kasturi	3	0
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee	6	0
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy	1	0
Protection of Minorities— Radha Kumud Mukherji	0	4

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

DON'T MISS THESE BOOKS

POST FREE IS ALLOWED ON ORDERS OF Rs. 20 OR MORE AT A TIME

SEX BOOKS & HOT NOVELS

	Rs.	as.
The Mysteries of Sex, 4th Revised, Reset & Re-illustrated, ed. by Dr. A. L. Saksena	6	0
Confidential Love Letters with Replies.—A rare selection of stolen love letters	2	8
No, I Am Not Ashamed—Confession of a Hindu Widow	1	8
Modern Sex Life—Extraordinary sex book ever published	1	8
Art of Love & Procreation (A book for married couple only) by Dr A. L. Saksena	1	8
Sex Problems in a Nutshell—A book for married couples who have met sexual difficulties	1	8
Modern Methods of Safe Birth Control—A practical Handbook on family planning for lay public	1	8
Ideal Sex Knowledge—Illus. (in a plain, forceful & chaste language). By A. L. Saksena	1	8
Studies in Sex Abnormalities—(Strange sex practices) by Prof. E. M. Airi	1	8
The Physical Side of Love—Tells secrets of pleasure lie in woman's body	1	8
Kama Sutra—The Hindu Art of Love. illustrated	4	8
Kama Sutra by Dr. Gambers	5	4
Kama Sutra by Dr. Basu	6	0
Ideal Marriage by Dr. Gambers	3	0
Marriage Technique—illus.	1	8
Your Sex Problems - Dr. Rai	2	0
The Husband Problems by Do.	3	0
Women the Masterpiece	2	0
Male & Female Sex Problems	3	0
Sex Technique—illust.	1	8
The Happy Honeymoon	2	0
Sex Searchlight—Prof. E. M. Airi	3	12
Desire—French translated novel	1	8
Real Secrets of Love & Marriage	1	8
Broken Heart—Confessions of a pros	1	8
Sex Facts for Men	1	8
Sex Facts for Women	1	8
Secrets of Love by Kokkakkam	6	0
Ananga Ranga, Indian art of love	2	0
Ideal Marriage—Van de Velde	18	12
So I Became a Pros	3	0
Confessions of an Indian School Girl	2	0
To Reveal I am Ashamed	2	0
Sex Diseases & their Treatment	1	8
Sexual Side of Love	2	0
Sex Habits in Am. Woman	1	12
The Technique of Sex—30th ed.	5	4
Anatomical Sex Atlas, with 325 illus., American publication	3	12
Wise Parenthood—Dr. Marie Stopes	5	10
Enduring Passion—do	5	10
Marriage Love—do	3	8
Contraception (Birth control, its theory & practice) by do	26	4
Encyclopaedia of Sexual Knowledge by Dr. Willy & Coster	25	0

REFERENCE BOOKS

	Rs.	as.
Standard Guide to Better English by Prof. A. N. Bhandari. M.A. Entirely new publication giving 1001 modern english usages, treasury of words, purposeful propositions, idioms, phrases, synonyms, rules of grammar, principles of punctuation, common errors, words commonly spelt wrongly with ABC of Journalism and to XYZ of public speaking, etc.	4	8
Standard Book of Modern Interviews (Viva-Voce) 1953 ed.	4	0
Standard Book of Idioms, Unseens & Precis Writing—helpful advices are given in this book to those who are wondering for success in exams. & want to improve their language—374 pages—well bound	4	8
Standard Book of General Knowledge—A self contained reference book for all competitive exams. held in India	3	0
A Handbook of Everyday Letters, by Prof. P. N. Nanda, M.A. covering entire field of letter writing and having 555 ready-made letters in business, love, society, Politics, Home, Office, etc., etc.	3	0
Chambers's 20th Century Dictionary—New mid Century Version 1952 ed. just out	16	0
Oxford Concise Dictionary—England Printed ed Latest	13	2
Dictionary of Crossword & Permutation Charts—A best book for solvers of common sense X-words Sq. words, RMDC & Mywords competitions	3	0
Competitors' Companion—Crossword permutation	1	8
Guide to Office Routine & Drafting	5	0
New Oxford Pocket Dictionary, from Eng. to Eng., Urdu and Hindi meanings. 1000 pages	3	0
Nalanda Hindi to Hindi Pkt. Dictionary	3	12
Nalanda Vishal Hindi Shabda Sagar, 20x30x8" size 1556 pp.	16	12
Typical Essays for literary aspirants by S. N. Choudhery	3	12
Dictionary of Phrases by S. N. Choudhery	3	12
All India Matriculation Standard Essays & Letters by K. Sagar	3	4
Selected Questions—3000 Quotations of the greatest philosophers, politicians, Saints, Poets and writers of the Globe	2	0
Modern Business Letter Writer	2	0
Cambridge Book of Essays—by J.S. Bright for higher standard	2	8
How to Stop Worrying & Start Living by Dale Carnegie	7	14

REFERENCE BOOKS

	Rs.	as.
How to Play Cricket by Don Bradman	2	4
World Atlas. Pocket size by Rand McCally	2	8
Complete Ready Reckoner containing tables of daily wages, monthly income, rant, commission & discount—144 pp.	2	0
Understand Your Children by Bhatia	5	15
The Craft of Writing	7	8
Words We Misspell	7	8
A Desk Book of Error in English	7	8
College Current Essays	3	0
Treasury of English Essays	3	0
A Dictionary of Synonyms & Antonyms	5	0
Pitman Shorthand Instructor	4	8
Key to Above	2	4

PALMISTRY ETC.

A Handbook of Palmistry and Astrology illus. by E. R. Nayaner, A practical guide on twin sciences of palmistry & astrology & a best book for beginners	3	12
The Hand of Man by Noel Jaquin	10	0
Astrology How to make and read your own Horoscope—Sephrial	3	12
Your Hand - A Practical guide to self hand analysis	3	12
Palmistry Made Easy by Indian Palmist	3	12
Napoleon Book of Fate	5	4
Hypnotism by Axel Wayne Bacon	12	8
The Science of Hypnotism	6	0
Hypnotism Simplified—Stephen Martin	5	0
Practical Palmistry by Saint de Germain	3	12
Practical Astrology by do	3	12
Astrology by Alen Leo	11	4
Hands & How to Read Them by Rene	3	12
Book of Numbers by Cheiro	7	14
Language of Hand by do —illustrated	11	4
You & Your Hand by do	6	9
When Were You Born by do	4	6
Guide to Hand by do	4	6
Palmistry for All by do	4	6
Comfort's Palmistry Guide by Cheiro, illus.	2	4
Laws of Scientific Hand Readings by Benhaim (Over 800 illustrations)	16	0
Numberology by Morris	2	4
Numberology for Everyone by Montrose	7	8
Palmistry by Martini	3	12

Books are sent per V. P. P. in any part of India.

CAPITAL BOOK CO.

95, Punchkuin Rd. M. M.

DON'T BE UNFORTUNATE SAYS THE WORLD-REKNOWN ASTRO-PALMIST & TANTRIK

RAJ-JYOTISHI PANDIT HARISH CH. SASTRI,

JYOTISHTIRTHA OF INTERNATIONAL FAME,

HOUSE OF ASTROLOGY. 141/1-C, RUSSA ROAD, CALCUTTA-26

(Just east of Hazra Park). Phone : South 3095

It is said that men are mere puppets in the hands of Fate and misfortunes will come when they will come But this is a wrong idea. Misfortunes can be averted by counteracting the influences of evil stars, with the help of powerful Kavacha prepared according to the rules laid down by the Indian Science of Astrology Compiled by Vasistha, Vrigu, Varaha Mihir, Khana & others.

THESE FORTUNE-GIVING TALISMANS HAVE MADE THOUSANDS FORTUNATE !

SANTI KAVACHA—Gives mental peace and family happiness. Ensures success in examinations : Ordinary Rs. 5. Special (quick action) Rs. 20. **BAGALA KAVACHA**—Most powerful for success in occupation, fulfilling desire, winning royal honour, promotion in service, prosperity in business, increase in wealth and winning difficult law-suits. Ordinary Rs. 12, Special (quick action) Rs. 45. **NRISINHA KAVACHA**—For curing barrenness in women, defects of still-born child and other feminine disorders. Ordinary Rs. 10, Special (quick action) Rs. 29. **AKARSHANI KAVACHA**—Brings the desired person (man or woman) under your absolute control. Ordinary Rs. 12, Special (quick action) Rs. 30.

Among those who have personal experience of Panditji's wonderful powers are :

Mr. U. C. Mahatap, Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan ; Mr. P. R. Das, Bar-at-Law, Patna ; Mr. C.J.R. Chari, Kumbhakanam, Maharaja of Kalahandi State ; Mr. A. B. Chatterjee. I.C.S., Calcutta ; M. A. Satyam-Achary, Hyderabad ; Mr. U. Burman & Mr. Rohini K. Choudhury, Central Assembly ; Mr. Radhakissore Kanoria ; D. L. Mazumdar, I.C.S. ; Mr. J. D. Tata, Bombay ; Mr. A. M. Arunachalam, Madura, S. India ; Mr. James David Quinman, Poona ; Mr. Uday Shankar, the great dancer ; Col. Govinda Samserjung Bahadur, King of Nepal ; Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque, E. Pakistan ; Mr. A. Chandler, England ; Mr. F. G. White, South Africa ; Mr. Devon, Mesopotamia, etc., etc.

Write to the Panditji mentioning time and date your of birth or send the impression of palm. He will solve your difficulties and show you the way to Fortune.

A MOST INTERESTING TRAVEL BOOK THAT READS LIKE A NOVEL —VALUABLE AND INSTRUCTIVE INFORMATION OF THE WORLD IN THE LANGUAGE OF STORY BOOK.

*

"We cross the Atlantic and enjoy the bustle of U. S. A. and hear the soothing cradences of the Niagra Falls. This travel book stands head and shoulder above many other similar efforts."

*

"There is a certain distinctiveness about the book which sharply marks it off from the ordinary travel tales of this kind."

A UNIQUE TRAVEL BOOK

ROUND THE WORLD

By

Mr. J. N. SINHA

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

2nd Edition :: Rs. 7-8

SRI GOURANGA PRESS LTD., 5 Chintamani Das Lane, Calcutta-9

AVAILABLE FROM THE LEADING BOOK-SELLERS ALL OVER INDIA

CAREER MAKING BOOKS

Encyclopædia of General Knowledge—Unique book of its kind with six monthly resume of events, Who's Who and General Knowledge, '53 Rs. 10
I.A.S. Compulsory Papers 1947-1952 (All Solved) Rs. 5
I.A.S. Optional Papers 1947 to '53 with suggested books and examiner's observation. Each subject Re. 1
Joint Services Wing Guide with 1951-52 papers Rs. 5
Military Wing Guide with 1951-52 papers Rs. 5
I.A.F. Guide with '52 Papers Rs. 4
A Current Guide to General Knowledge—in questions and answers 1952 Edn. Rs. 5
Current Events—Quarterly Series
Jan. to March No. 3 Rs. 1-8
April to June No. 4 Rs. 1-8
July to Sept. No. 5 Rs. 1-8
Oct. to Dec. No. 6 Rs. 1-8
Current Essays containig all current topics Rs. 3
Text Book of General Knowledge Rs. 6
Current Affairs Series No. 7 Jan. to March, 1953 Rs. 2
Current Precis Writing (All solved examples) Rs. 4
Drafting and Letter Writing (Office routine explained) Rs. 4
Standard Essays for I.A.S. Useful for University and Compt. exams. Rs. 6
Mathematics for Compt. Exams. (All solved examples) Rs. 3
Intelligence Tests & S. S. Board Interviews, Technique explained Rs. 5
Modern Interviews Based on current trends Rs. 3
General Knowledge and Intelligence Tests (All solved) Rs. 4
Mercantile Law (The Law of Contracts) Rs. 5
Mercantile Law—Pertaining to Sale of Goods, Partnerships & Negotiable Instruments Rs. 4
Company Law Rs. 3
Indian History at a Glance Rs. 3
English for Compt. Examinations (All solved exercises) Rs. 3
Geography for Compt. Exams. (in questions & answers) Rs. 3
Model Test Papers in General Knowledge (With ans) Rs. 3
Model Test Papers in Intelligence Tests (With answers) Rs. 2

POPULAR SERIES

Re. 1 Each

Guide to U. P. S. C. Examinations
Careers & Courses—each copy.
Everyday Science
How You are Governed
Shape of Events to Come (Third World War)
Common English Errors & How to Avoid them
Psychology of Interview
How to Speak in Public
How to Sharpen Memory
How to Write Better Exams.
Success Through Will-Power
Planning for Full Employment
How to Earn While a Student
Choosing a Career
How to Become a Filmstar
Planned Parenthood
Essential Sex Knowledge for the Teenage
Mental Worries : Cause & Cure
Dreams and their Appraisal
How to Keep Young
How to Get Slim
How to Study
Journalism as a Career
Hindi Self Taught
Who's Who
A Guide to Shakespearean English
Sleep and How to Get More of it
20 Lessons in Hypnotism
Sign-Posts to Happy Marriage
Easy Lessons in Practical Palmistry
How to Influence People
Leadership Nobody's Monopoly
How to get Rich Quickly
Everyday Economics
Personality Tests
Money through Puzzles
Success through Character
The Art of Beauty (In Hindi)

Guide to Engineering Supervisors P. & T. with uptodate Papers 1938—1951 Rs. 5

HEALTH SERIES

Be Stronger Live Longer Rs. 5-8
Better Teeth Rs. 1-8
Better Eyes without Glasses Rs. 1-8
How to Increase Weight Rs. 1-8
Eat Your Way to Beauty Rs. 1-8
How to be Taller Rs. 1-8
How to Cure Baldness Rs. 1-8
How to Cure Tired Feeling Rs. 1-8
Family Planning Rs. 1-8
How to Reduce Weight Rs. 1-8

12 ANNAS SERIES

Careers in Navy
Careers in Airforce
Careers in Army
Careers in Defence Services for Matrics
Careers in Administrative Services
Careers in Civil Engineering
Careers in Mechanical Engineering
Careers in Electrical Engineering
Careers in Automobile Engineering
Careers in Radio Engineering
Careers in Accountancy
Vocational Guidance

IMPORTANT :—

For 1953 I.A.S., P.C.S., J.S.W., Military Wing, Air Force and other Competitive Examinations you are recommended to start Postal Courses in good time as to enable you to revise the courses before the Examination time. Fees Moderate. For Details *please write to* :

CAREERS INSTITUTE (Regd.), 94, Baird Rd., P.B. 319, New Delhi 1. Phone: 40518

Phone:
CITY 3447

Telegram:
"FOUNDATION" CAL.

ARSENO-TYPHOID

A QUICK REMEDY FOR FILARIA

THOUSANDS SUCCESSFULLY TREATED.

WHY SHOULD YOU NOT TRY ?

SELECTIVE & CHOLERA VACCINES A SPECIALITY

TYFOGEN

THE MOST EFFECTIVE VACCINE TREATMENT OF TYPHOID FEVER.

• • •

FOR

HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE

USE **ERUSEDOL** TAB.

IT REDUCES HIGH BLOOD-PRESSURE & INDUCES RESTFUL SLEEP.

• • •

LACTOLAN

A WONDERFUL COMBINATION OF CURATIVE AND PROPHYLACTIC ELEMENTS OF THE DISEASES OF THE EYE LIVER, Etc.

IT FIGHTS ALL TYPES OF INFECTIONS.

PROMPT & RELIABLE EXAMINATION OF

BLOOD, URINE SPUTUM

Etc.

SPECIAL CARE TAKEN OF MOFUSSIL CASES.

Particulars free from :—

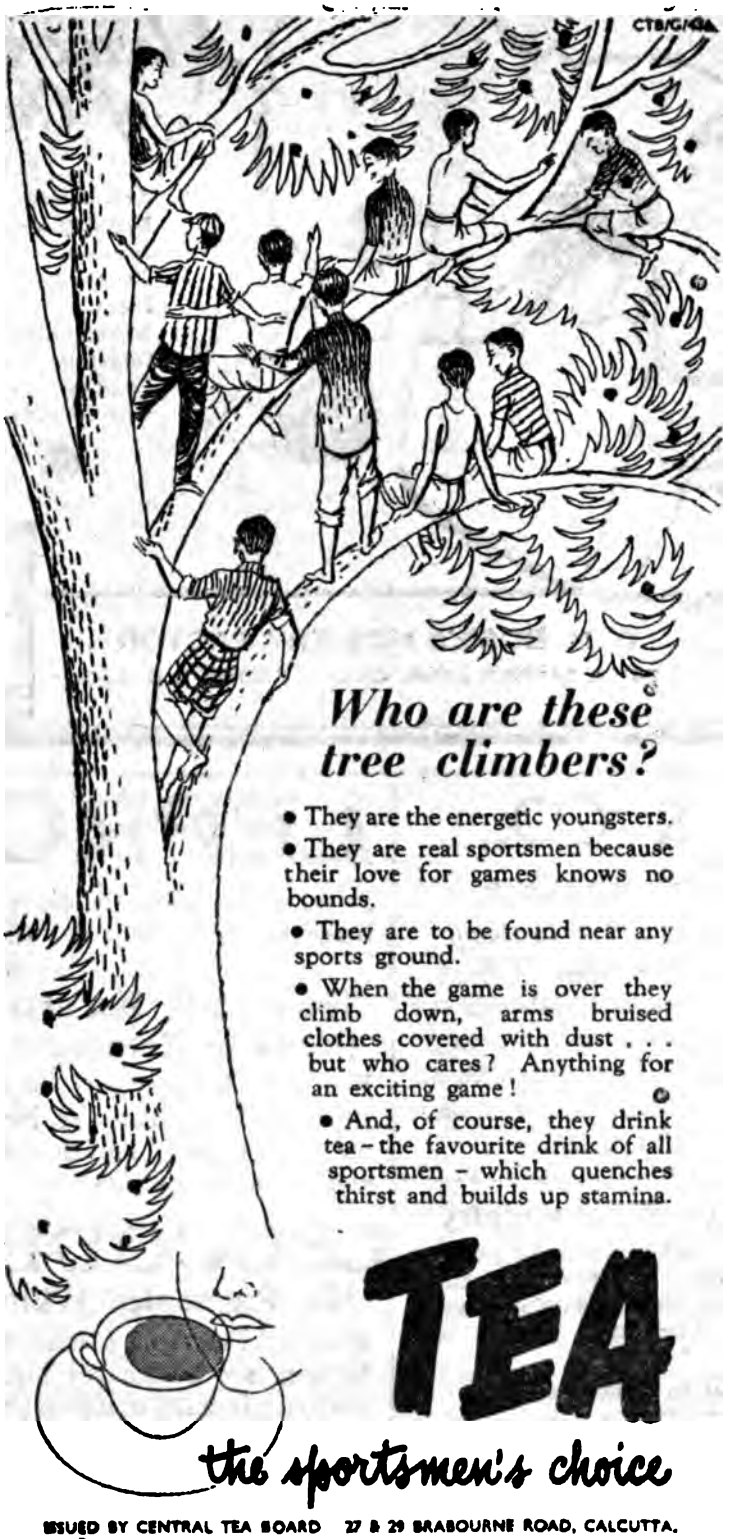
CALCUTTA CLINICAL

RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, Ltd.,

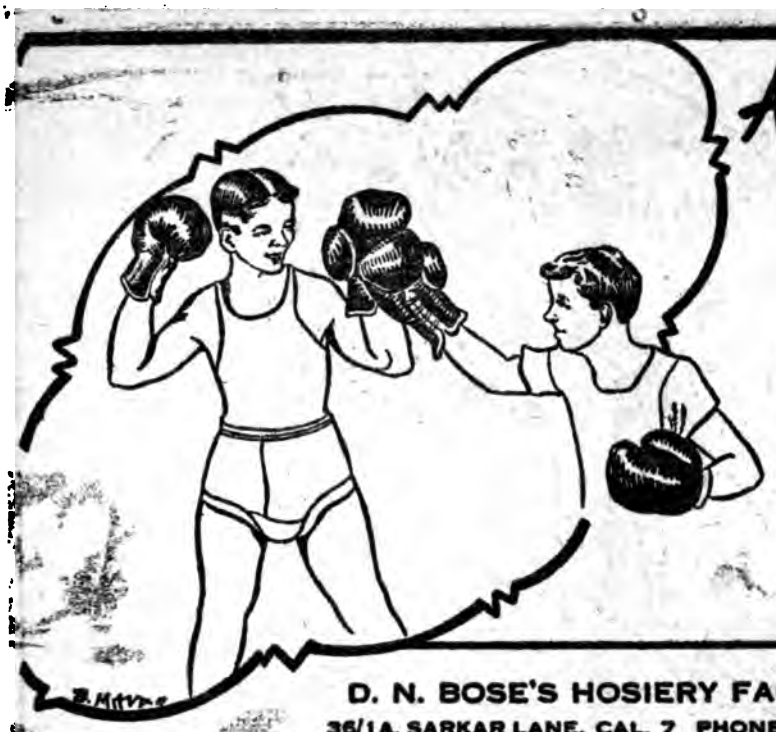
Manufacturers of high class Vaccines, Bacterio-Phages and various injectable products.

Head Office : **6, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-13**

Sales Office : **10, Rawdon Street, Calcutta-16**


CTB/GIGA
Who are these tree climbers?
• They are the energetic youngsters.
• They are real sportsmen because their love for games knows no bounds.
• They are to be found near any sports ground.
• When the game is over they climb down, arms bruised clothes covered with dust . . . but who cares? Anything for an exciting game!
• And, of course, they drink tea – the favourite drink of all sportsmen – which quenches thirst and builds up stamina.
TEA
the sportsmen's choice

ISSUED BY CENTRAL TEA BOARD 27 & 29 BRABOURNE ROAD, CALCUTTA.



A large range of Choice...

Anandamela
Kamalaprasanna
Nandita
Chayanika
Himani
Superfine Special
Intexlok
Sitalbay
Ghare bairee

D. N. BOSE'S HOSIERY FACTORY.
36/1A, SARKAR LANE, CAL. 7 PHONE B. B. 6056

KING & CO.,

HOMEOPATHIC CHEMISTS.

90-7-A, HARRISON ROAD, 12, ROYD STREET AND 154, RUSSA ROAD, CALCUTTA

Only purest medicines from Boericke and Tafel of America are stocked. Rates—ordinary mother tinctures 8 as. per dr., 1 to 12th dil. at 4 as. a dram, 13 to 30th dil. at 6 as. a dram, 200th dil. at as. 12 a dram.

Homoeopathy—Biochemistry

The leading house in Western India for genuine and reliable Homœopathic and Biochemic medicines, globules, bottles, corks and other physicians' requisites. Books — American, English and Indian publications.

Price list free on application.

Homoeopathic Outlook:

A popular monthly. Annual subscription Rs. 2-8.
Specimen copy free on request.
ROY & COMPANY, Homoeopathists
Princess Street, Bombay 2.
BUSINESS ESTABLISHED 1859.

LEPROSY

Is much prevalent in every part of Civilized Country but no effective medical treatment is available.

Howrah Kustha-Kutir
(Home for Treatment of Lepers)

Has now demonstrated to the world that Leprosy—Anæsthetic or Nodular types is not only curable but that Lepers can be restored to normal health.

LEUCODERMA
(De-Pigmented White Patches)

Eczema Psoriasis & other obstinate Skin-diseases are also cured rapidly & permanently. Details & interesting free Booklet obtainable on request:

Founder: Pt. RAM PRAN SHARMA
1, Madhab Ghosh Lane, Khurut, Howrah.
'Phone—HOWRAH 359.
Branch: 36, Harrison Road, Calcutta

in Madras... they know that more motorists use triple-action Mobiloil than any other motor oil in the world!

The people of Madras, endowed with an enviable gift for pronouncing long names, are also noted for their proficiency in mathematics. The Madras motorist, for instance, has no hesitation in saying 'Mobiloil' as he pulls in at the sign of the Flying Red Horse; and on adding up his accounts, he readily proves that Mobiloil reduces his running costs.

Like his fellow motorists all over the world, he knows that Mobiloil is a *Heavy-Duty* oil, giving greater protection than regular or premium-type oils — and can see for himself that it ...

SAVES ON WEAR *by lubricating properly at all temperatures;*

SAVES ON REPAIRS *by preventing harmful carbon deposits in the engine;*

SAVES ON PETROL *by preventing acids eating away the metal parts, which causes loss of power.*

Stop at the sign of the Flying Red Horse

The Flying Red Horse is the sign of helpful service for your car. Go there for regular Mobilubrication — the *complete* motor service — and for Standard-Vacuum products backed by 87 years of leadership in the oil industry.

STANDARD-VACUUM OIL COMPANY

(The Liability of the Members of the Company is Limited)

V.7837 (A)

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. LXXXIII, No. 6 WHOLE No. 558

CONTENTS FOR JUNE 1953

	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—THE VILLAGE SINGER (*in colours*)—Satindranath Laha	
NOTES:	421—40
SARVODAYA AND MARXISM—Prof. S. N. Agarwal, M.P.	441
FEDERALISM IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION—Iqbal Narain Srivastava, M.A.	442
BASIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY—Prof. Probodh Chandra Goswami, M.A., B.T.	445
THE U.N.O.—Dr. G. P. Srivastava, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.	449
ON THE CENSUS OF PAKISTAN—Jatindra Mohan Datta, M.SC., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)	452
THE FOOD PROBLEM—P. C. Bansil	454
THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL INDIA—Roma Chaudhuri	457

ISLAMIC SERIES

Nicely bound in flexible cloth, Crown Octavo pages over 300. Price Rs. 5 a volume postage extra For full set, postage free.

1. **Mohammad in the Quraan.** A Manual of Quraan for layman. Omits nothing but makes the subject clear and easy for the uninitiated.
2. **Mohammad in the Bible.** A Converted Catholic Father and a profound scholar interprets Biblical prophecies with a foreword by an English Divine.
3. **Mohammad in the Parsi, Hindoo and Buddhist Scriptures.** A very intriguing and interesting dissertations by persons who know.
4. **Mohammad in the Hadess.** A complete synopsis of all sayings of prophet. Never collected in such compact form before in any language.

OTHER BOOKS OF THE SERIES
(in preparation)

5. Islam in India and Middle East.
6. Islam in China and Far East.
7. Islam in Europe and U.S.S.R.
8. Islam in Africa and Near East.

ABBAS MANZIL LIBRARY,
ALLAHABAD (3) U.P.

WOMEN anxious days !!

"R. P. PILLS"

Tested vegetable compound for all disorder to women, regulate monthly course at any stage Physicians prescribing regularly. Free literature to medical profession. Price Rs 5, Postage Re. 1 extra

HYDROCELE orchitis, hernia, filaria elephantiasis are cured radically in a week by "Bridhihara Taila" and "Pania Bati". Stiffness, pain and swelling are cured speedily, making normal size. Rs. 5, Postage, etc. Re. 1 extra.

Kaviraj R. N. CHAKRAVORTY (M. R.)
24, Debendra Ghose Road. Bhowanipore, Calcutta-25
Phone: South 3382

KUNCHA TAILAM
(MIXED WITH IVORY POWDER)
Stops falling of hair immediately. Cures baldness & dandruff. Grows new hair abundantly and keeps the brain cool. It is high class hair & brain tonic. Big Phial Rs. 7, Small Rs. 2. Postage & Packing extra.

HARIHAR AYURVED OUSADHALAYA,
24, Debendra Ghose Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta-25. Phone: South 3382.
Stockist:—Rimer & Co. (All Branches), L. M. Mookerjee & Sons, 167, Dharamtola St., Calcutta. Chandi Medical Store, Bonfields Lane, Calcutta.

'KAJAL-KALI'

CHEMICAL ASSOCIATION
(CALCUTTA)
55, Canning Street, CALCUTTA

MOST USEFUL
BOOKS!

THE COW IN INDIA
By—Satish Chandra Das Gupta.
Foreword written by GANDHIJI
2 Vols. 2000 Pages Rs. 16, Postage Rs. 2-2 extra.

THE ROMANCE OF SCIENTIFIC BEE KEEPING
By—Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta. Price Rs. 7
Postage As. 11 extra.

HOME & VILLAGE DOCTOR
By—Satish Chandra Das Gupta
Second Edition—Price Rs. 10, Postage Rs. 1-8 extra.

NON VIOLENCE
The Invincible Power
By—Arun Chandra Das Gupta
Second Edition—Price Rs. 1-8, Postage As. 6 extra

OTHER ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

1.	Hand-Made Paper ...	.. 2-8-0
2.	Chrome Tanning for Cottages	... 0-3-0
3.	Dead Animals to Tanned Leather	... 0-12-0
4.	Bone Meal Fertilizer —	... 0-2-0
5.	Rabindranath — —	.. 0-8-0

KHADI PRATISTHAN 15, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

We manufacture

DUCKBACK WATERPROOFS :

Duckback Waterproof garments, both Chemically proofed and rubberproofed, for Gents, Ladies and Chrildren.

HOSPITAL REQUISITES :

Rubber Cloth, Hot Water Bottles, Ice Bags, Air Beds & Pillows, Air Rings & Cushions, Surgical Gloves, Surgical Aprons, Rubber Tubings etc.

FOOTWEAR :

Gum-Boots (Rubber Wellingtons), Overshoes (Goloshes) & Rubber Heels.

BENGAL WATERPROOF
CALCUTTA • BOMBAY

PRICES REDUCED CONSIDERABLY.
Head Office :—32, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
Calcutta Showroom :—12, Chowringhee Road & 86, College Street.
DEALERS ALL OVER INDIA.

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
A REBEL MAGISTRATE OF BIHAR – P. C. Roy Choudhury, M.A., B.L.	460
A SUCCESSFUL UNIVERSITY SUMMER SEASON—Alfred S. Schenkman	464
WOMEN IN INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT (*illust.*) - Jogesh C. Bagal	467
PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES IN BELLARY (*illust.*)—Richard Chinnathambi, M.A.	474
MERCHANTS IN VEDIC AND HEROIC INDIA—Suresh Prosad Niyogi, F.R. Econ. S. (Lond.)	479
HOW CORONATION SERVICE LINKS UP WHOLE OF BRITISH HISTORY—Leslie G. Pine	481
A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA—Kaundinya	482
PSYCHOLOGY IN INDUSTRY—Santasil Biswas	483
A COUPLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES—G. M. Shah, M.A., LL.B.	485
ANCIENT HOUSE-PLANNING—Dr. Y. D. Sharma	487
SURGERY IN SOUTH POLE—P. K. Banerjee, N.K.I. (Sweden)	488

DANTON 1-Week Shorthand

(English & Hindi)

Only 4 rules. 10 Easy Lessons. Practice soon gives 150—200 words speed per minute. *Write today for* **Free First Lesson.**

DANTON SHORTHAND SCHOOL,
Egerton Road. Post Box 1043, DELHI (I)

LEUCODERMA

Free—50,000 packets of medicine ready for distribution, one packet will cure one inch white spot. Postage As. 9

Kabiraj BENOY SANKAR ROY,
P. O. Shalkia, Howrah. W. Bengal
Phone 187 Salika Kushtasram
Branch : 49-B, Harrison Road, Calcutta

KUCHER TAILA
(Oil of Abrus Precatorius)

A SURE remedy for falling hairs, baldness, dandruff and all kinds of hair diseases. For Complicated cases, consult Hair-disease specialist Dr. N. C. Basu, B.Sc., M.B., D.T.M., D.P.H. **I. R. G. Kar Road,** Room No. 52 Syambazar Market (1st Floor), CALCUTTA-4
Stockists : 1. Rimer & Co, 2. Dey's Medical Hall

MENS PRESS :—Miracally by three doses remove irregularities of menstrual difficulties, no matter how long and what causes Rs. 7-8, Fgn. *20 shs. Guaranteed.* DR. SHERMAN, *28, Ramdhon Mitra Lane,* CALCUTTA-4

Career Making Useful Books For
Competitive Examinations

1. Manual of I.A.S. Rs. 4. 2. Indian Navy Manual Rs. 3-8. 3. Military Wing & I. Air Force Manual Rs. 3-8. 4. Join Services Wing Manual Rs. 3-8. 5. Viva Voce Guide Rs. 3-8 6. Guide to P. & T. Exams. Rs. 3. 7. Guide to Dufferin Rs. 3-8. 8. Central Engineering Services Manual Rs. 5. 9. Manual of Survey of India Services Rs. 5. 10. Proof Correcting Guide Rs. 2. 11. General Knowledge Q & Answers Rs. 4-8. 12. Hand Book of General Knowledge Rs. 5. 13. Guide to Prof. Studies in India Rs. 4. 14. Manual of Competitive Exams. & All-India Services Rs. 4. 15. Guide to Prof. Studies in U.K. Rs. 4. 16. Guide to Prof. Studies in America Rs. 4

200 Books List Free. Read "CAREERS TODAY" Magazine for Jobs, Careers, Exams. As. 8.
CAREERS TODAY, Sohanganj, DELHI-15

MATRICS & GRADUATES ! Pass I.A.S., P.C.S., Army, Navy & Air Force Exams. by post. Ask For Free Prospectus :
CAREERS COLLEGE Sohanganj Street, DELHI, 81

MASTER ENGLISH

At home by world-famous course & become popular writer and speaker. Write forceful letters, advts., articles. Learn to earn.
Details free : **The Associated Schools, Delhi, 91.**

JOURNALISM & STORY-WRITING

taught by post. Earn Rs. 200 p. m. Journalism is an ideal profession & hobby. No pupilage. No examination.
Details free : **The Associated School, Delhi, 95.**

WANTED students to become Accountant, Secy., Steno-Typist, by post. Recognised Diplomas. D.Com. Course. **American Correspondence College, Delhi, 31.**

PITMAN'S 8-DAYS SHORTHAND
by post. Speed 100. 5 Rules, 26 Signs & 9 lessons.
Details : **ASSOCIATED SCHOOL, DELHI, 44.**

FEMALE TROUBLES

Take "Govt. Regd." **"RITU-KARI"** (Mixture) which regulates monthly period within a day. Action speedy. Quite harmless. Price Rs. **2-4**, Special (Strong) Rs. **8**, Extra Special Rs. **15**. V.P.P. Re. **1-8** extra.

Specialist in Female Disease

DR. B. N. CHAKRAVORTY,

Head—1, Latapath Hossain Lane, Beliaghata, Cal.-10

Branch—12/3D, Jamir Lane, Ballygunje, Calcutta-19 and 226, Upper Circular Rd. (Shambazar Junc.), Cal.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

Menso :—Gives her instantaneous relief from anxious delays and regulates monthly course at any stage. Rs. 3, Special Rs. 5, Extra Special Rs. 10.

Brain Food :—Infallible remedy for Blood Pressure, Sudden Cerebral Hemorrhage, Epilepsy, etc. Cools the brain, stimulates imagination and memory. Indispensable to students and intellectuals. Rs 3

Hydrokil : - For speedy recovery of Hydrocele at any stage making it normal and painless. Rs. 5

Cataracto :—For sure removal of Cataract at any stage without operation ; cures all eye-troubles ; and user is sure to regain former clear eye-sight. Rs. 3

Dr. C. BHATTACHARJEE, 120, Ashutosh Mukherjee Rd., Calcutta. Rimer, M. Bhattacharjee, P. N. Mookerjee & O. N. Mookerjee & Co. or other respectable Drug Houses

ASTROLOGICAL BUREAU

(Of Prof. S. C. Mukerjee, M.A.)
BANARAS—1 (U. P.)

We follow the best principles of Hindoo Astrology as well as the Ptolemaic-Placidian Systems as amended and elaborated by our long experience extending over half-a-century. Brief Life Reading, Rs. 8; detailed, Rs. 15 and above. One year's monthly, brief, Rs. 10; detailed, Rs. 20. First question, Rs. 4; each succeeding query, Rs. 2. 5 years' General Outline of events, Rs. 6; 10 years', Rs. 10. Bhrigoo Samhita Readings, Rs. 25 and above. Astrological Lessons (Full Course): Rs. 90; Rs. 12-8 per set. Send date, time and place of birth, adding whether married or single. Results per V.P.P. Prospectus free. Estd. 1892 (formerly at Kalighat, Calcutta).

Efficient
Safe &
Pure

STANDARD DRUGS of

KHADI PRATISTHAN

TABLETS : AMPOULES

ANTICOUGH Slow Sucking Sweet Tablet.
CAPITIN for all Pains.
CHHOTA CHANDRA for insanity.

Write for 150 Items Catalogue.

KHADI PRATISTHAN
15, COLLEGE SQ. CALCUTTA - 12.

N. C. SETH,

Antiquarian Bookseller

115-A, Tarak Pramanick Road, CALCUTTA-6

SCARCE BOOKS. *Prices on Application.*

Moor : The Hindu Pantheon. 105 full page Plates. 1810
Collis Maurice : Quest For Sita. Of Ravana the Dark Angel & his Paradise at Lanka. Of Hanuman & the Divine Vultures Jatayus and Sampati with drawings by Mervin Peake. Limited to 500 copies.
Memoires Of Babar by Erskine and Leydon.
Grindlay : Scenery, Costumes and Architectute Chiefly on the Western Side of India. 36 Coloured Acquatint Plates, Folio. London. 1830.
An Account of an Embassy of Court of The TESHOO LAMA In Tibet by Turner. London. 1800
An Account Of AN Embassy To The Kingdom Of Ava, by Symes in 3 vols. Full Calf. London. 1800
The History of Trial of Warren Hastings. Lond. 1796.
Journal of a Route Across India, through Egypt to England, in the year 1817 by Fitzclarence. Lond. 1819.
Hebber : Narrative of a Journey through Upper provinces of India. In 2 vols. London. 1828. Printed on Special Paper Size 12"x9", 8 Plates, 25 Wood Engravings. Printed on special Paper, 12 copies only printed on this Paper. 1100 pages.
Bengal, also Fort St. George and Bombay Papers, presented to the House of Commons, from the East India Company, relative to the Maratha War in 1803 with Plans. 1804. Size 17"x11"
Ruskin : Modern Painters in 6 vols. Large Edition Size 12"x8" weight about 15 seers.
Malcolm : Life of Lord Clive in 3 vols. 1836
Bengal Past and Present vols. I-XVI
Winternitz : History of Indian Literature. Vol, I
Elphinstone : An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul

YOUR PILES GONE

PILES SCREW (Regd.)

Many Physicians claim to cure Piles permanently without any guarantee. On the contrary, I guarantee to cure Piles permanently on a money back guarantee no matter what stage yours has reached. You will get marvellous results from my remedy. Price Rs. 12-13-0 per bottle.

THE DEAF HEAR

The Permanent Cure, No Relapse.

Deaf People :—Very easiest method to restore the accuracy of hearing power quite marvellously. No matter if there is any derangement established in the apparatus. GUARANTEED and Recognised "EMERALD PILLS AND RAPID AURALDROP." (Regd.) (Combined treatment) Rs. 37-13-0. Full course. Trial course Rs. 12-13-0.

LEUCODERMA—The only invention up-to-date recognised and praised from coast to coast for unique cure of white patches only by internal use. Histologically Demonstrated and UNANIMOUSLY admitted. "LEUCODERMINE" (Regd.) Rs. 25-13-0 per bottle. Perfect Cure is guaranteed. No matter if congenital or self-acquired.

ASTHMA CURE—You surely expect for radical cure. You tried so many ; but they were relieving agents. It shall cure you permanently. No relapse guaranteed. Any chronic nature or type of asthma and bronchitis, colic pain, piles and fistula are also cured successfully. Per week Rs. 12-13-0

CATARACT (without knife)—No matter ripe or unripe. No matter however old the patient. Cure Guaranteed. No sick-bed or hospitalisation. Particulars Free. Give full particulars and history to

Dr. SHERMAN, F. C. S. (U. S. A.),
28, Ramdhon Mitter Lane, CALCUTTA. P. B. 8959

CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

BOOK REVIEWS: 489—493

U. N. Ghoshal, N. B. Roy, Jogesh C. Bagal, Swami Jagadiswarananda, S. C. Sinha, A. B. Dutta, D. N. Mookerjea, Birendranath Guha, K. M. J., P. R. Sen.

INDIAN PERIODICALS: 494—500

The Sister Nivedita 494

Literature and Freedom 497

Britain's National Dailies 499

FOREIGN PERIODICALS: 501—504

Civil Disobedience in South Africa 501

1954 ILO Session 504

TECHNICAL :: *LATEST ARRIVALS* :: GENERAL

Fowler's Elec. Engineers Pocket Book 1953	Rs. 6-2	The Secret Path by Paul Brunton	Rs. 7-7
Fowler's Mechanical Engineers Pkt. Book 1953	Rs. 5-10	A Search In Secret Egypt by ditto	Rs. 17-8
Fowler's Mechanics & Machinists Pkt. Book 1953	Rs. 5-10	A Search In Secret India by ditto	Rs. 15-5
Theory Of Plates & Shells by Timoshenko	Rs. 48	Wisdom Of The Overself by ditto	Rs. 18-6
A Manual Of Specifications & Quantities For Civil Engineers by Johnson & King	Rs. 23-7	Quest Of The Overself by ditto	Rs. 15-5
Standard Handbook Of Industrial Leathers by Woodroffe	Rs. 23-7	The Hermit In The Himalayas by ditto	Rs 18-2
Power Economy In The Factory by Todman	Rs. 8	A Message From Arunachala by ditto	Rs. 6-9
Electric Wiring Diagrams by W. P. Maycock	Rs 5-10	Indian Philosophy & Modern Culture by ditto	Rs 5-4
Dictionary Of Science & Technology by Newmark	Rs. 86	The Projection Of The Astral Body by Muldun Etc.	Rs. 15-12
The Gasoline Automobile by Eliot & Consoliver	Rs. 45	Essays In Science & Philosopny by A N. Whitehead	Rs. 13-2
Everyday Automobile Repairs by Crouse	Rs. 24	Philosophical Foundations Of India by T. Bernard	Rs. 18-6
Elements Of Mining by G. J. Young	Rs. 45	Religion & Society by Sir S. Radhakrishnan	Rs. 9-8
Mining Examination Questions & Answers (Compt. In 8 Vols.) by J. T. Beard	Rs. 66	An Idealist View Of Life by ditto	Rs. 13-2
Factory Organisation & Management by Saunders	Rs 9-14	The Hindu View Of Life by ditto	Rs. 6-9
Reinforced Concrete Tanks & Chimneys by Gray	Rs. 9-6	Indian Philosophy Compt. (in 2 vols.) by ditto	Rs. 40
Building Constructions (Advance) by Mitchell	Rs. 16-14	The Sacred Books Of The East—Ed. by Wilson	Rs. 18
Mathematics For Engineers by Rose, In 2 vols.	Rs. 25-13	Vedanta For The Western World Ed. by Isherwood	Rs. 14
How To Drive A Car	Rs. 4-11	Psychology Of The Adolescent by Hallingworth	Rs. 10-15
Mechanical World Year Book 1953	Rs 3-5	Experimental Psychology by Woodworth	Rs. 30-10
Electrical Year Book 1953	Rs 2-13	Human Rights by Mahatma Gandhi & Others	Rs. 13-2
Modern Radio Communication (In 2 Vols.)—Reyner	Rs. 15	Autobiography Of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru	Rs. 9-8
Handbook Of Telecommunications by B. S. Cohen	Rs. 28-2	The Unity Of India by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru	Rs. 18-2
Workshop Practice by E. Pull	Rs. 22-8	The Discovery Of India by ditto	Rs. 12
Engineering Workshop Manual by E. Pull	Rs. 9-14	Glimpses Of World History by ditto	Rs. 18-2
Steam Locomotive In Traffic by E. A. Phillipson	Rs. 16-7	Kautilya's Arthasastra—Eng. Tr. by Shamsastry	Rs. 10
Tool Engineers' Handbook by A.S.T.E.	Rs. 90	Our Struggle & Rash Behari Bose by S Sen Gupta	Rs. 4
Engineering Science vol. I by Brown & Bryant	Rs. 4-11	The French Revolution by B. K. Roy Chaudhuri	Rs. 1
General Engineering Handbook by O'Rourke	Rs. 54	Bentley's Second Phrase Code Book	Rs. 187-8
Refrigeration by Moyer & Fitz	Rs. 33	Bentley's Complete Phrase Code Book	Rs 150
Radio Engineers Handbook by Henny	Rs. 42	A.B.C. Telegraphic Code Book—6th Edition	Rs. 286-4
		A.B.C. Telegraphic Code Book—7th Edition	Rs. 286-4
		Kelly's Directory Of Manufacturers, Shippers Etc.	Rs. 98-12
		Acme Code With Supplement	Rs. 526-5

POSTAGE ETC. EXTRA IN ALL CASES.

MESSRS. BOOKS OF THE WORLD, PUBLISHERS & BOOK-SELLERS, 31, Grosvenor House, CALCUTTA

In the Management of Peptic Ulcer

The Adsorbent Antacid

MAGSIL

B.C.P.W. BRAND

Magnesium Trisilicate Co. Tablet

Indicated in

INDIGESTION, DYSPEPSIA, HYPER-ACIDITY, FLATULENCE, GASTRIC AND DUODENAL ULCER

Etc., Etc.

Available in Bottles of 50 tablets

LITERATURE ON REQUEST

BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA :: BOMBAY :: KANPUR

means — SMART FRAMES + QUALITY LENSES + CORRECT TEST + FINE CRAFTSMANSHIP

CALCUTTA OPTICAL CO. B.B. 1717
LIMITED
45, AMHERST ST. CALCUTTA.9

THE MAHABHARATA

Translated into English prose from the original by late Mr. P. C. Roy, C.I.E. Being reprinted in 100 parts of 48 pages—one part a month—five parts already out. Advance price Rs. 50/- or payable in eleven equal monthly instalments of Rs. 5/-

ORIENTAL PUBLISHING CO., CALCUTTA 12

A unique Book for Competitive ["I.A.S." specially] and University Exams. Full-length Essays.

"U.P.S.C. ESSAYS"

Price Rs. 4-8 only.

NAV-SAHITYA-MANDAL, Subzimadi, DELHI

FEMALE DISEASE

Take Ready MIXTURE "RITU-UDAYA" (Patent) it brings back Monthly flow and removes all other troubles amazingly in a day. Rs. 3, V.P. Re. 1, Special (Strong) Rs. 9, Extra Special Rs. 18 V.P. Rs. 2

Female Disease Specialist

DR. B. CHAKRABORTY,
M.B. (Homoeo) M.H.R.A

Head Office: 146, Amherst Street, CALCUTTA-9
Branch:—114/B, Hazra Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26

POLIO

(Paralysis, Ear or Eye Trouble, Mental Disorder and Dumbness or Stammering—Developed through fever)

Consult the first successful physician of Polio :

KAVIRAJ OM PRAKASH,

114-E, Kamala Nagar, Delhi-6

Send Rs. 1-7 for an illustrated booklet upon Polio.

NOTICE!

Purchasers & Local agents of the Modern Review of Delhi and New Delhi area are hereby requested to contact with our Sole Selling Agents :

MESSRS CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY,
12/90, Connaught Circus,
NEW DELHI. (Phone 44762)

FEMALE DISEASE

Use RITU-BAN Govt. Regd. Mixture

Harmlessly it brings back Monthly Flow, easy delivery, in a day, no matter why and how long suppressed. Rs. 3, V.P. Rs. 1-4 "RITUBAN" Strong No. 2, Rs. 10. Extra Special Rs. 15. V.P. Re. 1-12 Extra.

DR. M. M. CHAKRAVORTY, M.B.(H.), L.M.S.
11/1/1, Russa Road, Kalighat, CALCUTTA.-26

Read

PRABASI

Oldest, Illustrated &

Cultural Bengali Monthly

ভারতমুক্তিসাধক

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও অর্দ্ধশতাব্দীর বাংলা

শ্রীশান্তা দেবী প্রণীত মূল্য ৬৲ মাত্র

ইহা কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় হইতে প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে।

P-26, Raja Basanta Roy Road,
CALCUTTA.

"Among the makers of modern Bengal Ramananda Babu will always occupy an honoured place. × × × Like Tagore's the late Mr. Chatterjee's genius was essentially constructive. × × By publishing this engrossing biography of her father, Srijukta Santa Devi has done a great service to Bengal and derivatively to the whole country. × × No one could have written a biography of Ramananda Babu as she has done. It will certainly remain a source book for future writers and students."

—*Hindusthan Standard.*

"An authentic and highly interesting biography in Bengali of the late Ramananda Chattopadhyaya. × × The life story of such a man is naturally linked up with the main currents of contemporary national history and we are glad to note that the author has adequately covered this wider background in delineating the individual's life. The style is restrained and has a homely grace, and a number of fine photographs have greatly enhanced the value of the volume. We are sure the book will be read with profi- by those who wish to study the currents and crosst currents of Bengal's history for the last half a century with which Ramananda was intimately associated."

—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Works

	Rs.	As.
Fall of the Mughal Empire, 2nd ed.		
Vol. I, 1739—1754	10	0
Vol. II, 1754—1771	10	0
Vol. III, 1771—1788	10	0
Vol. IV, 1789—1803	10	0
Mughal Administration, 4th ed. enlarged	5	0
Anecdotes of Aurangzib, 3rd ed.	2	0
India through the Ages, 4th ed. greatly enlarged	2	8
Chaitanya: his life and teachings, 3rd. ed.	2	0
History of Aurangzib, 5 vols., sold separately		
Studies in Aurangzib's Reign	2	8
SHIVAJI, 4th edition.	10	0
House of Shivaji, 3rd ed., enlarged	5	0
শিবাজী (বাঙ্গলা)	2	

M. C. SARKAR & SONS—
College Square, Calcutta.

Hindi **Aurangzib**, 692 pp.	7	8
Hindi **Shivaji**, 2nd ed. 231 pp.	2	8

From

HINDI GRANTH RATNAKAR,
Hirabagh, Bombay 4.

কৃত্তিবাস রচিত

সচিত্র সপ্তকাণ্ড রামায়ণ

স্বনামধন্য ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সুবিখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাসী রামায়ণের সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

ফোর্ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশবর্জিত মূলগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ। ইহাতে বিশ্ববিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন ষোলখানি এবং এক বর্ণের তেত্রিশখানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীন যুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অন্যান্য বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ উকীল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধুরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শৈলেন্দ্র দে প্রভৃতির সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

জ্যাকেটযুক্ত উত্তম পুরু বোর্ড বাইণ্ডিং মূল্য ১০৷৷০, প্যাকিং ও ডাকব্যয় ১৲ টাকা।

প্রবাসীর গ্রাহকগণ অগ্রিম মূল্য পাঠাইলে সাড়ে নয় টাকাতে এবং অফিস হইতে হাতে লইলে আট টাকাতে পাইবেন। ইহা ছাড়া আর কোন প্রকার কমিশন দেওয়া হইবে না। গ্রাহক নম্বরসহ সত্বর আবেদন করুন! এই সুযোগ সর্বপ্রকার দুর্মূল্যের দিনে বেশী দিন স্থায়ী থাকিবে না।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়—১২০।২, আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা